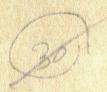
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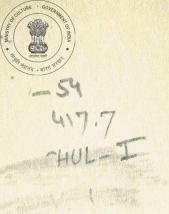


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PREFACE

HE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archæological Survey Department under orders of Sir John Marshall. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr. Carl PLETTNER. With the exception of the two Shāhbāzgarhī edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharoshthi versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel Stein's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr. J. F. FLEET. To the late Professor Arthur Venis I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Girnar and Kalsī versions. Professor A. A. MACDONELL kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert Sewell and Professor Th. Zachariae.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE, October, 1922.



POSTSCRIPT

HE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the collotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. PLETTNER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharōshṭhī characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John Marshall, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

Halle, January, 1924. E. H.



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ABBREVIATIONS

AJP = American Journal of Philology.

ASSI = Archæological Survey of Southern India.

ASWI = Archæological Survey of Western India.

BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).

CR = Comptes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.

EI = Epigraphia Indica.

GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN = Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

Grammatik = Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen (Pischel).

IA = Indian Antiquary.

IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.

Ind. Alt. = Indische Alterthumskunde (Lassen).

Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).

JA = Journal Asiatique.

Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten (Kern).

JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

JPASB = Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).

Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

SBE = Sacred Books of the East.

Skt. = Sanskrit.

SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.

ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.



CHAPTER I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

The above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known fourteen edicts, and (2) the two separate edicts which the Dhauli and Jaugada versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1).

This famous set of Aśōka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of Junagarh, the capital of the Junagarh State in the Kathiavar Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred Girnar' mountain.1 The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base.' 2 The boulder bears, beside Asoka's edicts, two other valuable documents: An inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman records the restoration of the lake Sudarsana, which had been 'originally constructed by the Vaisya Pushyagupta, the provincial governor (rāshtriya) of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the Yavana king Tushaspha for Aśōka the Maurya.' Among local names it mentions Girinagara, i.e. the town of Junagarh or its ancient representative, and Urjayat, i. e. the mountain now called Girnār.4 The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the Gupta king Skandagupta and records further repairs of the lake Sudarsana made in A. D. 456-7 by Chakrapālita, the son of Parnadatta who was governor of Surashtra.5

The Aśōka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in JRAS, 12. 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII; and

¹ ASWI, 2. 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Girnār in JASB, vol. 7, plate 54.

² ASWI, 2. 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.

⁸ Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 99.

⁴ EI, 8. 42. The later (Prākrit) form of Ūrjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hēmachandra's Anēkārthasamgraha, III, 279, and his Abhidhānachintāmaṇi, IV, 97; ASWI, 2. 154 ff., and 8. 328 ff.; Tawney's translation of Mērutunga's Prabandhachintāmaṇi, Index. Another name of the Girnār mountain is Raivata or Raivataka. See e. g. Hēmachandra's two Kōśas, loc. cit.; Māgha's Śiśupālavadha, IV, 1; GN, 1921. 41.

⁵ Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 57 f.



Girnār in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact. Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgarh to Girnār. At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess å shed has been specially built to protect the boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet and, with it, of the Girnār inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep.³ His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay.⁴ Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838,⁵ and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842.⁶ These materials were utilized by Mr. E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Girnār inscription, from which Professor H. H. Wilson's transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Girnār version, viz. Professor Chr. Lassen (Indische Altertumskunde), E. Burnouf (Lotus de la Bonne Loi; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Açoka den Buddhist; Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Girnār edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by collotype in 1876 in ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5. 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern's

Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Girnār edicts is included in Senart's Inscriptions de Piyadasi, vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Girnār rock in situ. Bühler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften (ZDMG; vols. 37-48), and the full text of the Girnār version in EI, 2. 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand. A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions printed at Bhavnagar (without year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the Girnār edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are now preserved in the Junagarh Museum. Both of them were discussed by Senart (JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both

pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmī alphabet of the Girnār inscription I can refer the reader to Bühler's Indian Paleography, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Girnār alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the length of initial \ddot{a} , at the top of a, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter r is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter on the Girnār dialect (below, p. lviii. f.).

¹ ASWI, 2, 95.

³ JASB, 7 (1838). 219 ff.

⁵ Id., p. 871 ff.

² Cf. JASB, 7. 874.

⁴ Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.

⁶ JBBRAS, 1. 257 f., and 2. 410.

⁷ They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838; see JASB, 7. 874.

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II. THE KALSI ROCK (Text, p. 27).

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near Kālsī, a town in the Chakrātā tahsīl of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī 'is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.'

'The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an elephant is traced in outline.'

'When first found by Mr. Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on

removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.'1

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Bühler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43. 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol. 39. In EI, 2. 447 ff., Bühler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied

The Kālsī alphabet exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter kh has a loop at the bottom; see Bühler's Ind. Pal., plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of j (id., No. 15, column III) and of s (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters s and sh are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,2 and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maski, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29, 33–36, 39) the punctuation mark 1, which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sahasrām and Maski rock-inscriptions.

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK (Text, p. 50).

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brāhmī, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pāli, but to which Bühler restored the indigenous name Kharōshṭhī. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham.³ A number

1 Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 12 f.

by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

² Also once in each of the Bairāt, Maski, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jaṭinga-Rāmēśvara.

³ JASB, 23. 714; Ind. Pal., § 6.

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Af Kharoshthī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shahbazgarhī inscription was discovered.

Shāhbāzgaṛhī is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the head-quarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagaṛhī.¹ It 'is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāhbāzgaṛhī.'² The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M. (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharöshthi inscription near Shahbazgarhi in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshavar, sent an agent to Shāhbāzgarhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies.3 His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word Devanampiyasa. With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846). 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Girnar inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 f.). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shahbazgarhi rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12. 153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji furnished transcripts of the Shāhbāzgarhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10. 107) and of edict VIII (JBBRAS, 15. 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI in situ (JA (8), 11. 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1. 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāhbāzgarhī version in ZDMG, 43. 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2. 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1. 16).

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK (Text, p. 71).

Like the Shāhbāzgarhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the Kharōshṭhī alphabet. Mānsehrā is the head-quarters of a tahsīl in the Hazāra district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

3 JRAS, 8. 293 ff.

¹ Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 8.

² Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's Arch. Reports, vol. V, plate 3.

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the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham, and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjāb Archæological Survey.²

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), 11 (1888). 511 ff.) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12. 319 ff.). Bühler edited the whole Mānsehrā version first in ZDMG (43. 273 ff., and 44. 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2. 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

V. THE DHAULI ROCK (Text, p. 84).

Dhauli is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Purī district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēsvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aswastama'. It 'is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.'

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The Aswastama is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

'Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant, four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.' 4

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Girnār edicts (JASB, 7. 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Girnār version, but compensates for them by two separate edicts (id., p. 219). These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff.), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV, and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham ⁶ showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict': the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugada rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

¹ JA (8), 11. 508.

² ZDMG, 44. 702.

³ Can this name be due to a misreading of the word gajatame (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kālsī rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.

⁴ JASB, 7 (1838). 435-7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

⁵ The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.

⁶ Inscriptions of Asoka, pp. 16, 20.

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Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved after No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (JRAS, 1880. 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler's editions of the Dhauli version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (ZDMG, 39. 489 ff., and 41. 1 ff.) and once in English (ASSI, 1. 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64-66).

VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauli edicts is engraved at Jaugada, a ruined fort in the Berhampur tāluka of the Ganjām district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjām town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock 'is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

'The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.' 2

'The Jaugada inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

'The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauli.'

'These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśōka's edicts.'

'The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the svastika symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter m at the upper corners of the lower inscription.' ³

'Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśōka's edicts, which had already been found at Shāhbāzgarhī, Girnār, and Dhauli.'

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The two separate edicts of Jaugada were edited with those of Dhauli by Profe sor Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based. Bühler published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess's estampages (id., 41. 1 ff.). His

¹ Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2. 105 ff., and IA, 19. 82 ff.

² Mr. W. F. Grahame in IA, 1 (1872). 219.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 19 f. In JPASB, 17. 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the *svastika* symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī o's, and the m as the final letter of the sacred syllable $\bar{o}m$.

⁴ Cunningham, op. cit., p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugada inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, vol. I, p. 4.

⁵ For references see above, under Dhauli.

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photo-lithographs (plates 67-69).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT (Text, p. 118).

Sopārā is an ancient town in the Bassein tāluka of the Thāna district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the eighth rock-edict of Aśōka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sopārā.

'The stone was found near the Bhātelā pond to the east of the town close to the

old landing-place.'1

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Museum of the Bombay Asiatic Society.

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśōka inscriptions on the Delhi-Tōprā pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen's edict' and the 'Kauśāmbī edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument 'is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough.' It used to be known by the names of 'Bhīmasēna's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Firōz Shāh's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwālik pillar'. Shamsi Sirāj, a historian of Fīrōz Shāh (A.D. 1351-88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Sālaura and Khizrābād, in the hills'; that Sultan Fīrōz had it carried to Delhi; and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Fīrōzābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety kōs from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Fīrōzābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (Arch. Reports, 14. 78 f.) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present Töprä, on the direct line between Ambälä and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōrā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (kōtlā) of Fīrōz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern Delhi. An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in

vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

3 Elliot-Dowson's History of India, 3. 350.

¹ JBBRAS, 15. 282. ² Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 35.

⁴ See a note by Lieutenant Kittoe, JASB, 6, 796 f., and the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's Indien.

INTRODUCTION The Delhi-Topra pillar bears seven edicts of Aśoka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining

Besides the Aśōka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,1 the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chāhamāna Vīsaladēva of Śākambarī, son of Ānnalladēva (EI, 9. 67, n. 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn

from Fleet's impressions (IA, 19. 215 ff.).

lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

The Delhi-Topra pillar-inscription is the first record of Asoka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 'since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them' (id., p. 566).

'On searching the Society's portfolio' Prinsep 'found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the Researches 2 seem to

have been copied.'

'I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions.—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity!' (id., p. 567).3

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient

Brāhmī alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words:

'In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple; and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned.'

'While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,4 I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, ard. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred [to me] that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous dhvajas or flag-staffs, images, and small chaityas are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter a, already set down incontestably as s, before the final word:—now this I had learnt from the Saurāshtra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the ssa of the Pali, or sya of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel a and Anusvara led to the speedy recognition of the word danam (gift), teaching me the very two letters, d and n, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

¹ See Cunningham's Arch. Reports, I. 167, and 5. 143 f.

² See Asiatic Researches, vol. 7, plates 6-10. 3 Cf. Asiatic Researches, 1. 979. 4 'Inscriptions from Sanchee, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers.'

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alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column' (id., p. 460 f.).

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his Lotus, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his Jaartelling. Senart's edition and translation of the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edicts in his Inscriptions de Piyadasi (2. 1 ff.) were based on Cunningham's eyecopies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Bühler added transcripts in the Nāgarī character (IA, 13. 306 ff.), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson's English translation of Senart's French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Bühler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2. 245 ff.).

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR (Text, p. 137).

This pillar now stands on the so-called 'Ridge' to the north-west of modern Delhi.¹ Like the Delhi-Toprā pillar, it was carried to Delhi by Fīrōz Shāh. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of Mīraṭh, now a town and the head-quarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Fīrōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kushk-i-Shikār or 'Hunting-Palace',² which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.³

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribblings, a more or less damaged version of the first five edicts of the Delhi-Topra pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by

Major P. L. Pew, who added the following particulars:

'This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.'

'The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imper-

fect state of the inscriptions' (id., p. 795).

Padre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.⁵

'There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was sawn off and sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.'

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mīraṭh pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Bühler (p. 122 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and

46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the sixth edict was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mīraṭh pillar.

² Elliot-Dowson's History of India, 3. 353. Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 1. 168.

¹ The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham's Arch. Reports, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's Indien.

⁴ Id., 5. 144. ⁵ Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 37.

⁶ Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 1. 167.

⁷ Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 37.



III and IV. THE LAURIYA-ARARAJ AND LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLARS (Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6. 566ff.). Both pillars bear the first six edicts, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars.¹ Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are 2½ and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Navandgarh pillars.² His reasons were the following: Each of the two pillars stands near a village named Lauriyā, the former of which is in the Champāran district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kēsariyā, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Betiyā in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for lingas (Hindī laurā). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauriyā, Cunningham combined with the former Ararāj, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgarh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902. 153, note) added that 'Navandgarh' is a mistake for 'Nandangarh'.

The Lauriyā-Ararāj pillar 'is a single block of polished sandstone, 36½ feet in height above the ground.' According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted

by a figure of Garuda.4

The Lauriya-Nandangarh pillar 'is formed of a single block of polished sandstone,

32 feet 92 inches in height.'

'The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a lion facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmani geese pecking their food.'5

Besides the Aśōka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor Aurangzīb and a few modern scribblings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its

erection is ascribed to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma.6

Bühler edited the inscriptions of the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr. Garrick's impressions.

V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR (Text, p. 151).

Another copy of the first six edicts is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr. Carlleyle at Rāmpurvā in the Champāran district, 32½ miles north of Betiyā. The relative positions of Lauriyā-Ararāj, Lauriyā-Nandangarh, and Rāmpurvā are shown on V. A. Smith's sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham's Arch. Reports, vol. 16.

¹ See JASB, 3 (1834). 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835), p. 124, plate 7.

² Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 39 ff.

³ Id., p. 40.

⁴ Asoka, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 65. 227.

⁵ Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 1. 72 f. For pictures of the pillar see id., plates 22 and 25; vol. 16, plate 27; the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's Asoka, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.

⁶ Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 41.

⁷ Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 22. 51.

THE PILLAR-EDICTS



'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.¹ The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.'2

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Bühler's transcripts of them (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46; EI, 2. 245 ff., with

photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing lion-capital.³ The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauriyā pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small

brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.4

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at Allahabad. It 'is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.' Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.' 6

Habent sua fata columnae! The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records:

- (1) The original inscriptions of Aśōka, viz.:
 - (a) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Topra pillar;
 - (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2);
 - (c) the so-called 'Kauśāmbī edict' (above b).
- (2) An inscription of the Mahārājādhirāja Samudragupta (below 1).
- (3) An interlineation in Nāgarī characters.
- (4) An inscription of the emperor Jahangir.

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the Asiatic Researches, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804.7 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the gadā or staff of Bhīmasēna' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśōka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal ā, e, and Anusvāra.

¹ See Cunningham's Arch. Reports, vol. 22, plate 7.

² Id., vol. 16, preface, p. viii. See also plate 28. ³ JRAS, 1908. 1086, and plate I, fig. 1.

^{*} See Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1912-1913, p. 36.

⁶ Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 37. Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 105.

⁷ See Lieutenant Kittoe's note in JASB, 4. 127.



Six months later he recognised the consonants y, v, s (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Asoka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Topra pillar.¹

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Aśōka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion; but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngīr in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.'

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (Arch. Reports, 1. 300), looks 'not

unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of six edicts (1, a), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngīr [4].' IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarī transcript by Bühler (p. 306 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

The Queen's edict (1, b) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,⁵ while the Kauśāmbī edict (1, c) was first noticed by Cunningham.⁶ Both were edited by Senart and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 19, 122 ff.). The Kauśāmbī edict

was re-edited by A.-M. Boyer.8

The Kauśāmbī edict is addressed to the Mahāmātras at Kōsambī (Kauśāmbī in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Aśōka at Kauśāmbī, which is the modern Kōsam on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad. He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Fīrōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Tōprā and Mīraṭh pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Fīrōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by Akbar. This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Bīrbal and of his son Jahāngīr are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of Samudragupta (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his Gupta Inscriptions, No. 1; it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (ayamzuchchhritah stambhah, 1, 30).

4 Fleet in IA, 13. 305.

6 Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 38.
7 Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2. 99 ff., and IA, 18. 308 f.
8 JA (10), 10. 120 ff. and 141.
9 Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 39.

¹⁰ See Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 2; also Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11. 91 and 141.

12 Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 39.

¹ JASB, 6 (1837). 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f. ² Cf. JASB, 4. 127.

³ Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see Asiatic Researches, vol. 7, plate 13.

⁵ JASB, 6. 568 f. and 966 f., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.

¹¹ Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 1. 298. For coins struck by Akbar at Allahabad see the British Museum Catalogue of Moghul Coins, pp. 48 and 53, Whitehead's Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, vol. II, Introduction, p. xlix, and the Catalogues by Wright (1908) and Brown (1920).

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The Nāgarī interlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribblings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'

Jahangir's inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in

A.H. 1014 or A.D. 1605.2

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR (Text, p. 160).

Sārinchī³ is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India, 5½ miles from Bhīlsā and about ¾ mile from the Sanchi railway station. The Aśōka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft; but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by four lions, which, no doubt, once surmounted it.' It is now lying in the jungle; but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sāmchī Stūpa.⁵

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2. 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f.) and by Boyer (IA (10), 10. 123 ff. and

141), and re-examined by myself (JRAS, 1911. 167 ff., and 1912. 1055 f.).

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR (Text, p. 161).

Sārnāth, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of Benares, is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the Migadāya (i. e. 'deer-park') at Isipatana in which he preached his first sermon. Here Mr. F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśōka. He found also the former capital of the column, which 'is surmounted by four magnificent lions standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred dharmachakra symbol', of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished

in every detail with perfect accuracy.' 8

The Chinese traveller, **Hiuen Tsiang**, saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a Stūpa built by **Aśōkarāja**, and which was about 70 feet high.

² See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 108, and Prinsep's foot-note.

4 Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 42.

⁵ See EI, 2. 366, n. 2, and JRAS, 1902. 30.

⁷ Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report, 1904-5, p. 68 ff.

¹ Prinsep in JASB, 6. 967. Cf. Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 38 f.

³ Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sāñchī, is the actual pronunciation of the name.

⁶ Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 1. 107; SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 90; Buddhist Birth Stories, 1. 111 f.

⁸ V. A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel's article, plate 20.

⁹ Beal's BRWW, 2. 46.

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Oertel (op. cit., p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sārnāth pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Hiuen Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first aksharas of each of lines 1-3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 f.). The remainder of the inscription was found in situ underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date: an inscription of king **Aśvaghōsha** which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the Aśōka edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early **Gupta** characters above the Aśvaghōsha epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the Aśōka edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA (10), 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR (Text, p. 164).

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of Aśōka about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar (below, No. IV) in the Nepalese Tarāī. The pillar stands near the shrine of Rummindēī, about a mile to the north of the village of Parariyā, which is about two miles north of Bhagvānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsīl of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Bastī.¹

The new Aśōka pillar is a mere stump, but still in situ and surrounded by a brick railing. 'It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.' The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898, and records that Aśōka visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here', and that the king exempted the village of Lummini from taxes.

Both Lummini and the modern name Rumminder must be identical with the Lumbini grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth. This identification is confirmed by Hiuen Tsiang, who mentions a pillar set up by Aśōkarāja in the Lumbini garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil', which is now called Tilār-nadī, i.e. apparently 'the tēlī's or oilman's river'. He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a horse, and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with Mukherji's description of the Rumminder pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's Antiquities in the Tarai (Calcutta, 1901).

² Op. cit., p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see id., plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Führer's Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's Early History of India.

³ EI, 5. I ff. For subsequent articles on the Rummindel inscription see IA, 43. 17.

⁴ See the Introduction to the Fātaka, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word Lumbini see IA, 43. 18.

⁵ Beal's BRWW, 2. 24 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's Antiquities, p. 6.

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but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rumminder contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the *Lumbini-vana*.

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśōka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Führer in the Nepalese Tarāī on the western bank of a large tank called Nigālī Sāgar, about a mile south of Niglīvā. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindēī and belongs to the Nepalese tahsīl of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprāvā in the British district of Bastī).

The pillar is now called $Nig\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}$ or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhīmasēna.² It is not in situ, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and bears a few mediæval drawings and scribblings. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśōka in four lines; some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away.³

The inscription was first edited by Bühler in VOJ, 9. 175 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5. 1 ff. It records that Aśōka 'enlarged the Stūpa of the Buddha Kōnākamana to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Hiven Tsiang seems to mention the Nigālī Sāgar pillar.⁴ He states that it stood in front of a Stūpa containing relics of Kanakamuni Buddha, that it was surmounted by a lion, was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by Aśōkarāja. The Stūpa referred to by Hiven Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.⁵

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 166).

Rūpnāth is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, fourteen miles west of Sleemanabad railway station⁶ on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

'The Rüpnāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the Kaimur range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of Bahuriband.⁷ Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rāma, the next after Lakshmaṇa, and the lowest

2 Id., p. 30, and Führer's Monograph, p. 23.

4 Beal's BRWW, 2. 19.

6 See V. A. Smith's Asoka, sec. ed., p. 133, n. 1.

¹ For the relative positions of Niglīvā and Rummindēī see plate 1 of Mukherji's Antiquities in the Tarai.

³ For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Führer's *Monograph*, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's *Antiquities*, plate 16, fig. 1.

⁵ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's Antiquities, p. 3 f.

A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur; see Cunningham's Arch. Reports,

F Sītā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpnāth, from a linga Siva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.'1

'The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśōka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was

cut upon it.'2

'The edict of Aśōka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is $4\frac{1}{9}$ feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.' 3

The Rūpnāth edict was copied in 1871-2 by Cunningham (Arch. Reports, 7. 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (IA, 6. 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards.4 Senart's treatment of it is included in his Inscriptions de Piyadasi (2. 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson's translation (IA, 20. 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr. Bloch.5

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

Sahasrām is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād district, South Bihar. 'About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called Chandan-Pir, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.' 6

The edict of Aśōka 'is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the Chiraghdan or 'lamp' of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr. Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.'

The Sahasram edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rupnath one (No. I, above). In editing it the third time (IA, 22, 299), Bühler noted that Beglar's photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet's facsimile (loc. cit.). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpnāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871-2 by Mr. Carlleyle about a mile to the north-east of Bairat, the head-quarters

¹ Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 21.

² Mr. Cousens in Progress Report, ASWI, 1903-4, p. 35.

³ Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 22.

⁴ IA, 7. 141 ff., and, with Fleet's facsimile, id., 22. 299 ff.

⁵ Annual Report, AS, Eastern Circle, 1907-8, p. 19. 6 Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 11, 132 f.

Cunningham's Inscriptions of Asoka, p. 20 f.

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a tahsīl in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east

of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as *Bhīm-kī-dungrī*.... It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.'

The inscribed block 'is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.' 2

The inscription was edited by Bühler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 14, No. x.

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 172).

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to' Bairāt, the town near which some years later Carlleyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, 9. 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Pandit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).

Burt's copy formed the basis of the editions of Burnouf (Lotus, p. 710 ff.), Kern (Faartelling, p. 32 ff.), and Wilson (JRAS, 16. 357 ff., with lithograph). Senart edited the record in his Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2. 197 ff., and published a revised edition of it, from an estampage by Burgess, in IA, 20. 165 ff. A photograph of Burgess' estampage

appeared in IA (8), 9, 498.

As Burt had stated that Bairāṭ was six kōs distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, 9.616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake: the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāṭ, the finding-place of the block.³ According to Cunningham (Arch. Reports, 2. 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāṭ]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of Bījak-Pahār or "inscription hill".' It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanūmān below the rock known as tōp or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill.'4

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription'.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 174).

Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

² Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 6. 98.

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, Progress Report, AS, Western Circle, 1909-10, p. 45 f. Cf. Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 23, 29.

⁸ See D. R. Bhandarkar, Progress Report, AS, Western Circle, 1909-10, p. 45.



Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski:

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maśgi or Maśigi; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muhammadans Masgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place Rājadhāni piriya-Mosamgi, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosangi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the Brahmapurī of Mosamgi. A later record of the Yādava king Singhana of the thirteenth century calls the place again Rājadhāni piriya-Mosamgi. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as Mosage, the chief town of Mosage-nāḍu.'

To these remarks we may add that **Mosangi**, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of **Musangi**, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by Rājēndra-Chōla I.¹

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was

published by H. Krishna Sastri,2 who describes the site as follows:

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet' (p. 2).

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916. 572 ff.; Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7. 425 ff.; and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70, 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only Dēvānā priya, but in addition to it Aśōka,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the Purānas.

VI, VIII. ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāţ, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892.³ They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19. 472 ff.), and by Bühler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7. 29 ff.). In 1894 Bühler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3. 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. 11, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.): ⁴

'The Aśōka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagi-halla or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

4 See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 f.

¹ See South-Ind. Inscriptions, 1. 95 f.; EI, 9. 230; Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.

² Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. I; The New Asokan Edict of Maski, 1915. ³ Edicts of Asōka in Mysore, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.

MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS



They are all in the neighbourhood of Siddāpura, between 14° 47' and 51' north latitude and about 76° 51' east longitude. The best preserved is the Brahmagiri inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the Ganjigunte-mūle. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the Akshara-gundu or "letter-rock", and was supposed to be endued with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15' 6" by 11' 6". Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone."

The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to Siddāpura, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called Yenamana Timmayyana gundlu or "the buffalo-herd Timmayya's rocks". It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13' 6" by 8', and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.'

'The third inscription is on the western summit of the Jatinga-Rāmēśvara hill, which is some three miles or more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason's punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the Jatinga-Rāmēśvara temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the Balegara-gundu or "bangle-sellers' rock", and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17' 6" by 6' 6". There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.'

From a foot-note we are glad to learn that 'erections have now been put up over this and the other Aśōka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian'.

² Ep. Carn., vol. 11, Introduction, p. 2, n. 2.

¹ According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Śiddāpura.





IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS (Text, p. 181).

'The Hills called Barābar are isolated rocks of syenitic granite rising abruptly from the plain about 15 miles north of the city of Gayā' in South Bihār. 'Although Barābar is that by which the cluster is commonly known, each hill has a name of its own, the highest being called "Barābar", also "Siddhēśvar" from a temple to Mahādēva that once crowned it.'

'All of these possess some Buddhistic remains, but the most interesting are the caves of Barābar and Nāgārjunī, which were hewn out of the solid rock upwards of two

thousand years ago.' 2

'There are altogether seven caves in these hills, four of which belong to the Barābar or Siddhēśvara group, and three to the Nāgārjunī group.' Each of the three Nāgārjunī caves contains an inscription of Dashalatha Devānampiya, i.e. Aśōka's grandson Daśaratha. Among the four Barābar caves, three bear an inscription of king Devānampiya, and one (the so-called 'Lōmaśa Rishi cave') a Vaishṇava inscription of the Maukhari Anantavarman, which seems to show that the original name of the Barābar Hill was Pravaragiri.

According to the second and third Barābar inscriptions the name of the Barābar Hill was then **Khalatika**. Both the first and second inscriptions of king *Devānampiya* and the three Nāgārjunī inscriptions of Daśaratha specify as donees the monks of the **Ājīvika** sect. In three cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *Ājīvikehi*. This was probably done in the time of the Maukhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barābar caves to Krishṇa, and two of the Nāgārjunī ones to Śiva and Pārvatī.⁶

The three Barābar inscriptions of king Dēvānāmpriya were first lithographed and discussed by Captain Kittoe.⁷ They were examined by Burnouf (Lotus, p. 779 ff.) and edited by Senart ⁸ and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 20. 361 ff.).

CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The king at whose orders the rock- and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various Prākrit forms of which the Sanskrit would be Dēvānāmpriyah Priyadarśī rājā. This full

¹ Captain Kittoe in JASB, 16 (1847). 402.
² Cunningham's Arch. Reports, 1. 40.

* For the bibliography of these inscriptions see Luders' List of Brahmi Inscriptions (EI,

vol. 10, Appendix), Nos. 954-6.

⁵ See Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 222.

6 See id., Nos. 48-50.

7 JASB, 16. 401 ff., and plate 9, figures 4-6.

8 Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2. 209 ff., and IA, 20. 168 ff.

³ Id., p. 44. For the modern names of the single Barābar caves and for plans of them see id., plates 18 and 19. Cf. also Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 1. 130 ff.; Cave Temples of India, p. 37 ff.; V. A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 20.

⁹ In a few cases (Kālsī rock-edict I, A; Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict II, A; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, O and X) the word rājā is omitted, and once (Shāhbāzgarhī, I, A) the word Priyadarsī. Cf. Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 482.

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form of his title is shortened into *Dēvānāmpriyah* in section C of the Dhauli and Jaugada rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbī pillar-edict, *Dēvānāmpriyah* alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rumminder and Nigālī Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form Dēvānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarsī rājā. The Maski rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka. On the Sārnāth pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions we have only Dēvānāmpriyaḥ. On the Sāmchī pillar this word is lost; but the contents of the Sāmchī and Sārnāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.¹

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself Priyadarsī rājā, and in the three others rājā Priyadarsī. In the Calcutta-Bairāṭ record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Sambōdhi (rock-edict VIII, C), to Lummini (Rummindēī pillar), and to the Stūpa of Kōnākamana (Nigālī Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājīvikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term $D\bar{e}v\bar{a}n\bar{a}mpriya$ is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patañjali's $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}shya$ on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like $bhav\bar{a}n$, $d\bar{i}rgh\bar{a}yuh$, and $\bar{a}yushm\bar{a}n$. Pāṇini himself does not mention $D\bar{e}v\bar{a}n\bar{a}mpriya$, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (vail analy, VI, 3, 21). The $K\bar{a}sik\bar{a}$ commentary adduces the two examples alterate, 'the family of a thief', and quarterate, 'the family of a low-caste man'. Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini's $S\bar{u}tra$ five $V\bar{a}rttikas$, the third of which states that the compound $D\bar{e}v\bar{a}n\bar{a}mpriya$ ought to be added. Neither the $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}shya$ nor the $K\bar{a}sik\bar{a}$ have the word $V\bar{a}viii$, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the $Siddh\bar{a}ntakaumud\bar{a}$ adds to the $V\bar{a}rttika$. This secondary meaning of $D\bar{e}v\bar{a}n\bar{a}mpriya$ was already known to Patañjali's commentator Kaiyaṭa, while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used $D\bar{e}v\bar{a}n\bar{a}mpriya$ in an ironical sense. In Bāṇa's

¹ Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rüpnäth edict, passim, and Bühler, IA, 7. 144 f.

² Cf. Weber's Ind. Studien, 13. 337, n. 1.

³ Cf. वृषद्धाः पुत्रः in the Kāśikā on the next Sūtra. It is worth noting that in the drama Mudrārākshasa Chāṇakya uses the term वृषद्ध with reference to Chandragupta.

⁴ Cf. Bālamanoramā on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 21. Kaiyaṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.



Harshacharita it is found twice as an honorific. In the same way Devānuppiya is

employed frequently in Jaina literature.2

In the Dīpavamsa, Devānampiya is prefixed to the name of Aśōka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him,3 and in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśōka's grandson Daśaratha.4 In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of rājan, 'a king': In the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called Devānampiyā and Devanampriya, while the Girnār and Dhauli versions have rājāno and lājāne; and the word Devānampiye in the second separate edict at Dhauli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to lājā in the Jaugada text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was *Priyadarśin*, 'he who glances amiably'. Both *Piyadassi* and *Piyadassana*, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the *Dīpavamsa* as equivalents of **Aśōka**, the name of the great **Maurya** king. In the drama *Mudrārākshasa*, *Piadamsana* is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. Chandragupta, the

name of Aśōka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Aśōka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription informs us that Priyadarśin was a Māgadha king, i. e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was Pāṭaliputra; for, the words 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying [towns]' at Girnār correspond to 'here and in all the outlying towns' at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgaṭhī, Mānsehrā, and Dhauli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary Yōna, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions 'the Yōna king Antiyoka (Antiyoka (Antiyoka at Girnār, Antiyoga at Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka '; and the rock-edict XIII, Q, 'the Yōna king Antiyoka (Antiyoga at Kālsī and Mānsehrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. Turamāya (Tulamaya at Kālsī), Antekina (Antikini at Shāhbāzgaṭhī), Makā (Magā at Girnār), and Alikasudara (Alikyashudala at Kālsī)'.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to Devānampiya Tissa of Ceylon.⁸ This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at Pāṭaliputra. The discovery of the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashalatha Devānampiya, whom Prinsep at once identified with Daśaratha, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśōka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found Piyadassi or Piyadassana used as a surname of Aśōka in the Dīpavamsa, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin with Aśōka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). A limine, another member of the Maurya dynasty

1 See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908, 505.

² See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 111. Hoernle and Pischel derived the word from Skt. dēva + anupriya. Hēmachandra (Abhidhānachintāmaņi, III, 17) assigns to Dēvānāmpriya the meaning of 'fool'.

³ See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 485. ⁴ IA, 20. 364 f. ⁵ See the Index to Oldenberg's edition.

⁶ Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama Priyadaršikā, its heroine is called both Priyadaršikā and Priyadaršanā.

⁷ Hillebrandt's edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5; cf. his article on the Kautilīyaśāstra (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.

⁸ JASB, 6 (1837). 472 f., 566 f.

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might be meant as well; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that the king's predecessors also bore the title Dēvānāmpriya, and the Mudrārākshasa applies the epithet Priyadaršana to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rockedict. He found in the Girnār version of it (l. 3) the words Amtiyako Yona-rājā, and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) Amtiyoke nāma Yona-lājā, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with Antiochus III of Syria.¹ In March, 1838, he discovered in the Girnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of Turamāya, Amtikona,² and Magā, whom he most ingeniously identified with Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and Magas of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name Antiyoka to Antiochus I or II of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Girnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after Magā, is lost. The Shāhbāzgaṛhī version calls him Alikasudara. Norris recognised that this name corresponds to the Greek 'Αλέξανδρος, and suggested hesitatingly that Alexander of Epirus, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.3 This identification was endorsed by Westergaard, Lassen, and Senart. But Professor Beloch now thinks that Alexander of Corinth, the son of Craterus, has a better claim.

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśōka, the grandson of Chandragupta whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned 280-261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261-246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt 285-247, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia 276-239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272-c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252-c. 244.8 The rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśōka's abhishēka, when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'.9 If we assume that the rockedicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the abhishēka, when Aśōka appointed 'Mahāmātras of morality' as he tells us in edict V. If the Alikasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśōka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśōka's grandfather Chandragupta.

¹ JASB, 7. 156 ff.

² In reality Girnār and Kālsī read Amtekina, and Shāhbāzgarhī Amtikini. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigenes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigenes is known to us, although it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C., being then satrap of Susiana.

³ JRAS, 8 (1846). 305.

⁴ Zwei Abhandlungen, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.

⁵ Ind. Alt., 2 (2nd ed.). 253 ff.

⁶ IA, 20. 242.

⁷ Griechische Geschichte, vol. 3, part 2, p. 105.

⁸ The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's Griech. Geschichte, vol. 3.

⁹ See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.



The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the Maurya dynasty Chandragupta, and as his two immediate successors Bindusāra and Aśōka. The pseudo-prophetic account of the Purānas runs thus:

'Kautilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśōka

thirty-six years.'1

According to the Dipavainsa, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100),

and Bindusāra's son Aśōka thirty-seven years (V, 101).2

The Mahāvainsa states that the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f.), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra's son Aśōka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghōsha's Samantapāsādikā agrees with the Mahāvamsa in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.³

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven

years to Bindusāra.4

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta's reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Bigandet twenty-seven years, and the *Purāṇas* twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśōka succeeded his father Bindusāra 214 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa,⁵ and that his anointment took place four years after his father's death, or 218 years after the Nirvāṇa.⁶ The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.⁷

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A.B. 186–214, and the latter A.B. 162–186.⁸ If we deduct the year of Chandragupta's accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B.C., the result is 382 B.C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources. For, luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,⁹ who identified him with Σανδράκοττος of Παλίβοθρα, the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Fleet showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B.C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural

1 See Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

3 Vinaya-pitaka, ed. by Oldenberg, 3. 321.

6 Dīpavamsa, VI, 1, 21 f.; Mahāvamsa, V, 21 f.; Samantapāsādikā, p. 299.

7 Bigandet's Life of Gaudama, 2, 128 f.

⁹ In his Anniversary Discourse, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the Asiatic Researches, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his Works (London, 1799), 1. 152 f., and in the Centenary Review of the ASB, part 2, p. 85 f.

² The length of Bindusāra's reign is not specified in the *Dīpavainsa*; but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Muṭasīva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 481, and 1909. 25.

⁴ Bigandet's Life or Legend of Gaudama, 4th ed., 2. 128. 5 Dīpavamsa, VI, 20 f.

⁸ According to Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*, 2. 128, Chandragupta reigned A.B. 163-187, and Bindusāra 187-214. If, as the *Purāṇas* assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A.B. 189.

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result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the

regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.1

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta's accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśōka's abhishēka might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council.² Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.³ Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.⁴

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justin's Epitoma

Pompei Trogi, XV, 4:5

'[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit; inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expug-Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat; siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humili quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis inpulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingentis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profluentem lingua ei detersit expergefactumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni inpulsus contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis ultro se obtulit et veluti domita mansuetudine eum tergo excepit duxque belli et proeliator insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus conpositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.'

McCrindle translates this as follows: 6

'[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom. He was born in humble

1 JRAS, 1909. 333, 335.

3 Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in SBE, 13. xxii: 'This is no doubt a round number;

and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question.'

⁵ Ruehl's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119.

² Vinaya-piṭaka, Chullavagga, beginning of last chapter (XII); Dīpavamsa, IV, 47, and V, 15 f.; Mahāvamsa, IV, 8; Samantapāsādikā, p. 293.

⁴ Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvainsa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard's Zwei Abhandlungen, p. 94 ff.

⁶ The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great (Westminster, 1893), p. 327 f.



The,¹ but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,² and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonus.'

The same transactions are referred to in Appian's 'Ρωμαϊκά, book Συριακή, chapter 55:3

[Σέλευκος] τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν ἀνδροκόττφ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο.

'[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.' 4

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.⁵ We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.⁶ Strabo adds that Deïmachus was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta's son, whom he calls Amitrochades: ⁷

' $Επέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὁ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὁ δὲ Δηίμαχος πρὸς 'Αλλιτροχάδην <math>^8$ τὸν ἐκείνου υίὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν· ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον τοιαῦτα.

'Megasthenes and Deïmachus were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country'.9

¹ According to the *Mudrārākshasa*, Chandragupta was a Vrishala, i.e. a member of the Śūdra caste; see above, p. xxix, n. 3.

³ Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), 1. 426.

⁴ M°Crindle's translation, IA, 6. 114.

⁵ Lassen, Ind. Alt., 2 (sec. ed.). 217 f.; V. A. Smith, Early History of India, p. 132 f.; Krom, Hermes, 44. 154 ff.

⁶ Schwanbeck, Megasthenis Indica (Bonn, 1846), p. 19; C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, 2 (Paris, 1848). 398; McCrindle, IA, 6. 115.

Geographica, ed. Müller et Dübner, II, 1, 9 (p. 58 f.).

² This 'Nandrus' must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, *Neue Folge*, 12 (1857). 262. Instead of the accusative 'Nandrum' the older editions read 'Alexandrum'; cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been 'Nandum'.

⁸ The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for ἀμιτροχάδην οτ ἀμιτροχάτην.
9 M°Crindle's translation, IA, 6. 115.

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It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname Amitraghāta, i.e. 'the slayer of enemies'. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of Antiochus (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus: 2

Ούτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἰ ἰσχάδες ώς καὶ ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράψαι ἀντιόχῷ ἀξιοῦντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι· 'ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ελλησιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.'

'Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men that even Amitrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: "We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine; but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist."

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitraghāta, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Deïmachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusāra-Amitraghāta. From Pliny³ we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), sent Dionysius as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusāra or Aśōka.⁴

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280) 'arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.' Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between B.C. 323 (Alexander's death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his Ἰνδικά, reached from Patnā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Fleet has proposed.6 With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the Mahāvamsa is accepted. Chandragupta would have ruled 320-296, and Bindusara 296-268. Aśōka would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Aśōka's thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above (p. xxxi), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his abhishēka. 264-12/13 =252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Aśōka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the Antiyoka of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

Δειπνοσοφισταί, ed. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1890), XIV, 67 (vol. 3, p. 444).
 Naturalis historia, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. 1, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454 f.).

¹ See P. von Bohlen, das alte Indien (Königsberg, 1830), 1. 92. The word amitraghāta is mentioned by Patañjali on Pāṇini, III, 2, 87; cf. JRAS, 1909, 425.

⁴ As stated above (p. xxxi), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Aśōka's rock-edicts.
⁵ Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3.

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Antiochus II (261-246), and that the Alikasudara of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but Alexander of Corinth (252-c. 244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the Puranas assign to Bindusara twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśōka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be

supposed to correspond.

I. Eight years after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kalingas; rock-edict XIII.

2. Ten years after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Sambodhi (i.e. Bodh-Gayā); rock-edict VIII.

3. Twelve years after the coronation (B.C. 252):

(1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years; rock-edict III.

(2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects; rock-edict IV.

(3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.

(4) He gave two caves to the Ājīvikas; two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

4. Thirteen years after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality; rock-edict V.

5. Fourteen years after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged the Stupa of

Konākamana to the double (of its size); Nigālī Sāgar pillar.

6. Nineteen years after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājīvikas); the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

7. Twenty years after the coronation (B.C. 244). He visited the Buddha's birthplace at Lummini and the Stūpa of Konākamana; Rummindēī and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.

8. Twenty-six years after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI.

9. Twenty-seven years after the coronation (B. C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII.

CHAPTER III.

ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśōka of Magadha. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśōka's empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Girnār on the Kāṭhiāvār peninsula and at Sōpārā on the

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Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State; and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugada in the Purī and Ganjām districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rockedicts at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā in the Peshāvar and Hazāra districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindēī pillars in the Nepalese Tarāī and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāran district.

The capital of this vast empire was Pāṭaliputra, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables $P\bar{a}ta$, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sārnāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the $D\bar{t}pavamsa$ (V, 25, &c.) and the $Mah\bar{a}vamsa$ (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was $A\bar{s}\bar{o}ka's$ capital. From the $Mudr\bar{a}-r\bar{a}kshasa$ and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather **Chandragupta**. As I have stated before (p. xxxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the $\Pi a\lambda i\beta o\theta \rho a$ or $\Pi a\lambda i\mu \beta o\theta \rho a$ of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta's court, described it as a very large city:

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μῆκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵναπερ μακροτάτη αὐτὴ ἐωυτῆς ἄκισται ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα· τάφρον δὲ περιβεβλῆσθαι τῆ πόλι τὸ εὖρος ἑξάπλεθρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχεων· πύργους δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἑξήκοντα.

'Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates.' ²

The identity of Päṭaliputra with the modern Paṭnā is well known to the Hindūs.³ The capital belonged to the ancient province of Magadha,⁴ which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśōka styles himself Māgadha, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C, he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.⁵ This is Sambōdhi, now Bōdh-Gayā to the south of Paṭnā.

The Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar mentions Kōsambī (Kauśāmbī in Sanskrit), which is the modern Kōsam (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Aśōka addressed the Kauśāmbī edict to his Mahāmātras at Kōsambī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times, ⁶ Kauśāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhauli separate edict I, AA and BB, viz., Ujjēnī (Ujjayinī) and Takkhasilā (Takshasilā). Aśōka's governor of the former was a royal prince (kumāra). In Buddhist tradition Aśōka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayinī in the life-time of his father Bindusāra. Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, and the 'Οζήνη of the Periplus and of Ptolemy, is the modern Ujjain in the Gwalior State. Takshaśilā, the Τάξιλα of the

² McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 131.

3 Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus, 3rd ed., 2. 136.

¹ Arrian's Ἰνδική, ed. by Eberhard in Arriani Scripta Minora (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f. (p. 13).

⁴ BRWW, 2. 82 ff.; Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 452 ff.

BRWW, 2. 115.
 BRWW, 1. 235 ff.; EI, 11. 141.
 Dīpavamsa, VI, 15; Mahāvamsa, V, 39, and XIII, 8.

Treeks, was identified by Cunningham with Shahdheri in the Ravalpindi district, Panjab.

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśōka's southernmost province was a place of the name **Suvarṇagiri**, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayinī, was a royal prince (āryaputra). Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of **Isila**, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. Isila may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with its synonym **Kanakagiri** in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśōka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.²

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśōka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of Kalinga 3 on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauli and Jaugada in the Purī and Ganjām districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I-X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauli were addressed to the Mahāmātras at Tōsalī, who were headed by a royal prince (kumāra, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugada belonged was called Samāpā, 4 and the Jaugada rock had then the name Khēpingala. 5

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barābar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as **Khalatika**. The Rumminder pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. **Lummini**, or, as it is called in Buddhist works, **Lumbini**.

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśōka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (anta). Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rockedict V, J, his western borderers were 'the Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras, the Raṭhikas (Risṭika, which is probably a clerical mistake for Rāṣṭika, at Girnār) and Pitinikas (also spelt Pitēnika or Pētēnika). As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambōjas have to be placed in Kābul. Gandhāra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province; at the time of the Si-yu-ki, its capital was Purushapura, now Peshāvar. The Raṭhikas or Rāṣṭikas (= Rāṣhṭrika in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kāṭhiāvār, whose governor bore the title of Rāshṭriya. The Pitinikas or Pitēnikas or have not yet been localized.

Arch. Reports, 2. 116, and Ancient Geography, p. 111. 2 Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.

In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of Modogalinga, i.e. 'the three Kalingas' (from Telugu mūdu, 'three', + Kalinga); see IA, 6. 338, and Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, Introduction, p. 32f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Mactocalingae or Maccocalingae as a tribe of Brāhmaṇas. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of Mukkalinga, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu Mūdugalinga. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression Trikalinga see Kielhorn's List of Northern Inscriptions (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s. v. The earliest king of Kalinga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravēla; see Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 160 f.

⁴ See the Jaugada separate edict I, B, and II, B. ⁵ See the Jaugada rock-edict I, A.

⁶ See Rüpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I.

⁷ See Text, p. 10, n. 1.

⁸ See Beal's BRWW, 1. 97. The Gandhāris are mentioned already in the Rigvēda, and Gandāra in the inscriptions of Darius; cf. Zimmer's Altind. Leben, p. 30 f.

⁹ See the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman, EI, 8. 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word Rashtrika see Text, p. 56, n. 21.

The identification of Pitēnika with Pratishthāna is phonetically impossible; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 262.

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According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśōka's borderers to the south were 'the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmraparṇī.' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamil country, and Tāmraparṇī is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon.¹ The Chōḍas or Chōlas (Śōla in Tamil) were known to Ptolemy,² the Pāṇḍya king (Πανδίων) to the author of the Periplus as well, and Tāmraparṇī (Ταπροβάνη) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmraparṇī two other borderers, viz. Satiyaputra (Sātiyaputa at Kālsī) and Kōralaputra. The former has not yet been identified successfully.³ The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called Κηρόβοτροs in the Periplus ⁴ and Κηρόβοθροs by Ptolemy.⁵

The two sections in which the Chödas, the Pāndyas, and Tāmraparnī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśōka's borderers, the Yona king Antiyoka and his four neighbours.6 The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (iha rāja-vishayē), viz. 'the Yonas and Kambojas, the Nabhakas and Nabhapanktis (Nabhiti at Shahbazgarhī), the Bhojas and Pitinikas (Pitinikya at Kālsī), the Andhras and Pārindas.' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yonas of section R apart from the Yona kings of section O. Both here and in the rock-edict V, I, they are associated with the Kambojas and Pitinikas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśōka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince; and the Bhojas, who are coupled with the Pitinikas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhojas whose king (Bhojadhiraja) is mentioned by Kalhana as a contemporary of Sankaravarman of Kaśmīr.8 Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire.9 Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the Andarae, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race.10 As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Parindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe.11 The Nabhakas and Nābhapanktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśōka's empire. 12

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśōka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

¹ See Text, p. 3, n. 10.

² See Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, Introduction, p. 95 f.

³ See Text, p. 3, n. 7. ⁴ ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).

⁶ See Text, p. 3, n. 8, and cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 99.

⁶ See above, p. xxx f.

⁷ Lassen (Ind. Alt., 2 (sec. ed.). 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of

Lassen (Ind. Att., 2 (sec. ed.). 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśōka's grandfather Chandragupta; see above, p. xxxiv.

⁸ Rājatarangiņī, V, verse 151; cf. EI, 1.155. Sir R. Bhandarkar (Early History of the Dekkan, sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title Mahābhōja in the cave-inscriptions. See also Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 100, and Senart, EI, 7. 50.

⁹ See Rapson's Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.

¹⁰ See IA, 6. 339.

The variant at Kālsī, *Pālada*, might be the same as the Sanskrit *Pārada*, but the Pāradas were probably a people in Gedrosia; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 1 (sec. ed.). 1028.

¹² According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Krakuchchhanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavāstu; see BRWW, 1. xlviii. The Brahmapurāna (Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 198) assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus; see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 138.

(above, p. xxxvii f.). The two Kumāras were probably sons of the king himself, and the Āryaputra perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar we learn that his second queen had the name Kāluvāki and was the mother of Tīvala.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the Yavana king Tushaspha who was governing Girnar in the time of the Maurya Aśōka.2 Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named Mahāmātra,3 or, as they seem to be called in one place, Prādēsika.4 Other Mahāmātras were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the Mahāmātras at Isila were subordinate to the prince and the Mahāmātras at Suvarņagiri.5 In two places " we hear of a council (parishad) of the Mahāmātras or 'ministers', which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The Kauśāmbī edict was addressed to the Mahāmātras at Kosambī, the Sārnāth edict perhaps to those at Pāṭa[liputra], and the Queen's edict to 'the Mahāmātras everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term āhāla (=āhāra in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the Rupnath edict, L, and in the Sarnath edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (kōṭṭa-vishaya in section I), i.e., apparently. tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (atavī) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The Mahāmātras at Tosalī and Samāpā were exercising judicial functions in the city (nagara-vyavahāraka or nāgaraka).7 At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered, i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) Anta-mahāmātras or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of Mahāmātras was created by Aśōka when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the Dharma-mahāmātras or 'superintendents of morality',9 whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special Mahāmātras had to supervise Buddhists, Brāhmaņas and Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects. 10 Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word Mahāmātra is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In Aśōka's edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.11

Another class of high officers were the Rājūkas 12 or Lajūkas. They were 'placed

¹ Mahāvamsa, V, 19 f., 33; Samantapāsādikā, p. 299.

² See the Junagarh rock-inscription of Rudradaman, EI, 8. 47.

³ See the Dhauli separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, A.

⁴ See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.

⁵ See the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts, section A.

⁶ See the rock-edict III, E, and VI, F.

⁷ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, A and Y, and at Jaugada, B and Z.

⁸ See the second separate edict at Dhauli, F, and at Jaugada, G.

⁹ See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M; the Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.

¹⁰ See the same pillar-edict, Z.

¹¹ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 387) suggests the translations 'official' or 'dignitary'.

¹² See the Girnar rock-edict III, C.

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charge of many hundred thousands of men',¹ and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'.² Bühler has shown that the two dialectical forms $R\bar{a}j\bar{u}ka$ and $Laj\bar{u}ka$ are derived from $*Rajj\bar{u}ka$, and that this is an abbreviation of $rajju-g\bar{a}haka$, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the $\mathcal{F}\bar{a}taka$.³ The $Rajj\bar{u}ka$ originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.⁴

Along with the $R\bar{a}j\bar{u}ka$ and the $Pr\bar{a}d\bar{e}sika$, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the Yutas or 'secretaries', who correspond to the Yuktas of the $Kautil\bar{v}ya$.⁵ The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the $Mah\bar{a}m\bar{a}tras$ or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (dūta) of Dēvānām-priya do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Aśōka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz. those of the five Greek kings, the Chōdas and Pāṇdyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśōka's court.⁹

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (chāra or gūdha-purusha). It seems probable that these are meant by the word Purusha in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into 'high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank' (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the Lajūkas (IV, G), and were 'placed in charge of many people' (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśōka himself, were the 'reporters' (prativēdaka), who were posted everywhere, as he says, 'in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks'. It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśōka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant-park (nāga-vana) of the king. As Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Mēdhātithi, the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

² See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.

³ See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.

⁵ See Text, p. 5, n. 1.

6 See above, p. xxxv.

¹ See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.

⁴ Cf. Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Collector. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (ἄρχοντες) who 'superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.'

⁷ These are evidently the ἔφοροι or ἐπίσκοποι of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 124). According to Arrian (id., p. 237) 'they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king', and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) 'some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp [cf. Māgha, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'

⁸ See the Girnar rock-edict VI, D.



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'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the Aśvādhyaksha and Hastyadhyaksha of the Kautilīya (p. 132 ff.). The Godhyaksha of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the Vracha-bhūmikas or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpen is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśōka uses the word lipikara, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case lipikarena in Kharöshthī characters,1 showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India.2 The word lipi, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the Unadisatras (IV, 119) derives lipi from the root lip, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharöshthī versions use instead of lipi the form dipi, which is found in the Achæmenidan inscriptions.3 Besides, the participles likhita, lekhita, likhāpita are replaced at Shāhbāzgarhī by nipista, nipesita, nipesapita, which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root nish-pish, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian ni-pish, 'to write'. The words ayi dhrama-dipi nipista, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhbāzgarhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15:-[tu]vam kā hya aparam imām dipim vaināhy tyām adam niyapi[sha]m, 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written'; and Xerxes says at Van: -yanaiy dipim naiy nipishtam akunaush pasava adam niyashtayam imam dipim nipishtanaiy, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written; afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'. The conclusion is irresistible that neither dipi nor nipista are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of Sindhu and Gandhāra belonged to the Persian empire.8 The Kharoshthi alphabet and the Persepolitan capital 10 came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśōka's edicts: 'king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achæmenidan formula: θātiy Dārayavaush (Xshayārshā, Artaxshaθrā) xshāyaθiya, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspha, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśōka's governor of Girnār,11 seems to be a Persian word like Vishtāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśōka enlisted Īrānians in his service.

² Bühler, EI, 3. 135. 3 Cf. Westergaard's Zwei Abhandlungen, p. 33 f.

4 See JRAS, 1913. 654. ⁵ See id., 1914. 97.

9 See Bühler's Ind. Pal., § 8.

11 See above, p. xl and n. 2.

¹ Brahmagiri, l. 13; Śiddāpura, l. 22; Jaţinga-Rāmēśvara, l. 22.

⁶ See Tolman's Ancient Persian Lexicon (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f. 7 See id., p. 53 f. 8 The provinces of Hindu and Gandara are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f.) names the 'Ινδοί and Γανδάριοι among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.

¹⁰ See the Indices to Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2. 515, and to V. A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 513.



CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

From Buddhist literature we learn that Aśōka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kaśmīr historian Kalhana also reports that Aśōka 'adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)' and built many Stūpas.1 According to the Dipavamsa (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (upāsaka), and the accounts of the Mahāvamsa (V, 72) and of the Samantapāsādikā (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his abhishēka.2 He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 Vihāras in as many towns, besides the Asōkārāma at Pātaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.3

Aśōka's inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. will be clear from the subjoined references.

(1) In the Calcutta-Bairat rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the Samgha or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma or doctrine, and the Saingha, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven 'expositions of the Dharma' selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.4

(2) In the Kauśāmbī, Sāmchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the Saingha. This order of the king is known to the

tradition of the Southern Buddhists.5

(3) The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to Sambödhi, i.e. Bodh-Gayā, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 393), Aśōka visited Bōdhi in the company of the Sthavira Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

(4) The same sum he is said to have spent at Lumbinī-vana, the site of Buddha's birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rumminder pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village

of Lummini and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

(5) The Nigālī Sāgar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the Stūpa of the (mythical) Buddha Konākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

(6) The Kālsī and Dhauli rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'.6 On the Girnar rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white

² See Dīpavamsa, VI, 18, 24; Mahāvamsa, V, 34; Samantapāsādikā, p. 300.

6 See Text, p. 50, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.

¹ Rājataranginī, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 3391, Aśōka seems to have had the surname Santavasada.

³ According to the Mahāvamsa, V, 209, in his sixth year; but see IA, 20. 233, n. 18. 4 See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

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elephant; cf. the Nidānakathā of the Jātaka, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the 'descent of the Blessed one' on the Bharaut Stūpa.²

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśōka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (śrāvana) as Aśōka calls them himself, were issued 'two and a half years and somewhat more' after he had become a Buddhist (Sākya at Rūpnāth, Buddha-Śākya at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (upāsaka, Sahasrām, &c.), and 'a year and somewhat more' after he had approached the Samgha (Rūpnāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the Dipavainsa that Aśōka became a Buddhist upāsaka (above, p. xliii). In section D the word 'approached' (upēta) is Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of 'entered'; and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading adhitisani at Rupnath) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśoka's conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rupnath edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6. 153). After Oldenberg had shown that adhitisāni was a misreading for adhatiyāni, 'two and a half', Bühler was obliged 'to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśōka's conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition' (EI, 3, 137). As Aśōka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,4 Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rupnath and cognate edicts to the last years of the king's life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that 'the Divyāvadāna relates that Asōka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist Saingha'.5 Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (ānapayati, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśōka inscriptions for two reasons: -(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a fait accompli; 6 (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśōka's Dharma, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühler (EI, 3. 141) believed that, as the Rüpnāth edict contrasts the words 'since I have approached the Saingha' with the words 'since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper', the former cannot convey any other meaning but 'that he had entered the Saingha, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases yajñam, vratam, or brahmacharyam upa-i'. But the only other testimony for such a pabbajjā is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśōka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk; 7 and the expression sampham upa-i for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order' is, as Senart (IA, 20. 163) reminds us, 'vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

¹ See Text, p. 27, n. 2.

² Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, plate 28, and IA, 21. 235, No. 98: Bhagavato ūkrainti (read thus instead of okrainti and see Bühler's Ind. Pal., § 16, section C, No. 6).

³ See Text, p. 167, n. 17.

⁴ See Dīpavainsa, V, 101; Mahāvainsa, XX, 6.

⁵ Fleet in JRAS, 1913. 657. ⁶ See Senart, IA, 20. 236. ⁷ See Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 496.

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Form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period.' These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word upēta in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the Saingha. Aśōka's first visit to the Saingha is placed by the Dēpavainsa (VI, 78), Mahāvainsa (V, 76), and Samantapāsādikā (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpnāth and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśōka's 84,000 Stūpas, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the Saingha'.

As stated above (p. xliv), the Rupnath edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśōka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the Sampha (section D). The word sumi, 'I am', in section B of the Rüpnäth, Sahasram, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśōka's upāsakatva did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the Saingha, but included the second period.3 Instead of section C of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts read: 'but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year'. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśōka, having visited the Saingha, showed himself very zealous.4 In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, 'men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me). mingled with the gods'. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the 'gods' (deva) may be compared with the 'divine figures' (divyāni rūpāni) of the rock-edict IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited 'representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures', evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven.⁵ The 'festive meetings' (samāja) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word vivāsa at the end of the Rūpnāth edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb vivaseti in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as vivāsayati in section I of the Sārnāth edict. As I have shown elsewhere, this section adds nothing new to the king's order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate vivāsayati at Sārnāth and, along with it, vivaseti at Rūpnāth by 'causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)'. Consequently the substantive vivāsa seems to mean 'staying away from home, remaining on tour'. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpnāth with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

¹ See IA, 20. 234, and cf. JA (11), 7. 435 ff.

² Dīpavamsa, VII, 3; Mahāvamsa, V, 185; Samantapāsādikā, p. 304.

³ This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892; see JA (8), 19. 481, and cf. my remarks in JRAS, 1910. 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7. 436.

⁴ See Rūpnāth, D; Maski, C; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, E.

⁶ See JRAS, 1913. 652 f. ⁶ See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

⁷ Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15. 518.



issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśōka himself, when he had spent 256 nights on tour. It follows that Aśōka had started on tour a few months after visiting the Saingha, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rüpnāth and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśöka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the Saingha took place; but they furnish a few de ails

which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz.:

(a) Aśōka became a Buddhist upāsaka.

(b) He visited the Samgha one year after (a).

(c) He started on tour.

(d) He issued the Rupnath edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (a), more than one year after (b), and 256 nights after (c).

On p. xxxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśōka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form:

No.	I	Rock-edict	XIII	8	years	after	the	abhishēka	Conquest of Kalinga.
25	2	21 39	VIII	IC) ,,	37			Visit to Sambodhi.
		Pillar-edict				,,			Publication of rescripts on morality.
"	4	Rock-edict	IV	9.9	"	,,		,,	Institution of public shows of edi-
									fying subjects.

On p. xliv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rüpnäth and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśōka's abhishëka, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign. If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (a) and assume that Aśōka's visit to Sambōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (b) would fall in his twelfth year and (c) about the end of the same year. No. I explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kalinga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'. Herewith we may compare the Mahāvamsa, V, 189:

'Before, he had been known as Chaṇḍāśōka (i.e. the fierce Aśōka) on account of his evil deeds; afterwards he became known as Dharmāśōka (i.e. the pious Aśōka) on account of his virtuous deeds '.5

The Mahāvamsa places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśōka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous. But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśōka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

¹ See Text, p. 169, n. 8.

² The discovery of the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty-three years, is due to Thomas; see JA (10), 15. 520.

³ This view is confirmed by section E of the Rūpnāth edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.

⁴ See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.

⁵ The same statement is made in the Divyāvadāna, p. 382.

⁶ Cf. Senart's remarks, IA, 20. 235.

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At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Aśōka with the *Dēvānāmpriya* who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Aśōka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the rock-edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Sambodhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (dharma-yātrā) for 'visiting Brāhmanas and Śramanas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the rock-edict V which records the appointment of Dharma-mahāmātras thirteen years after the abhishēka. As the tour during which Aśōka issued the Rūpnāth edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first dharma-yātrā. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar; 1 but, as I believe I have shown that the Rüpnath and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāna.2

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bairāṭ rock-inscription or 'letter to the Saingha' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the Saingha, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauśāmbī, Sāmchī, and Sārnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.³

CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Aśōka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (dharma-śrāvaṇa) or 'rescripts on morality' (dharma-lipi) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J-L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B:

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not



Transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xliv), Aśōka's first proclamations (śrāvaṇa)¹ were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars.² In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C):

'Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Rājūka, and the Prādēśika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.' 3

In the next year of his reign he created special 'Mahāmātras of morality' (Dharma-mahāmātra, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xl). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the abhishāka, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Töprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśōka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindūs have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vēdānta and the atheistic Sāmkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindū kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśōka. As a pious Hindū he acknowledged the 'debt' (rina) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (shadbhāga) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (pālana):

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).'

In the same spirit he says:

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.' 5

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C-E:

'(Thinking): "thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)", I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

³ Cf. also the Dhauli separate edict I, Z—CC.

See the first separate edict at Jaugada, F, G, and the second, E, F.

¹ Rūpnāth, H, M; Sahasrām, H, J; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I, K.

² Rūpnāth, J, K.; Sahasrām, L, M; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P.

⁴ See the rock-edict VI, L, and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli, H, and at Jaugada, I. On the other hand, the king reminds the *Mahāmātras* that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him; see id., L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.

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Accordingly he directed his *Dharma-mahāmātras* to busy themselves with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājīvikas, Nirganthas (i.e. Jainas), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock-edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects ² and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other:

'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely' (section H).

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (samavāya, section I) and the

guarding of speech (vachō-gupti, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhistic in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Aśōka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men.8 The Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, which was issued twentyseven years after the abhisheka, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight kos he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R-T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his abhishēka, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his Lajūkas, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days' respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhauli, J, K, Y; Jaugada, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapada*, i.e. 'words of morality'. Here we find Buddhism in statu nascendi. 'From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *Dharma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.' 'The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions.' The *Dhammapada* 'lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

² Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, E, and VII, Y.

¹ The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājīvikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Aśōka.

⁴ Senart, IA, 20. 260.



Tis to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.' 1

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M-Q):

'Moreover, Dēvānāmpriya speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (dharma-guṇa) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.'

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious' (III, D).

'Abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas, obedience to mother (and) father,

(and) obedience to the aged' (IV, C).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to diders, gentleness to animals,

(and) liberality to Brahmanas and Śramanas' (IX, G).

'Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals' (XI, C).

Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and rela-

tives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion' (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section HH, speaks of a progress 'in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants'.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.² As Senart (IA, 20. 263) has shown, the *Dhammapada*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśōka denounces Brāhmaṇical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns 'many and various vulgar ("offensive" at Shāhbāzgaṛhī) and useless ceremonies' which women are practising 'during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey', and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.³ Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naïvely confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the 'abstention from killing animals' which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen; but he promises that even this

Senart, IA, 20. 26

² Megasthenes mentions the Βραχμάναι and Σαρμάναι as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι; see IA, 6. 243.

³ Cf. the Mangala-sutta (Khuddaka-pātha, V; JRAS, 1870. 312 ff.) or Mahāmangala-sutta (Suttanipāta, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers 'the highest mangala'.

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slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (samāja, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals, and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict

and in the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Aśōka's 'good deeds' the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (posatha). From the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of ahimsā was a concession which Aśōka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects:

Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by instruction.³ But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals' (sections JJ-NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśōka's Dharma was liberality or charity $(d\bar{a}na)$. He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD:

'Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.'

According to the next section (EE) 'noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men'; while the pillaredict II (B, C) says:—'What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.' These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the *Dhammapada*, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods:

Sachcham bhane na kujjheyya dajjā appasmi yāchito etchi tīni thānehi gachchhe devāna santike

With the words 'few sins, many virtuous deeds' in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, 20. 262) compares verse 183 of the Dhammapada:

Sabbapāpass' akaraṇam kusalass' ūpasampadā i sachittaparyodapanam etam Buddhāna sāsanam ii

¹ See Thomas, JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.

³ This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of nijhati. Cf. Suttanipāta, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.

² Cf. Kern's Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 99 f., and Vinaya Texts, part I (SBE, 13), p. x. The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sarnath pillar-edict, H.

In the fourth rock-edict Aśōka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (aśōlasya, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (dharmē śōlē tishthantah, F). In the Dhammapada we read in verse 217:

Sīla-dassana-sampannam dhammaṭṭham sachchavādinam i

and in verse 84:

sa sīlavā paññavā dhammiko siyā n

Aśōka's remark: sukaram hi pāpam, 'for sin is easily committed' (Girnār edict V, G), reminds us of sukarāni asādhūni in verse 163 of the Dhammapada, and the words: dupativekhe chu kho esā, 'now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise' (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252:

Sudassam vajjam annesam attano pana duddasam i

and of verse 50:

Na paresam vilomāni na paresam katākatam tatano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni cha t

The lists of evil passions (āsinava-gāmīni, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (jātāni)¹ do not tally with the āsavas and kilesas of the Buddhists.² To counteract these dispositions, Aśōka recommends 'the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry's and continues:

'Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)' (Jaugada, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the Dhammapada:

Uttitthe nappamajjeyya dhammam sucharitam chare i

Already Aśōka's earliest proclamations have zeal (parākrama or prakrama) for their subject. He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (utthāna, sections H, J) or zeal (parākrama, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the Dhammapada recommends utthāna (verses 24, 25, 280), parakkama (verses 23, 383), and appamāda (verses 21-32). In two of his sermons on 'zeal' Aśōka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well; see the Rūpnāth edict, sections G, H:

'And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.'

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F:

'But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).'

² See Childers' Pāli Dictionary.

3 See the first separate edict at Dhauli, O, and at Jaugada, P.

¹ See the first separate edict at Dhauli, M, and at Jaugada, N.

^{*} Rüpnäth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, F-H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, G-I.

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A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E:

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (dharma-dana). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the Dhammapada:

Sabbadānam dhammadānam jināti.

Spiritual insight (chakkhu), which Aśōka claims to have spread in many ways,1 is alluded to in the Dhammapada, verse 273:

virāgo settho dhammānam dipadānam cha chakkhumā n

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) 'Dēvānāmpriya thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven'.2

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the Dhammapada: 3

Akkodhena jine kodham asadhum sadhuna jine i jine kadaryam danena sacchenâlikavadinam I

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M-O) continues thus:

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānāmpriya, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.4 And they are told of the power (to punish them) which Devanampriya (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For Dēvānāmpriya desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (dharma-vijaya) which Asoka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P-U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Aśōka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the Dhammapada: they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of Nirvana, but presuppose the general Hindu belief that the rewards of the practice of Dharma are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict IX, M, N (Kālsī); X, C; XI, E; XIII, W, Y, AA; the Dhauli separate edict I, F; II, E, G, K; the pillar-edict I, C; III, H; IV, E, M, N; VII, PP. Cf. the Dhammapada, verse 219 f.:

> Chirappavāsim purisam dūrato sotthim āgatam i ñātimittā suhajjā cha abhinandanti āgatam 🛚 Tath' eva katapuññam pi asmā lokā param gatam i puññāni patiganhanti piyam ñātīva āgatam u

² Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, G. ¹ See the pillar-edict II, D.

³ The same verse occurs both in the Jātaka and in the Mahābhārata; see Rhys Davids, Buddhist Birth Stories, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20. 320 ff. 4 See above, p. li, n. 3.

GL

Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśōka often uses the term 'heaven' (svarga). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāţ, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, H; the rockedict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauli separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The Dhammapada (verse 126), however, distinguishes Nirvāna from Svarga:

saggam sugatino yanti parinibbant' anāsavā 🛚

* * * * *

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśōka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnar, Kalsa, Shahbazgarhī, and Mānsehrā. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālsī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnar, Dhauli, and Jaugada.1 The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rupnath and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauli and Jaugada, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI-XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauli and Jaugada formed part of the newly conquered country of Kalinga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that Dēvānāmpriya will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauli separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbāzgarhī:

'And Dēvānāmpriya thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānāmpriya, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.' 2

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśōka issued twelve years after his abhishēka, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauli must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the Mahāmātras as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśöka inscriptions.

I. Buddhist Inscriptions,

- (1) Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.
- (2) Rummindēī and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
- (3) Kauśāmbī, Sārhchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts.

II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

- (1) Early edicts.
 - (a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski.
 - (b) Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭinga-Rāmēśvara.



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- (2) Rock-edicts.
 - (a) Edicts I-XIV at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.
 - (b) Edicts I-X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada.
- (3) Pillar-edicts.
 - (a) Edicts I-VI at Delhi-Mīraṭh, &c.
 - (6) Edicts I-VII at Delhi-Toprā.

III. Donative inscriptions.

- (1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
- (2) Queen's pillar-edict.



CHAPTER VI.

GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel a is replaced by u in osudha (=Skt. aushadha, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the o in the preceding syllable; cf. udupāna=Skt. udapāna in the Māgadha dialect.1

The e of eta (=*itra?) seems to be developed from an original i; see Johansson, Shāhb., § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. u is represented by a in garu (XIII, 6), while the form guru occurs three times. The a may have been introduced from the comparative gariyas and the superlative garishtha; see Michelson, IF, 23, 260, n. 1. In kho (=Skt. khalu) the a is lost by syncope, the l is assimilated to the preceding kh, and Skt. u is represented by o. The form kho is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prākrits have khu (for *khlu, an enclitic form of khalu) instead of it.2

In the foreign name Amtiyaka='Avríoxos, & is expressed by a. In [A]mt[ek]ina='Avríyovos,

e and i correspond to i and δ , and in Turamāya= $\Pi \tau \circ \lambda \in \mu \circ i \circ s$, u and a to δ and δ .

The Giruar dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. ri, which became i (after the stress accent) in etārisa, tārisa, vārisa (=Skt. ētādriša, &c.), and u (after labials) in paripuchhā and vuta (=vritta, X, 2), but generally a: -ānamna (=ānrinya), kacha (=kritya), kata, dadha, bhata, bhataka, maga, magavyā, mata (=mrita, XIII, 1), vistata, vyāpata, suhadaya3 (IX, 7), v[a]dhi (=vriddhi, IV, II). In vadhi (= vriddhi, XII, 2, 8, 9) and usata4 the ri, which became a, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In vrachha (= vriksha, II, 8) the vowel ri is represented by the syllable ra, and in srunaru (XII, 7) by ru through the influence of other forms of the root śru.

Of diphthongs, ai is found only in thaira, traidasa, and samachaira, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvii f.), and au is always changed to o:-dvo, pāralokika, potra, prapotra,

osudha, -opaga and -opaya.

Short vowels are lengthened in anaintarain [=Skt. anantaram, VI, 8), achāyi [ke] (=ātyayikam, VI, 7), mādhūratā (=madhuratā, XIV, 4), ñātīsu (IV, 1), abhīkāra (=*abhikāra, V, 7), abhīramaka (VIII, 2), patīvesiya (= prativēśya, XI, 3), patībhā[g]a (XIII, 4), sampratīpati (= Skt. sampratipatti, IV, 2; also spelt sampratipati and sampatipati), vīvāha (=vivāha, IX, 2), vījaya (XIII, 10; also vijaya), bahūhi (=bahubhih, IV, 4), and at the end of words in tatrā (XIII, 1), paratrā (VI, 12), sarvatrā (II, 6), etamhī (IX, 2), painthesū (II, 8).

Initial ā is shortened in aropitam, and final ā in tatha (=tathā, XII, 6), [Yo]na-rāja (XIII, 8) = Yona-rājā (II, 3), and in the enclitic va, which is far more frequent than its original form vā. The three forms āradho, aradhī (i.e. *āraddhi), and aparadha are perhaps to be derived from the root radh

² S. Pischel's Grammatik, § 148, and cf. Michelson, IF, 23. 269 f.
³ This word is used in the sense of Skt. suhrid, 'a friend'. Cf. suhajja in the Dhammapada.

⁵ The length of the initial ā may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadha ānamtaliyam; see the Dhauli and Jaugada versions, VI, 4.

8 Cf. āraddha-chitta in the Dīghanikāya, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.

¹ I use the term 'Māgadha dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśōka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhī of the Prākrit grammarians; cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 284.

This participle corresponds in form to Skt. utsrita, but its meaning agrees with that of Prākrit ussiya (Pischel's Grammatik, § 64)=Skt. uchchhrita. In other words, the Girnār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of uchchhrita from the root sri instead of sri.

⁶ Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugada have atiyāyike, Pāli both achchāyika and achcheka (i. e. *achchayika). 7 Cf. Böhtlingk's Wörterbuch, s. v. vīvāha, and Pān. VI, 3, 122.

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used in the same sense as $r\bar{a}dh$. The short a of etarisam (= $\bar{e}t\bar{a}drisam$), $et\bar{a}risam$ (= $\bar{e}t\bar{a}drisam$), dana (= $d\bar{a}nam$) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final \bar{i} is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in -in:—Priyadasi, hasti.

The initial a of the enclitic api is dropped everywhere except in evam-api (II, 2). The initial i of iti is generally preserved, but it is dropped in -nisrito ti (V, 8) and in the compound kimti or kiti.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek χ and γ are expressed by k in Amtiyaka = 'Arrioxos and [A]mi[ek]ina = 'Arriyovos. In -opaga and -opaga we seem to have a change of g into y; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9. 345 ff. Skt. gh has become h in lahuka.

In vacha (VI, 3; XII, 9), ch corresponds to the j of Skt. vraja; cf. vrachamti = Skt. vrajanti at Shāhbāzgarhī.

Skt. n is preserved in kalāna (= kalyāna), gananā, charana, prakarana and pakarana, prāna and pāṇa, vinikhamana (from vinish-kram), sramana and samana (= śramana). In terminations, however, dental n is not, as in Sanskrit, lingualized after r and sh:—agena (= agrēna), parākramena, putrena and putena, mitrena, abhīramakāni, rūpāni, sahasrāni, Gaindhārānam, gurūnam, thairānam, manusānam and mānusānam (= mānushānām). On the other hand, lingual n is newly developed after r in prāpuṇati (from Skt. prāpnōti), darsana and dasana (= darśana), samtīranā (from tīrayati), and without apparent reason in Yoṇa (V, 5), while Yona (with dental n) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are lingualized after the vowel ri in usata and vadhi, and d becomes r before an original ri in etārisa, &c. Similarly, dh has turned to dh through the influence of the preceding sh in osudha (= Skt. aushadha), and t becomes t after r in the preposition pati (ten times), while the original form prati occurs four times in pratipati and sampratipati. In lipi (= dipi in Ancient Persian; see above, p. xlii) d has become l. In idha the Girnār dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. lha; cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 266.

The labial aspirate bh has become h in the instrumentals $bah\bar{u}hi$ (= bahubhih), tehi (= $V\bar{e}dic$ $t\bar{e}bhih$), patīvesiyehi, satehi, and in some forms of the root $bh\bar{u}$, viz. hoti (= bhavati), aho (= abhavat), and ahumsu, while bh is preserved in bhavati, bhave, $bh\bar{u}ta$.

The semivowel y is developed out of i in Amtiyaka = Avvloxos, and $\Pi \tau o \lambda \epsilon \mu a \hat{i} o s$ becomes $Turam \bar{a} y o$. Initial y is lost in $\bar{a} = Skt$. $y \bar{a}$ (II, 2) and $\bar{a} v a = Skt$. $y \bar{a} v a t$. In the dative $ath \bar{a}$ (XII, 9) = Skt. $arth \bar{a} y a$ the whole syllable y a seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes aya and ayi sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to ai (aya by $Sampras \bar{a} rana$, and ayi by the elision of y) and contracted to e. Thus Skt. prative dayata becomes pative de th a, while e g. $p \bar{u} j a y a t$ remains unaltered, and Skt. $h \bar{a} p a y i s h y a t$ is avve a v a v a v a v a v a v remains in avve a v a v a v avve a v a v avve a v a

Lingual d corresponds to Sanskrit l in mahidā, and to Tamil \underline{l} in Choda. The l of lochetavyā and [a]-lochetpā, which corresponds to Skt. r, is due to the influence of the Māgadha dialect; see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek λ is represented by r in $Turamāyo = \Pi \tau o \lambda \epsilon \mu a loss$. This word proves that the Girnār and Shāhbāzgaṣhī versions are translations from the Māgadha dialect, where the λ of the Greek original is preserved (Tulamaye at Kālsī). Another instance in which r corresponds to l is *ārabhate, 'to kill', = Skt. ālabhatē; see below, p. lxvi.

The semivowel v is developed out of u in vuta (= Skt. ukta, IX, 6; XIV, 4). As aya to $a\ddot{u}$ and e, ava is changed by Samprasāraņa to $a\ddot{u}$ and o. In this way bhavati, abhavat, avarōdhana, *avavāditavya become hoti, aho, orodhana, ovāditavya. The contracted form hoti and its original,

² If my explanation of supadālaye at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugada (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right,

¹ Cf. Geiger's Pāli, § 27, and puiña (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. punya and presupposes the intermediate forms *puniya and *puinya.



Thavati, are about equally frequent in the Girnar text. In thaira = Skt. sthavira, v is elided and ai contracted to ai.

As in most Prākrits, the two sibilants s and sh have become s throughout: e.g. pasu = Skt.

paśu, dosa = dosha.

As in all other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in -a ends in $-\bar{a}$ (= $-\bar{a}t$); Skt. tat, $\bar{c}tat$, yat, and $y\bar{a}vat$ become ta, eta, ya, and $\bar{a}va$; Skt. $bhav\bar{c}t$, abhavat, $vas\bar{c}yuh$ become bhave, aho, vaseyu; and the nom. plur. of masculines in -a and of feminines in $-\bar{a}$ ends in $-\bar{a}$ (= $-\bar{a}h$). But \bar{a} is shortened in the dative-genitive $im\bar{a}ya$ dhammanusastiya (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. $chik\bar{c}chha$ (II, 4), and in the 3. sing. optative tisteya (for *tishthēyāt). Final as generally becomes o (e.g. yaso = Skt. yasah, $v\bar{a}no$ = $r\bar{a}jnah$, tistamto = tishthantah, $Dev\bar{a}nampriyo$ = $D\bar{e}v\bar{a}n\bar{a}mpriyah$); but in some instances the corresponding Māgadha form in -e is improperly used (e.g. $Dev\bar{a}nampiye$, XII, 1), and in others we have $-\bar{a}$ ($Mag\bar{a}$, XII, 8; $s\bar{a}$ = Skt. sah, XIII, 10; $es\bar{a}$ = $\bar{e}shah^1$) or -a ([A]int[ek]ina, XIII, 8, bhuya = $bh\bar{u}yah$, VIII, 5, and esa). Final is becomes i in apachiti, vati, bini, but \bar{i} in $lip\bar{i}$, &c.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + Anusvāra, and Sanskrit words ending in m and n substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. Skt. dānam becomes dānam, and karum (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. karōti on the analogy of Skt. kurvan. Just as in modern Hindī, Anusvāra is, however, omitted frequently in writing; see ida (XI, 3), katavya (= Skt. kartavyam, IX, 6), dana (= dānam, IX, 7), phala, mata (= matam, XIII, 2, and = mritam, XIII, 1), mādava, vinikhamana, saka (= śakyam), ki (IX, 9), kiti and kīti (= kīrtim), chhāti (= kshāntim), v[a]dhi (= vriddhim), susumsera (= śuśrūshēran), karu (for karum), ārādhetu (=ārādhayitum), eva (= ēvam, IX, 1).2

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. gananāyam, bhūtānam, yesam, natīnam, gurūnam, anuvataram); but it is preserved in bhūtānām (XIII, 7), pūjām, yātām, anuvidhiyatām. Anusvāra is omitted in $p\bar{u}[j\bar{a}]$ (= Skt. $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}m$, XII, 2), mahāthāvah[ā], susru[m]sā, susrusatā. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in tesa (= $t\bar{c}sh\bar{a}m$, XIII, 4) and samtīranāya (loc. sing. of samtīranā, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

III. SANDHI.

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvāra. In tad-opayā (VIII, 5) and tad-amāathā (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base tad is preserved in composition, and final m remains before an initial vowel in evam api (II, 2) and katavyam eva (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [a]ñam-amñasa (= Skt. anyōnyasya, XII, 7) and bhatam-ayesu (= bhritāryēshu, V, 5; cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases, $a+\bar{a}$ are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into \bar{a} ; e.g. $n\bar{a}sti$, $dhammanus\bar{a}sanam$, pranarambho. But the first a is elided before a in dhamm-avayo (XIII, 1), dham-anugaho (IX, 7), dham-adhistanaya (V, 4), et-ayam (= *itra+ayam, VIII, 3); before e in etayeva (III, 3), cheva (IV, 7; XIV, 3), cheva (XIII, 4), ta[te]ta (= tatraitat, IX, 4), tenvesa (VIII, 3); before o in m[a]nus-opagan[i] (II, 5), and u before o in pas-o[pa]gani (II, 6). The result of $\bar{i}+a$ is \bar{i} in $ith\bar{i}jhakha$ (= stry-adhyaksha, XII, 9).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The Girnār dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prākrits. As remarked by Bühler (Ind. Pal., § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Girnār alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

- (a) tp (written pt) in ārabhitpā, dasayitpā, [a]-lochetpā, -hitatpā, tadātpano(ne), chatpāro, ātpa-.
- (b) vy (written yv) in vyamjanato, vyasanam, vyāpatā, apa-vyayatā, divyāni, magavyā, katavya, vatavyam, prajūhitavyam, ovāditavyam, vijetavyam, lochetavyā, paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yam.

3 Cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 341.

¹ Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.

² It deserves to be noted that in the Rigveda ēva is used nearly throughout in the sense of ēvam.

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(c) st (written ts) in anusasti, seste, tistamto, tisteya, stitā, -adhistānāya, ustāna, nistānāya.

Although in the words given under (a) tp is written as pt, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe tp. Michelson (JAOS, 31. 235 f.) supports this view by referring to $db\bar{a}dasa = \text{Skt.} dv\bar{a}dasa$ (III, 1; IV, 12): 'There is no question but that db represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic dv becomes $d\bar{b}$, then Indic tv surely should become tp. Hence gerunds in $-tp\bar{a}$ (Skt. $-tv\bar{a}$) are to be read as such. This settles the reading $\bar{a}tpa$ -(Skt. $\bar{a}tma$ -) without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (b) vy which is written yv. Dr. Michelson writes to me:—'It is inconsistent to transcribe divyāni, vyasanam, but -tayva, as the same symbol is used in all cases. yvasanam would be unpronounceable. Bühler's argument from Pāli that yv is correct from the analogy of yh from Skt. hy is useless, as vy does not become yv but bb (or remains) in Pāli.' See also JAOS, 31. 235.

On the same analogy (c) is has been transcribed by si, although Franke (Gurupūjākaumudī, p. 26, note) thinks that is represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Girnār alphabet marks the letter r in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Senart (Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 1. 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (IA, 10. 106 and note). Although the r is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe kr, tr, pr, br, and not rk, rt, rp, rb. The symbol rs, however, does duty for both sr and rs, and rv for vr and rv. The former must certainly be read sr in sahasra, srunāru, bahu-srutā, susrūsā, srāvāpakain, -sramanānain, -nisrito, a[pa]-parisrave, but it cannot be meant for anything but rs in vimāna-darsanā (IV, 3) and dasa-varsābhisito (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol rv may be read vr in vrachhā (II, 8), but must be intended for rv in sarva and sarvata or sarvatra. The spelling bhūta-pruva (V, 4; VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31. 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadha form -puluva which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce -purva, but committed the mistake of connecting the r with the p instead of inserting it before the v; cf. the same spelling in the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prākṛit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārudēvī and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman (EI, 8. 144, and 9. 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśōka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e.g. aggi = Skt. agni is written agi, attha = artha becomes atha, laddha = labdha becomes ladha, gabbha = garbha becomes gabha, and nijjhatti = *nidhyapti is spelt nijhati. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e.g. dhamma and dhama = dharma, amña and aña = anya.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prākṛits; e.g. $\tilde{n}ati =$ Skt. $j\tilde{n}ati$, ti = tri, pana = prana, bhatra = bhratra, chhuda (i.e. chhuda) = kshudra. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened; see kasati (also kasati, i.e. kassati) = *karshyati, dhama (also dhamma) = dharma, vasa (also varsa) = varsha, chikichha = chikitsa, rajūka (from rajju or rajju; see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened; see anusasti = Skt. anušāsti, ayesu (i.e. ayyesu) = āryēshu, kiti (i.e. kitti) = kīrti, digha (i.e. digha) = dīrgha, puva (i.e. puvva) = pūrva. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled; cf. Pischel's Grammatik, \S 90 f. Thus the short vowel in bhuya (= Skt. bhūyah), anuvidhiyare and anuvidhiyatām (from Skt. anuvidhīyatē) suggests that these words have to be read bhuyya, anuvidhiyyare and anuvidhiyyatām, and that consequently tisteya (VI, 13) may be meant for tistēyya with doubled y and short e, as in the corresponding Pāli form of the 3. sing. opt. act. But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged; see asamāt[a]m (= Skt. asamāptam), āchāyi[ke] (= ātyayikam), āñapayāmi (= ājñapayāmi), ātpa-(= ātma-), tadātpano(ne), nāsti, parākrama, brā[m]haṇa and bāmhaṇa (also bramhaṇa and bamhaṇa), bhātrā, mahāmāta and mahāmātra, mādava (= mārdava), mahāthāvaha (= mahārthāvaha), rāñā

¹ Similarly nichā may represent *nichchā, into which nīchā has been changed on the analogy of uchchā; see SPAW, 1914. 844.



 $\hat{x}=r\bar{a}j\tilde{n}\bar{a}$), $Ri(R\tilde{a})$ stika (= $R\tilde{a}$ shtrika), sūpāthāya (= $s\bar{u}$ pārthāya), ithījhakha (= stry-adhyaksha), kīti (= $k\bar{u}$ rti), tī[v]o (= $t\bar{u}$ vrah), sāmīp $[a\tilde{m}]$ (= $s\bar{a}$ mīpyam).

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lviii), in Tambapamnī (= Skt. Tāmraparnī) and Devānampriya, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in atikrāta and atikāta (= atikrānta), [ā] parātā (= āparāntāḥ), chhāti (= kshānti), [n]iyātu (= niyāntu), Pādā (= Pāndyāh), bhāda (= bhānda), karote (for *karomte, IX, 3), karoto (for *karomto), pāti (read hoti, for *homti). In avihīsā (IV, 6) ī has taken the place of the im of vihimsā (IV, 1). Conversely in susru[m]sā, susumsā, susumsera the short nasalized vowel um is substituted for the ū of susrūsā (III, 4), and in susrusā and susrusatā the Anusvāra of um is omitted.1 There are several other instances in which Anusvara is omitted after a short vowel: -magala (IX, 3) = mangala, the two 3. pers. plur. ichhati (VII, 2) and prāpuņati (XIII, 4), sambadha (XI, 1) = sambandha, sastuta (twice) = samstuta, sachhāya (XIV, 5) = samkšāya, pāsada (twice) = pāshanda, sayama = samyama, savata (also samvata) = samvarta, kich[i] (also kimchi) = kimchit, kiti (also kimti) = kimiti. In the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form pāsada (= Skt. pārshada) is a recognised variant of pāsamda (passim); cf. prashada and prashanda at Shāhbāzgarhī. In sayama, which occurs four times, and in savaṭa the nasal may have been assimilated to the following semi-vowel; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms kichi and kiti occur again in other Aśōka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for kichchi and kitti = *kid+chid and *kid+iti; see Johansson, Shāhb., § 90.

So far we have seen that the Girnār dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (svarabhakti) between two consonants. This vowel is a in garahati and garahā (= Skt. garhati and garhā), i in paṭīvesiya (= prativēśya), puiña (for *puṇiya = Skt. puṇya), samachaira (for *samachariya = Skt. *sama-charya), and u after a labial in prāpuṇati (3. plur. ind. pres. act. of Skt. prāpnōti). Similarly, an auxiliary i is prefixed to an initial group in ithī (i. e. itthī, = Skt. strī).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Girnār equivalents.

kt becomes t (i.e. tt) in abhisita, bhati, yuta, vatavyam, vutam.

ky becomes k (i.e. kk) in saka.

kr remains in atikrāt[a]m (VI, 1), parākramāmi, parākramena, but becomes k in atikātam, pari(rā)k[a]mate (X, 3).

kś becomes chh in sachhāya (XIV, 5); see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 142.

ksh becomes kh in ithījhakha, samkhit[e]na; chh in chhanati, achhatim, chhamitave, chhāti, chhudam, chhudakena, vrachhā.

khl becomes kh in kho = Skt. khalu; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes g in agi.

gr becomes g in agena, -anugaho.

jñ becomes mñ or ñ in katamñatā, rāñā, rāño, āñapayāmi, āñapayisati, āñapitam, ñāti, ñātika.

dy becomes d in Pādā (= Skt. Pāndyāh).

ny becomes mn in anamnam, hiramna; mn or n in apumnam and puinam.2

tm becomes tp in $\bar{a}tpa$ -. Cf. tp = tv, below.

ty becomes ch in [a] pacham, āchāyi [ke], ilokachasa, ekachā, kacham, parichajitpā, prachamtesu. Other instances of palatalization are j = dy, jh = dhy, chh = ts, ks, ksh.

tr remains or becomes t; see e.g. trī and tī, tatra and tata, añatra and añata, sarvatra and sarvata, putra and puta, mitra and mita, mahāmātra and mahāmāta.

tv becomes tp in chatpāro, ārabhitpā, [a]-lochetpā, dasayitpā, parichajitpā, tadātpano(ne), -hitatpā. Cf. db = dv in $db\bar{a}dasa$.

ts becomes chh in chikichhā; s in usatena.8

tsth becomes st in ustāna for *ut-sthāna,* while the corresponding Sanskrit word is utthāna.

dy becomes j in aja, patipajetha; y in uyānesu.

⁸ See above, p. lvi, n. 4.

¹ Perhaps susrusā is meant for susrussā, as bhuya for bhuyya; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger's Pāli, § 6.

For the epenthesis of i see above, p. lvii, n. 1.

Cf. thana = Skt. sthana in Pischel's Grammatik, § 309.

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dr becomes d in chhudain, chhudakena.

dv remains in dvo, dve, but becomes db in dbadasa.

dhy becomes jh in ithījhakha, nijhatī, majhamena.

dhr remains in dhruvo, [A*]indhra.

ny becomes $m\tilde{n}$ or \tilde{n} in $am\tilde{n}a$ and $a\tilde{n}a$, $mam\tilde{n}ate$ and manate, $\tilde{n}ay\bar{a}su$. Cf. $apum\tilde{n}a=Skt$. apumya.

pt becomes t in $gut\bar{t}$, $nijhat\bar{t}$, $asamat[a]\dot{m}$, samkhit[e]na, Turamayo (= $\Pi \tau o \lambda \epsilon \mu a \hat{t} o s$).

pn becomes pun in prāpuņati (from Skt. prāpnoti).

py becomes p in sāmīp[am].

pr remains or becomes p; see e.g. prakāraņa and pakaraņa (IX, 8), prāņa and pāṇa (IX, 5), Devānampriya and Devānampiya, Priyadasi and Piyadasi, pratipatī and paṭipajetha (XIV, 4), sampratipatī and sampaṭipatī (IV, 6).

bdh becomes dh in ladhesu.

br remains in $br\bar{a}[m]hana$ (IV, 2) and bramhana (IV, 6), but becomes b in $b\bar{a}mhana$ and bamhana (IX, 5).

bhy becomes bh in the passive forms ārabhare, ārabhisu, ārabhisare.

bhr becomes bh in bhātrā or bhāt[ā].

my remains in samya-.

mr becomes inb (through the intermediate stage *mbr) in Tainbapainni.

rg becomes g in svaga.

rgh becomes gh in dighāya.

rn becomes in in Tambapainni.

rt becomes t in katavya, kiti or $k\bar{\imath}ti$, anuv[a]tare, anuvataram, anuvatisare; t in samvata or savata.

rth becomes th in atha.

rd becomes d in mādava.

rdh becomes dh in [pra*]vadhayisamti (IV, 9); dh in vadhayati (XII, 4), vadhayisati (IV, 7), vadhita. Cf. t for rt in samvata.

rbh becomes bh in gabhāgāramhi.

rm becomes mm or m in kamma (= Skt. karman), dhamma and dhama.

ry becomes y in ayesu, but is represented by riy in samachairam, which presupposes the form *samachariyam (= Skt. *sama-charyam); see above, p. lvii.

rv remains or becomes v in sarva or sava. Instead of Skt. pūrva we have puva in IV, 5, while pruva, which is probably meant for purva, occurs in two places; see above, p. lix.

r's becomes rs in vimāna-darsanā, but s in hasti-da[sa]nā, dasane, dasayitpā, Priyadasi; daspanam (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for darsanam.

rsh becomes rs in varsa (VIII, 2), but s in vāsa (= Skt. varsha).

rshy becomes s in kāsati, kāsamti, kasa[m]ti.

rh becomes rah in garahati, garahā.

lp becomes p in apa, kapā.

ly becomes l in kalāna.

vy remains in vyamjanato, -vyayatā, vyasanam, vyāpatā, divyāni, magavyā, and in the affix -tavya (seven instances), but becomes y in pūjetayā (XII, 4).

vr becomes v in $t\bar{t}[v]o$, [pa]vajitāni, vacha (VI, 3; XII, 9) = Skt. vraja.

śch becomes chh in pachhā. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are kh = sk, shkr, ksh; chh = ts, ksh, ksh; th = str.

sy becomes s in pasati, but siy in patīvesiyehi (XI, 3).

śr becomes sr in sramaņa, susrūsā, susru[m]sā, susrusā, susrusatā, bahu-srutā, srāvāpakam, nisrito, but s in samaņa, susumsā, susumsera, seste (= Skt. śrēshtham).

śv becomes sv in sveto.

shk becomes k in [du]katain, dukarain.

shkr becomes kh in vinikhamana.

¹ The 3. plur. imper. act. [n]iyātu (III, 3) need not be derived from nir-yā, but may stand for niyāntu; cf. ñayāsu (VIII, 1) from ni-yā used in the sense of nir-yā.



shtr becomes st in Ri(Rā)stika.

shth loses its aspiration and becomes st in seste, tisteya, tistainto, nistanaya, -adhistanaya. Cf. the Mägadhī forms śustu = Skt. sushthu and kostāgālam = kōshthāgāram (Hēmachandra, IV, 290, and Pischel's Grammatik, \S 303), and at Girnār stita = Skt. sthita, ustāna = *ut-sthāna, $Ri(R\bar{a})$ stika = Rāshtrika, anusasti = anušāsti.

shy becomes s in manusa, anapayisati, and in other futures.

sk becomes kh in agi-kh[a]mdhāni.

st remains in asti, nāsti, hasti, sainstuta, vistata; it becomes st in anusasti.

str becomes th in ithi.

sth becomes th in thaira, st in gharastani,1 and st in stita.

sm becomes mh in the locatives in -amhi.

sy becomes s in the genitives in -asa, and in the optatives asa, asu of root as.

sr remains in sahasra and a pal-parisrave, but becomes s in parisave (X, 3).

sv remains in svaga, svāmikena, svayain, but becomes s in sarasake (XIII, 11).

hm becomes mh, as in Prākrit, in bamhaņa and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pāli word brāhmana.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.

Nom. masc. jano, &c. neut. danam, &c.

Acc. masc. janam, &c.

Instr. janena, &c. Dat. athāya, &c.

Abl. kapā, -hitatpā, pachhā.

Gen. janasa, &c.

Loc. (a) athamhi, &c.; (b) kāle, &c.

Plural.

Masc. monā, &c.; neut. phalāni, &c. Masc. yute, athe; neut. divyāni, rūpāni.

patīvesiyehi, satehi.

thairanain, &c. thairesu, &cc.

Nom. sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. phala, mata, mādava (acc.), vinikhamana. In many instances the Māgadha termination -e is used; (a) masculines:—parisave,2 a[pa]-parisrave, Devānampiye (XII, 1), prādesike, bhā[g]e, rājūke, sakale, sayame; (b) neuters:āchāyi ke], kamme, -charane, tārise, dasane, dāne, -puve, bahuvidhe, mamgale, -mate, mah a]-phale, mahālake, mūle, yārise, vadhite, vip[ul]e, seste. The wrong form -paţividhāno (VIII, 4) is probably due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Girnar version thoughtlessly replaced the -e of the Māgadha neuter paṭividhāne by -o, as in the masculine jano, &c. = Māgadha jane, &c. The foreign name [A]mt[ek]ina (XIII, 8) has no termination, while Magā lengthens its final a.

Dat. sing.—The form athā (XII, 9) for athāya is found also in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict

VII; cf. Text, p. 22, n. 3, and Michelson, JAOS, 31. 240.

Loc. sing.—In pravāsaimhi (IX, 2) the m is doubled. The termination -e occurs also in pakarane, prakarane, Pāṭalipute, vijaye, vijite, sarasake; tadātpano is a mistake for tadātpane.3

The acc. plur. masc. uses the termination -ani, which, as shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamagadhi dialect, in four instances: -agi-kh[a]mdhani (IV, 4) and sava-pāsamdāni cha [pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati (XII, 1).

The acc. plur. neut. has the termination -ā instead of -āni in vimāna-darsanā cha hastida sa nā cha (IV, 3).

Gen. plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in bhūtānām (XIII, 7).

Loc. plur.—The final u is lengthened in painthesū (II, 8).

by ghara.

The corresponding Pāli word parissaya is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine;

3 Cf. -patividhano for -patividhane in the nom. sing.

¹ In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hēmachandra, II, 144, Skt. griha is replaced



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(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.

Nom. ichhā, &c.

Acc. pūjām, yātām.

Instr. pūjāya, &c.

Loc. gananāyam, parisāyam.

Plural.

(a) katā (II, 4); (b) makidāyo.

Plural.

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvära is omitted in pū[jā] (XII, 2), mahāthāvah[ā] (X, 1), susru m sā (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In santīranāya (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive

used in the sense of the locative.

Nom. plur.—In chikichha (II, 4) the long ā of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with -āo in the Prākrits; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 376.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. trī, tī.

Gen. plur. ñātīnam.

Loc. plur. ñātīsu.

The nom. plur. in -ī is common in Prākṛit; see Pischel's Grammatik, p. 380.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

ataviyo.

Singular.

Nom. lipī, &c.

Acc. Sambodhim, &c.

Instr. -anusastiyā, bhatiyā.

Dat. -anusastiya (with final ā shortened).

Nom. sing.—The final i remains short in apachiti, rati, hini.

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in kiti (X, 2), kīti (X, 1), chhāti (XIII, 11), v[a]dhi (IV, 11).

III. BASES IN -u.

Besides the gen. plur. masc. gurūnam we have three forms of the neuter base bahu, viz. nom. sing. bahu, nom. and acc. plur. bahūni, and instr. plur. bahūhi. The nom. sing. sādhu is the same in all three genders.

IV. BASES IN -ri.

Instr. sing. masc. pitā (for pitrā), bhātrā or bhāt [ā]. Loc. sing. pitari, mātari and mātr[i].

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

As in other Prakrits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the a-declension. Thus the feminine base parishad becomes parisā (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. parisāyam (VI, 7). The present participle sat forms the nom. sing. masc. samto. Of bases in -an, panthan forms the loc. plur. painthesū, and the neuter karman the Māgadha nom. sing. kainme and the dat. sing. kammāy[a].

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. karum or karu.

Nom. plur. masc. tistamto.

The nom. sing. karum is derived from the Sanskrit verb karōti. In karu the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, karoto (for *karomto) and samto (from root as) follow the analogy of the a-declension.





(2) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.

Nom. masc. rājā. Acc. neut. nāma. Instr. rāñā. Gen. rāño. Plural.

rājāno.

In the nom. sing. masc. $[Yo]na-r\bar{a}ja$ (XIII, 8) the final \bar{a} is shortened, while II, 3 has $Yona-r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$.

(3) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. *Priyadasi*, hasti. Instr. sing. *Priyadasinā*. Gen. sing. *Priyadasino*.

(4) Neuters in -as.

Acc. Sing. yaso, bhuya (= Skt. bhūyah).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. aham.
Instr. sing. mayā.
Gen. sing. mama, me.

(2) Base ta.

Singular.

Nom. masc. so neut. ta.

Acc.

Instr. tena.

Dat. tāya.

Gen. tasa.

Loc. tamhi.

Plural.

Masc. te.

tehi.

te[sa]in, tesa.

Nom. sing. fem. sā.

In $p\bar{\imath}ti$ -raso $s\bar{a}$ (XIII, 10) the nom. sing. masc. ends in $-\bar{a}$. The neuter ta (= Skt. tat) occurs twice (X, 3; XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadha equivalent se is taken over unchanged in I, 10.

(3) Base na.

Acc. plur. masc. ne; neut. nāni.

For this pronoun see Hemachandra, III, 70, 77.

(4) Base ēta.

Singular.

Nom. masc. esa (X, 3),1 esā; neut. eta, etain, esa.

Acc. neut. eta (XI, 3).

Dat. etāya, etakāya.

Gen. etasa.

Loc. etamhī.

Plural.

Masc. ete.

Nom. sing. fem. esā (VIII, 3).

With the nom. sing. masc. $es\bar{a}$ (VIII, 5; XIII, 4) cf. $s\bar{a}$ (= Skt. sah, XIII, 10) and $Mag\bar{a}$ (XIII, 8). The neuter eta (= Skt. $\bar{e}tat$) occurs twice, and etain once (X, 4), while the masculine

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form esa is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hēmachandra (III, 85), who quotes esa siram (= Skt. ētachichhirah). Cf. the Māgadha nom. sing. se, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. sah and tat), and see Pischel's Grammatik, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative idam.

Singular.

Nom. masc. ayam; neut. idam, ayam.

Acc. neut. idam.

Instr. iminā.

Gen: imasa.

Loc. imamhi.

Plural.

Masc. ime.

Nom. sing. fem. iyam, ayam. Dat. sing. fem. imāya.

The Anusvāra of the neuter *idam* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3). The masculine *ayam* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *iyam* (I, 1) five times. In Pāli only *ayam* is used as feminine.

(6) Interrogative Pronoun.

The nom. sing. neut. ki (for kim) occurs in IX, 9, and kam, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base kimchid we have the nom. sing. masc. kochi (XII, 5) and the neuter kimchi or kich[i] (X, 3). The compound kimti or kiti (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'.

(7) Relative Pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. yo; neut. ya. Acc. neut. ya, $ya[\dot{m}]$.

Gen. yasa.

Plural.

Masc. ye; neut. yāni.

yesain.

Nom. plur. fem. yā.

The acc. sing. neut. ya[in] is found only in X, 3, while ya (= Skt. yat) occurs ten times.

(8) Base anya.

Singular.

Nom. masc. amne; neut. an[a], ane.

Acc.

Dat. añāya.

Gen. [a]ñamainñasa.

Loc. añamhi.

Plural.

Masc. a[m]ñ[e], añe) neut. añani

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. amne (VIII, 5) and ane (IV, 7) are Māgadha forms, while $a\tilde{n}[a]$ (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. any at.

(9) Base sarva.

Singular.

Nom. and acc. sing. neut. sarvain, savain.

Loc. sarve, save.

Plural.

Masc. save. [sa]vesu.

(10) Base ēkatara.

Loc. sing. ekataramhi.

(II) Base *ēkatya.

Nom. plur. masc. ekachā.2

¹ Cf. above, p. lxii.

² The corresponding Pāli form is ekachche; see Childers, s. v., and Geiger's Pāli, § 113.





D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. eko.

Two.

Nom. masc. dvo; fem. dve.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Girnar dialect.

Three.

Nom. masc. trī, tī.

Four.

Nom. masc. chatparo.

Five.

Loc. painchasu.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

dasa, dbādasa, traidasa.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. satāni; instr. satehi.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. sata-sahasrāni.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root kram: $par\bar{a}kram\bar{a}mi$, $pari(r\bar{a})k[a]mate$. The active form kramati occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has $kr\bar{a}mati$ in the active and $kramat\bar{e}$ in the middle.

Root gam: gachheyam. Root garh: garahati.

Root dris: pasati (i.e. passati = Skt. pasyati).

Root bhū: bhavati and hoti.

Root labh. The absolutive ārabhitpā and the passive forms ārabhare, ārabhisu, ārabhisare presuppose the present *ārabhate, 'to kill' (= Skt. ālabhatē).

Root vas: vaseyu.

Root vrit: anuv[a]tare. Root sthā: tisteya.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root as: asti.
Root yā: [n]iyātu.

Root han follows the analogy of the ninth class: upahanāti.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive prajūhitavyam presupposes the present *jūhati = Pāli juvhati (for *juhvati); see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pad: paṭipajetha (= Skt. pratipadyēta). Root man: mamnate (= Skt. manyatē).



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Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root ap follows the ninth class: prapunati (for onamti).1

Root śru follows the ninth class and forms the 3. plur. imperative active srunaru.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root ish: ichhati.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Both bhuj (bhunj[a]mānasa, VI, 3) and yuj (yujamtu, IV, II) follow the a-conjugation.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root kri: karoti.

Root kshan follows the a-conjugation: chhanati.

Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives.

(a) With aya: pūjayati, dasayitpā, dīpayema, ārādhayamtu, vadhayati. The character aya is contracted into e in pativedetha, pat[i]vedeta[v]yam, pūjetayā, ārādhetu, lochetavyā, [a]-lochetpā.

(b) With paya: hāpesati and the derivative dāpaka. The long vowel of the root jīnā is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before paya in āñapayāmi. With this agrees the Prākrit āṇavedi, while Pāli has āṇāpeti with long ā; cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 8.

(c) With āpaya: likhāpayisam, sukhāpayāmi (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of sukha), and the derivatives khānāpita, lekhāpita, hārāpita, srāvāpaka. In lekhāpita the vowel i of the root likh is strengthened by Guṇa, while in likhāpayisam it remains unchanged.

(d) With pāpaya: ropāpita.

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

Active.

1. sing. parākramāmi, karomi, āñapayāmi.

- 3. sing. garahati, pasati, bhavati and hoti, asti, upahanāti, ichhati, karoti, chhanati, pūjayati, vadhayati.
- 3. plur. pāti (read hoti, XIII, 6), ichhati (VII, 2), prāpuņati (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination -mti instead of -ti.

Middle.

- 3. sing. pari(rā)k[a]mate, mamnate or manate, karote, which follows the analogy of the active karōti, while Sanskrit has the weak form kurutē.
- 3. plur. karote (IX, 3) for *karomte. The termination is -re in anuv[a]tare (XIII, 9), in the future anuvatisare, in the two passives anuvidhiyare and ārabhare, and in the future passive ārabhisare. The same termination is known from Vēdic Sanskrit, Prākrit, and Pāli; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 458.

(b) Subjunctive.

Active.

- 1. sing. sukhāpayāmi (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative gachheyam and the imperative ārādhayamtu.
 - 3. sing. mamñā (XIII, 11) from mamñate. Cf. paśyāt and many other Vēdic forms.

(c) Optative.

Active.

1. sing. gachheyain.

3. sing. asa (= Pāli assa for *asyāt from root as), bhave, tisteya. Pāli, too, has both the terminations -e and -eyya.

1. plur. dīpayema.

3. plur. asu (= Pāli assu for *asyuh), vaseyu.





Middle.

3. sing. patipajetha (XIV, 4). The termination -tha (= Skt. -ta) is the same in Pāli; see Geiger's Pāli, § 129.

3. plur. susumsera (desiderative of śru) with the termination -ra for Pāli -ram = Skt. -ran,

(d) Imperative.

Active.

2. plur. pativedetha (VI, 5). As in Prākrit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. yujamtu, ārādhayamtu, [n]iyātu (with -tu for -mtu), srunāru (XII, 7) from *srunāti = Skt. śrināti. With the termination -ru cf. the middle termination -re in the indicative, the optative susumsera, and the imperative anuvataram.

Middle.

3. sing. anuvidhiyatām (passive) and susrusatā (desiderative).

3. plur. anuvataram (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) compared the Vēdic imperative duhrām. The middle termination -ram (for -rām) corresponds to Skt. -ntām, as the active termination -ru to Skt. -ntu, and as the indicative middle termination -re to Skt. -ntē. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination -ran agrees with Girnār and Pāli.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. aho for *abhot = Skt. abhavat; see Johansson, Shāhb., § 30, last section.

II. AORIST.

3. plur. act. ñayāsu (VIII, 1) = Skt. *nyayāsuḥ from root yā with the preposition ni in the sense of nis; cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 245. The form ahumsu (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. ahu (= Skt. abhūt), as Pāli āsimsu on āsi (= Skt. āsīt). In ārabhisu (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive ārabhare (I, 11) = Skt. ālabhyantē, the bh is a defective spelling for bbh.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. act. $\bar{a}ha$. The form $ay\bar{a}ya$ (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root $y\bar{a}$. It may be as well a perfect of root i, = Skt. $iy\bar{a}ya$, but with modified reduplication.

IV. FUTURE.

Active.

1. sing. likhāpayisam (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prākṛit and Pāli.

3. sing. āñapayisati, vadhayisati, hāpesati, kāsati (= Pāli kāhati) from *karshyati.

3. plur. [pra*] vadhayisamti, anusasisamti, kasamti and kasa[m] ti from root kri.

Middle.

3. plur. anuvatisare (V, 2). In the passive ārabhisare (I, 12) the bh is a defective spelling for bbh; cf. the remark on the aorist ārabhisu, above, section II.

V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Girnār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives ālabhyatē and anuvidhīyatē:

3. plur. indicative ārabhare, anuvidhiyare are defective spellings for ārabbhare, anuvidhiyyare; see above, p. lix.

3. sing. imperative anuvidhiyatām.

3. plur. aorist ārabhisu.

3. plur. future ārabhisare.

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative susumsera (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative susrusatā (X, 2) are derived from Skt. śuśrūshatē.



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VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root sthā: nom. plur. masc. tistamto. Root as: nom. sing. masc. samto.

Root kri: nom. sing. masc. karoto, karum, karu.

Middle.

Root bhuj: bhumj[a]mana.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta: mata (= Skt. mata, XIII, 2, and = mṛita, XIII, 1), kata (= kṛita), vyāpata (= vyāpṛita), vistata (= vistṛita), usata (= utsrita), nisrita (= *mśrita), sṭita (= sthita), atikrāta (VI, 1) or atikāta (= atikrānta), vuta (= ukta), samāta (= samāpta), samkhita (= samkshipta), ladha (= labdha), āñapita, &c. The participles vijita and vinīta (VI, 4) are used as substantives.

(b) The only participle in -na is prasamna.

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In -tavya: katavya (= Skt. kartavya), vatavya (= vaktavya), prajūhitavya (from *jūhati = Pāli juvhati), ovāditavya (from Pāli ovadati), vijetavya (from vi-ji), pūjetaya (= pūjayitavya), lochetavya (= rōchayitavya), paṭ[i]vedeta[v]ya.

(b) In -ya: kacha (= Skt. kritya, IX, 8), saka (= śakya).

.VIII. INFINITIVE.

(a) Accusative: ārādhetu (= Skt. ārādhayitum).

(b) Dative: chhamitave from root ksham; cf. Vēdic forms like charitave, and gantave, &c., in Pāli.

IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In -tpā (= Skt. -tvā): ārabhitpā, parichajitpā (from root tyaj), dasayitpā (from causative of dṛiś), [a]-lochetpā (= a-rōchayitvā).

(b) The only absolutive in -ya is sachhāya from sam-kśā (= sam-khvā).

F.—SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) Krit suffixes.

(a) -anā: samtīranā from Skt. tīravati.

(b) -ti: nijhati = *nidhyapti, anusasti = Skt. anuśāsti (Böhtlingk's Wörterbuch, 5. 991), while Pāli anusitthi agrees with Skt. anuśishti.

(c) -ni: hīni (IV, II) from root hā on the analogy of the participle hīna.

The first member of the compound vachi-guti (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31. 230) thinks, but must be connected with Ardhamāgadhi $va\bar{i}$ or $va\bar{i} = *v\bar{a}ch\bar{i}$; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 413.

(2) Taddhita suffixes.

- (a) -ka: $r\bar{a}j\bar{u}ka$ (from rajju; see Text, p. 5, n. 2), and often pleonastic: etaka, $y[\bar{a}]vata[k]a$, $t\bar{a}vataka$, sarasaka, $\tilde{n}\bar{a}tika$.
- (b) -ālaka: mahālaka (from Skt. mahat) = Prākrit mahālaya and mahallaya (Pischel's Grammatik, pp. 402, 404).

(c) -ika: ilokika and pāralokika (XIII, 12).

- (d) -tya: ilokacha (XI, 4), ekacha (I, 6). The first component of ilokacha and ilokika is the pronominal base i, from which Skt. itara, itas, and iha (for idha) are derived; see Franke in GN, 1895. 535.
- (e) -tara, added to participles and substantives: bāḍhataram, katavyataram, kammataram from Skt. karman.
 - (f) -tvana: tadātpano(ne); see Text, p. 18, n. 8.





G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in atikātam amtaram, 'in times past' (IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; VIII, 1), the instrumental in bahūhi v[āsa]-satehi, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in dighāya, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in painchasu painchasu vāsesu, 'every five years' (III, 2), sarve kāle, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and tadātpano(ne), 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4:-so taltha karu, 'if one is acting thus', and the

genitive absolute in VI, 3: -bhumj[a]mānasa me, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with bhavati (IV, 10) and nasti (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with kata (= krita, II, 4), sādhu-matā (I, 6 f.), and katavya-mate (VI, 9).

The 3. sing. asti is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and nasti in three places (II, 6, 7; XIII, 5); cf. Pischel's Grammatik, p. 350. In XIV, I f., asti is used as a particle in the sense of vā. In IX, I, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the Panchatantra; cf. Speyer's Sanskrit Syntax (Leyden, 1886), p. 234, n. 2. For instances from Präkrit literature see Pischel, op. cit., p. 294.

CHAPTER VII. GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

THE vowel a becomes i through the influence of a neighbouring y in majhima (= madhyama), vadhiyati (= vardhayati), vadhiyisati, and u after a labial in muta, munisa (= manushya), uchāvucha. In gih[i]tha (= grihastha, XIII, 37) and ud[u]pāna (= udapāna) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In Alikyashudale (XIII, 8) the u is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name 'Αλέξανδρος from alika, 'the forehead', and sundara, 'beautiful'.

The e of heta or heta (= *itra) perhaps goes back to an original i; see above, p. lvi. In edisa and hedisa the vowel e corresponds to the ī of Skt. īdriśa.2

The a of galu corresponds to Skt. u; cf. above, p. lvi. In munisa (II, 6) the u of Skt. manushya has become i through the influence of the palatal y in the next syllable; cf. the form manusa (i.e. manussa) at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, in which the y has palatalized the preceding sh.3 In kho (= Skt. khalu) Skt. u is represented by o; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākrits, the Skt. vowel ri is lost. It becomes a in [a] naniya (= Skt. ānrinya), [u]shata, kata, dukata, gahatha (= grihastha, XII, 31), dakhati, bhata, bhataka, mate, vatam (= vrittam, X, 27), vadhi and vadhi (= vriddhi), vithata, viyāpata; i in edisa and hedisa, tādisa, [ā]disa (= yādriša), kiṭanāt[ā] (= kritajñatā), gih[i]tha, diḍha, panātikya (= *pranaptrika), pitisu, bhātinā, mige, migaviyā; u in ushuta, shune[y]u, and after a labial in a gabhu]t[i], palipuchhā, ni v uti (= nirvritti), vutam (= vrittam, XIII, 11), vudha (= vriddha). It will be observed that in some of these words the original ri has caused the lingualization of the following dentals, and in hedisa = Skt. idrisa it has lingualized the preceding d. In [lu]kha (II, 6) the syllable lu corresponds to the syllable vri of Skt. vriksha; cf. Greek λύκος = Skt. vrika, and see Wackernagel's Altind.

¹ The same form occurs in Päli; see Geiger, § 18.

² Pāli has edisa and erisa, Prākrit īdisa and erisa; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 121.

Cf. Skt. vikaţa (for vikrita), utkaţa, samkaţa. ⁵ This Prākrit word is used also in Sanskrit.

Here the u is due to the analogy of other forms of the root sru.

³ Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) thinks that the vocalization of munisa may have followed the analogy of Māgadha pulisa = Skt. purusha. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of munisa, which stands for munissa.

⁶ Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in $ud[u]p\bar{a}na = Skt. udap\bar{a}na$.

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Grammatik, vol. 1, § 184, b). The Girnār equivalent wachha disproves the etymology advocated by Pischel (Grammatik, § 320), who derived Prākrit rukkha from Skt. ruksha (Rigvēda, VI, 3, 7), to which Roth (VIIth Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, p. 3) had assigned the meaning 'a tree', although the traditional meaning 'bright' gives a satisfactory sense.

The diphthongs ai and au are both lost. The former becomes e in ni[che] (perhaps = Skt. $n\bar{\imath}chaih$, VII, 22) and in the feminine case-termination -e; the second becomes o in $papot\bar{a}$ (XIII,

15), pa[la]lokikya or palalokiya, -opaga and -opa[ya].

Short a is lengthened in $a[tiy\bar{a}yike]$ (= Skt. $\bar{a}tyayikam$), $uy\bar{a}ma$ (= udyama), $l\bar{a}ti$ (= rati, VIII, 23), and at the end of a few bases in -a, viz. $uch\bar{a}vuch\bar{a}$ - (VII, 21), $kitan\bar{a}$ - (= $kritaj\bar{n}a$, VII, 22), $v[i]y\bar{a}$ - (= vyaya, III, 8), $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ - or $sh[\bar{a}]l\bar{a}$ - (= $s\bar{a}ra$), $sh\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ - (= sarva, XII, 31), $saman\bar{a}$ - (= sramana, XI, 29). The lengthening of a is very frequent at the end of words; e.g. $aj\bar{a}$ (= adya), $at\bar{a}$ (= atra and yatra), $anat\bar{a}$ (= anyatra), $as\bar{a}$ (= yasya), $\bar{a}h\bar{a}$, $ev\bar{a}$ or $v\bar{a}$, $ch\bar{a}$, $janas\bar{a}$, $tas\bar{a}$ (= tasya), $ten\bar{a}$, $d\bar{a}nen\bar{a}$, $n\bar{a}$, $n\bar{a}m\bar{a}$, $nikhamith\bar{a}$, $Piyadasis\bar{a}$, $mam\bar{a}$, $hid\bar{a}$ (= iha), $het\bar{a}$ (= *itra).

Long i and u are nowhere distinguished in writing from the corresponding short vowels except in $osadh\bar{\imath}n[i]$ (II, 5), $Pi[ya]das\bar{\imath}$ (I, 2), $s[\bar{\imath}]lasi$ (IV, 12), $[ch\bar{u}]$ (I, 4), $maj\bar{u}l[\bar{a}]$ (I, 4), $laj[\bar{u}]k[e]$ (III, 7).

Similarly, \bar{a} is often represented by a. Although in some cases this defective spelling is perhaps due to the negligence of the writer, the subjoined list will not be considered superfluous.

(1) At the beginning: akāla(le)na, anam[ta]l[i]yenā, [a]naniyam, apalamtā,¹ ayatiye, alam-

bhiyisu, alabhi [yam]ti, alābhi [y]isa[m]ti, av [āha]si, ahā 2 (= Skt. āha, V, 13).

(2) In the interior of words: adisha (= yādriśam, XI, 29), anathesu (= anāthesu at Dhauli), apavahe (= Skt. apavāhah), ava (= yāvat, IX, 25), ava[ta]ke, kala (VI, 17), Devanampiyem (X, 28), pa[la]lokikya or palalokiya (= pālalokika in the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa), paśaḍa (= Skt. pāshanḍa, XII, 31), baḍhaṁ (XII, 32), madhuliyāye, lajā, lajāne, lajinā, vijinamane, v[i]dh[a]na[m], vimana-, viyapaṭā (V, 15), vividh[aye], shav[i]bhage.

(3) At the end: $a = \text{Skt. } \bar{a}$, XIII, 6), anatha $(= anyath\bar{a})$, $abaka = (= ambik\bar{a})$, [e]sh[a] (XIII, 37), ma (XIII, 16), maha-phal \bar{a} (XIII, 14), mata-pitisu (III, 8), $l\bar{a}ja$ (IV, 11), va (twice $= v\bar{a}$),

hi[da]lokika (XIII, 18).

Initial a is dropped in pi (= api) and hakam (for ahakam = aham); i in ti (= iti), also in kimti (only XII, 33) and kiti; e in va (only IX, 26) and $v\bar{a}$, besides which the full forms eva and $ev\bar{a}$ are also employed.³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The Kālsī dialect agrees with the Māgadha one in replacing the semivowel r by l, and the two nasals n and \tilde{n} by dental n, throughout.

The two gutturals k and g were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel i. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups ky and gy, of which the latter occurs three times in the word Kaligya (= Skt. Kalinga), and the former in $[n]iky[\bar{a}]y[\bar{a}]$ (XII, 34), Alikyashudale (XIII, 8), and in the affixes -ka and -ika of $ak\bar{a}liky[e]$, $-thitiky\bar{a}$ and $-thitiky\bar{a}$, $n\bar{a}tikya$, $pan\bar{a}tiky\bar{a}$, palamtikya, Pitinikye[sh]u, $-bh[u]miky\bar{a}$, $sh[a](shu)v\bar{a}m[i]kyena$, sa[m]sayikye, hidalokikya and pa[la]lokikya (XIII, 18). Instead of the two last words we find also the forms hi[da]-lokika and palalokiya (XIII, 17 f.), which suggest that -ika became -iya through the intermediate stage -ikya. In the same way Franke (VOJ, 9. 347, n. 2) explains nilathiya, which corresponds at $K\bar{a}ls\bar{a}$ (IX, 24) to niratha at Girn \bar{a} . Another instance of the change of k to y after i would be diyadha (XIII, 35), which Pischel (Grammatik, § 230) derived from * $dvik\bar{a}rdha$. To this may be added the affix $-\bar{a}laka$ or $-\bar{a}laya$ in $mah\bar{a}laka$ and $supad\bar{a}laya$ (V, 14); see below, p. lxxxiv. The $K\bar{a}ls\bar{a}$

4 Cf. also ata-patiya in the pillar-edict IV, and atha-bhāgiya on the Rummindēī pillar.

¹ Dhauli reads āpalamtā, and Girnār [ā]parātā. Cf. the adjective Āparāntaka in the Kautilīya, p. 81, l. 5.

This may be an unreduplicated perfect, as in the pillar-edicts; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.

Instead of no at XIII, 16, we have perhaps to read yo, as at Shāhbāzgarhī. For yo = Prākrit yeva see below, p. lxxxv.

⁵ In Turkish the guttural (kyaf) is liable to a similar palatalization and change to y; thus from کوپک (kyöpek), 'a dog', is formed کوپک (pronounced kyöpeyi), 'his dog'.

dialect, like the Girnar dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of y from g in -opaga (II, ? and -opa[ya] (VIII, 23). From the form Kaligya, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kālsī, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was *-opagya. Greek y is expressed by k in Amteki[ne] and Maka, and x by g in Amtiyoga. Skt. gh has become h in lahu and lahuka.

Of palatals, ch has been aspirated in kechha (= Skt. kēcha, XII, 32) and kichhi (= *kid+chid). In vacha (VI, 18; XII, 34) ch corresponds to the j of Skt. vraja. The letter j has become d in palitiditu (X, 28), the absolutive of Skt. parityajati. Cf. Kuhn (Pāli-Grammatik, p. 36), who quotes from Dhammapada, p. 144 [l. 13], the aorist parichchadi; E. Müller's Pāli Grammar,

p. 25; Pischel's Grammatik, § 215.

Dentals are lingualized in duvādasa; before ri in hedisa; after ri in [u]shata and ushuta, kata, dukata, kiţanāt[ā], bhaţa, bhaṭaka, maţe, vithaţa, viyāpaţa; after ra in the preposition paţi (= Skt. prati). Dental t is palatalized in chithit[u] (IV, 12), the absolutive of Prākrit chithadi1 (= Skt. tishthati). It is replaced by d in dose (VI, 19) and hida-sukhāye (V, 15).2 In tatopa[yā] (= tadopayā at Girnar and Dhauli) it looks as if t had taken the place of d. But the first member of the compound might be, not tad, but tata (= Skt. tatra); cf. Senart's Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 1. 194. In hida (= idha at Girnār) the d apparently corresponds to an original dh; but Johansson (Shāhb., § 57) may be right in connecting hida with Vēdic idā, 'now'.

The labial aspirate bh has become h in the instrumental and dative plural in -hi, in hoti, hotu, aho, huveyu, husu, and in the participle huta (= Skt. bhūta), while bhuta is used as substantive.

The semivowel y has become j in majūla (= Skt. mayūra, I, 4); v in visava (= vishaya, XIII, 9) and vas[e]vu (= vasēyuh, VII, 21); h in ye[ham] (VI, 20).3 Initial y is lost in am (= Skt. yat), asā (= yasya), e (= yah, yat, yē), at[a] (= yatra), athā (= yathā), [ā]disa (= yādriša), āva (= yāvat), ava[ta]ke (XIII, 39). In apavudha (= apodha) v was developed out of ū.

The syllable ya becomes i in palitiditu, the absolutive of Skt. parityajati, and in [a]pa-v[i]yātā

 $(= apa-vyayat\bar{a}$ at Girnār), and $v\bar{a}$ becomes u in the absolutives in -tu $(= Skt. -tv\bar{a})$.

In t[e]dasa (= *trayadaśa) aya is contracted to e. The causative affixes aya and ayi either remain unchanged (in dasayitu, &c.) or are contracted (in pujeti, pujetav[i]ya, &c.); in vadhiyati and vadhiyisati the second a is changed to i through the influence of the palatal y which follows it. In the 3. sing. optative $nivatey[\bar{a}]$ (= Skt. $nirvartay\bar{e}t$) the e corresponds to an original aye.⁴ For ava we have o in olodhana, hoti, hotu, aho.

Cases of Cockneyism are hida (= Skt. iha), hedisa (= īdriša), heta (= *itra), hevam, and perhaps the conjunction hamche (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli sache, 'if'. Johansson (Shāhb., 1. 66) derives it from Pāli yainche (Childers, Pāli Dictionary, p. 603, a) through

the intermediate form *amche, while Senart (IA, 21.88) traces it directly to sache.

In the edicts I-IX the Kalsa dialect agrees with the Girnar one in replacing the two sibilants s and sh by s.5 From edict X the writer employs, besides s, the signs for s and sh. In a few cases, sh is used where Sanskrit would require it; see eshe, [va]sha (= varsha, XIII, 35), pāshamda, manu shāna m, tesham, yesham, ateshu (= antēshu), Kambojeshu, Kali m geshu, nātikeshu, Nābhapamtishu, Pitinikye[sh]u, pitishu, Y[o]nesh[u], ladhesha(shu), manishu. But in the majority of instances both sh and s are phonetically and etymologically impossible; see e.g. tasa and tasha (= Skt. tasya), dāśa and dāsha (= dāsa), śainthuta and shainthuta (= sainstuta). s[a]va and shava (= sarva), $s\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ - and $sh[\bar{a}]l\bar{a}$ - (= sāra), $siy\bar{a}ti$ and $shiy\bar{a}ti$ (= $sy\bar{a}t$), [s]e and she, shaha[s]a and shahasha (= sahasra). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides s, and that he used the letters s and sh indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant.6 In other words, the letters & and sh at Kālsī are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every s and sh is a vicarious symbol expressing dental s.

As in the Girnar dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened; see s[a]myā- or shamyā- (= Skt. samyak, Pāli sammā), palisā (= Skt. parishad), puna

3 For similar forms of the 1. sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.

4 For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxii.

⁵ But s occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (vaŝa = Skt. varsha, and Piyadaśinā).

¹ Cf. Singhalese sitinu or hitinu, 'to stand', in Geiger's Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen, p. 47, l. 3 f.

Cf. below, p. lxxxv and n. 4.

⁶ Cf. Senart's Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 1. 37, and Bühler's Ind. Pal., § 14, last section.



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and punā (= punar), āva, ava, avā (= yāvat). It is nasalized in avam (XIII, 8). The termination -ās generally becomes -ā (e.g. putā), but the ā is shortened in a few cases; see below, p. lxxvi. Final -as becomes -e; e.g. jane (nom. sing.), natāle (= Skt. naptārah), lājine (gen. sing.), lajāne (nom. plur.), bh[u] ye (= bhūyah), ne (= nah), se (= sah), ye or e, amne, eke, [p]ule (= Pāli pure, Skt. purah), [m]u[kha]t[e], viyanijanat[e]. But o is found instead of e, as at Girnār, in Sātiyaputo, Ke[lala]puto, jani[yo], lā[j]āno, yaso or yasho, tato; ā in Makā; a in vadha (XIII, 36), hidalokikya (XIII, 17), esh[a] (XIII, 38), va[cha]- (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in m and n substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. dhammam, dānam, and the two present participles samtam and kalamtam (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt. san and kurvan. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted; see kala[mta] (XI, 30) and kalata (XII, 32) for kalamtam, anata (XI, 30) for anamtam, adisha (= Skt. yādriśam, XI, 29), pāshamda, pāshada, and pāśada, bādha (XIII, 36), madava (= mārdavam, XIII, 4), vijay[a] and vijayataviya (XIII, 16), [sha]va (= sarvam, X, 28), heva (= ēvam, XII, 32), and the accusatives feminine -anusa[th]i (XIII, 12), kiti, khamti, vadhi, Sambodhi, sudhi, kini. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding a lengthened; see [ā]disā (= Skt. yādriśam, IV, 10), kam-[ma]talā (= *karmataram, VI, 20), khudā (= kshudram, IX, 24), dosā (I, 2), nilathiyā (IX, 24), pāśadā (XII, 32), punā (thrice = punyam), bahuk[ā] (I, 2), maha-phalā (= mahā-phalam, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in -a follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in -e; see se, she, ese, eshe, ye, e, amne, save, shave, i[ta]e, dāne, &c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in dāne (XII, 31), bādhatale (XII, 33), and in the particles e (XIII, 38), se, she.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long \bar{a} is generally shortened; e.g. $p\bar{a}n\bar{a}nam$, $t\bar{a}nam$ (XIII, 38), tesham (XIII, 37), $n\bar{a}ti[nam]$ (IV, 10), $bh\bar{a}[tina]m$ (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped; see the genitives plural $[ba]mbha-n\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ (XI, 29), $n\bar{a}tin\bar{a}$ (IV, 9), $bh[agi]ni[n\bar{a}]$ (V, 16), $gulun\bar{a}$ (IX, 25), and the accusatives singular $puj\bar{a}$ (XII, 31), $-damdat\bar{a}$ (XIII, 17), $dish\bar{a}$ (XIV, 23), $[ma]hath\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for $mahath\bar{a}vah\bar{a}$ (= Skt. $mah\bar{a}rth\bar{a}vah\bar{a}m$). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time; see $paj\bar{a}va$ (= Skt. $praj\bar{a}v\bar{a}n$, V, 15), $p\bar{a}sad\bar{a}na$ (XII, 31), $m[a]nush\bar{a}n[a]$ (XIII, 39), $i[d]\bar{a}ni$ (= $id\bar{a}n\bar{i}m$, I, 3).

III. SANDHI.

Final m is preserved before the particle $\bar{e}va$ in tam-eva, $t[\bar{a}]nam\text{-}ev[\bar{a}]$, $[e]vam\text{-}ev\bar{a}$, $p\bar{a}lamtikyam\text{-}eve(va)$. Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds $amnam\text{-}anash\bar{a}$ (= Skt. $any\bar{o}nyasya$, XII, 33) and bhatam-ayesu (V, 15).

a+a are contracted into \bar{a} in etāyāṭhāye (XII, 34), [kaṭābhikā]le, kuvāpi (= Skt. kvāpi), gabhāgāla, -vasābhisita, dhammānusa[th]i (XIII, 12) or dhammānushathi (twice), &c., but into short a in dhammanusathi (thrice), dhamma[vāy]e (XIII, 35), li[p]ikalapalādhena (XIV, 23), and before an original group of consonants in a[ta]tā (twice = Skt. yatra yatra), apalamtā (= āparāntāh, V, 15), tenatā (= tēnātra, VIII, 23), diyaḍha (= *dvikārdha, XIII, 35), nathi (= nāsti), supaṭhāy[e] (= sūpārthāya, I, 3).

 $a + \bar{a}$ becomes \bar{a} in $p\bar{a}[n\bar{a}]la\dot{m}bhe$ (IV, 9) and $[ma]hath\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ (= Skt. $mah\bar{a}rtha + \bar{a}vah\bar{a}m$ (?), X, 27).

 $\bar{a} + a$ becomes a before an original group in [ma]hatha (= mahā + artha, X, 27).

 $\bar{a} + u$ becomes o in pajopadāne(ye), on which see below, p. lxxv, n. 1.

a is elided before i, e, o in bambhan-ibhesu (V, 15), ch-eva, manus-opagāni (II, 5), and before u in chu, but 2 which corresponds to $ch\bar{o}$ (= cha + u) in Buddhist $g\bar{a}th\bar{a}s$.

i+a are contracted into i in ithidhiyakha (= stry-adhyaksha, XII, 34).

u is elided before o in pas-opagāni (II, 5).

a is dropped after e in e-yam (V, 15), $t\bar{a}[ye$ - $th]\bar{a}[ye]$ (VI, 19), $et\bar{a}[y]e$ - $th\bar{a}ye$ (VI, 20).

1 For tatopayā see above, p. lxxii.

Michelson (IF, 23. 261) considers chu a contamination of tu and cha.

³ See Kern's translation of the Saddharmapundarīka (SBE, vol. 21), Introduction, p. xvii.





IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are tv, dhr, my, vy, sv. For the two groups ky and gy see above, p. lxxi.

Long \bar{a} preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see ata- (= Skt. $\bar{a}tman$), $a[tiy\bar{a}yike]$ (= $\bar{a}tyayikam$), anap[a]yisamti (III, 8), anusathi (= $anus\bar{a}sti$), asamati (= $asam\bar{a}pti$), ayesu (= $\bar{a}ry\bar{e}shu$), $\bar{a}ladhe$ (= * $\bar{a}r\bar{a}ddham$), $gadh\bar{a}$ (= * $g\bar{a}ddh\bar{a}$), $tadatv\bar{a}ye$, $palakam\bar{a}mi$, $palakam\bar{a}tu$, $palakamen\bar{a}$, pasavati (= $pras\bar{a}vyat\bar{e}$), ma[g]a (= $m\bar{a}rga$, II, 6), madava (= $m\bar{a}rdava$, XIII, 4), $mah\bar{a}mata$ (= $mah\bar{a}m\bar{a}tra$). But the length is preserved in $\bar{a}napayite$ and $mah\bar{a}m\bar{a}ta$. Long \bar{v} preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in timni (= $tr\bar{i}ni$, I, 3). Similarly, bh[u]ye, vedaniya, anuvidhiyama (read °yamti) may be meant for bhuyye, vedaniyya, anuvidhiyyamti; cf. above, p. lix. Short a preceding a group is lengthened in $\bar{a}nat\bar{a}$ (= anyatra, XIII, 38), $pan\bar{a}tikya$ (= *pranaptrika, IV, II), and $sh\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ - (= sarva-, XII, 31). In $p\bar{a}lamtikya$ (twice = $p\bar{a}ratrika$) the short a preceding the group tr has been nasalized.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in atikamtam (= atikrāntam), khamti (= kshānti, XIII, 16), Tambapamni (= Tāmrapamnī), Pamdiyā (= Pāndyāh), bambhana (= brāhmana), [bha]m[da] (= bhānda, III, 8), sa[m]sayikye (= sāmsayikam, IX, 26). In b[ā]bhanā (XIII, 37), Devānāpiye (twice), and in the third persons plural pāpunāta(ti), palakamātu,³ lochetu (XIII, 17), [paṭi*]vedetu (VI, 18), the Anusvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel; see Atiyoge (XIII, 6), ateshu (= anteshu), anata (= ananta), $anubadh[\bar{a}]$ (= $anubandh\bar{a}t$), abaka- (= $ambik\bar{a}$), alabhi[yain]ti (cf. the acrist alambhiyisu, I, 3), Alikyashudale (= $ianubandh\bar{a}t$), $ianubandh\bar{a}t$), i

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is α in ga[la]hati (= Skt. garhati), $galah\bar{a}$, Alikyashudale (= $A\lambda \in \xi av\delta \rho os$); u before or after labials in $kuv\bar{a}pi$, duve, $duv\bar{a}da\dot{s}a$, puluva (= $p\bar{u}rva$), $suv\bar{a}mika$, $p\bar{a}pun\bar{a}ta(ti)$; and frequently i; see $l\bar{a}jin\bar{a}$ (= $r\bar{a}jin\bar{a}$), $l\bar{a}jine$ (= $r\bar{a}jinah$), the future passive participles in -taviya, -adhiyakha (= adhyaksha), [a]naniya (= anrinya), apatiye, alabhi[yain]ti, $[e]katiy\bar{a}$, $Paindiy\bar{a}$, pativesiya, madhuliya (= $m\bar{a}dhurya$), viyamjana, viyapata (= vyaprita), [shamacha]liya (= sama-charya), shinehe (= $sn\bar{e}hah$), $siy\bar{a}$ (= $sy\bar{a}t$). Similarly, an auxiliary i is prefixed to the group str in ithi (= $str\bar{i}$).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups kr, gr, tr, dr, pr, br, br, sr, which have become k, g, t, d, p, b, bh, s, s throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

kt becomes t in Nābhapamti, &c.

kv becomes kuv in kuvāpi.

ksh becomes kh in -adhiyakha, khamti (= Skt. kshānti), khuda (= kshudra), dakhāti, [lu]kha (= vriksha), mokha, su(sam)khita (= samkshipta); chh in chhanati.

khy becomes kh in shamkheye (read samkhāya).

khl becomes kh in kho = Skt. khalu; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes g in agi.

 $j\tilde{n}$ becomes n in $kitanat[\bar{a}]$ (= Skt. $kritaj\tilde{n}at\bar{a}$), $n\bar{a}ti$, $\bar{a}napayite$, but jin in $l\bar{a}jin\bar{a}$ (= $r\bar{a}j\tilde{n}a$) and $l\bar{a}jine$ (= $r\bar{a}j\tilde{n}ah$).

² Cf. vamka = Skt. vakra, sumka = Skt. śulka, &c., in Pischel's Grammatik, § 74.

³ For these two forms see below, p. lxxxii.

¹ atiyāyika presupposes an intermediate form *atyāyika, in which the initial \bar{a} was shortened before the group ty.

⁴ The form pāshada may be derived from Skt. pārshada; see above, p. lx.

⁵ Pischel (Grammatik, § 554) derives this form from *drikshati, which is preserved in īdriksha, tādriksha, &c.

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dy becomes diy in Pamdiyā.

ny becomes inn or n in hilainna, punā (thrice = Skt. punyam), but niy in [a]naniya (= ānrinya).

tp becomes p in pajopadane (ye).1

tm becomes t in ata- (= Skt. $\bar{a}tman$).

ty becomes tiy in apatiye, a[tiyāyike], [e]katiyā; ky in nikyam.

tv remains in tadatvāye (X, 27), where the \bar{a} of tadā has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix -tva; but tv is assimilated in chatāli (= Skt. chatvāri, XIII, 7).

ts becomes s (or sh) in chikisā, chikisakā, [u] shate[na] and ushutena.

tsth becomes th in uthana; cf. ustana at Girnar.

dy becomes j in aja, patipajeyā; y in [u] y anasi], uyama.

dv becomes d in diyadha, but duv in duve, duvādasa.

dhy becomes jh in n[i] jhati, majhimenā, but dhiy in -adhiyakha.

dhr remains in dhruve (I, 4); but it seems to be assimilated in [Adha] (= Andhra, XIII, 10).

ny becomes mn or n in amna and ana, mamnat[i] and manati.

pt becomes t in guti, n[i]jhati, asamati, $su(sam)khiten\bar{a}$, natāle (= Skt. naptārah), panātikyā, Tulamaye (= $\Pi \tau o \lambda \epsilon \mu a \hat{i} o s$).

pn becomes pun in pāpunāta(ti).

bdh becomes dh in ladha.

bhy becomes bh in -ibhesu, but bhiy in alabhi [yain]ti, alambhiyisu, alabhi [y]isa[m]ti.

my remains in $s[a]my\bar{a}$ or shamy \bar{a} - (= Skt. samyak).

mr becomes inb in Tainbapainni.

rg becomes g in m[a]ge[s]u, vagenā, svagam.

rn becomes inn in Tambapainni.

rt becomes t in kiti, anuvatamti, [a]nuvat[a]tu, nivateti; t in kaṭaviya, anuvaṭisa[m]ti, ni[va*]teti, nivaṭey[ā].

rth becomes th in atha; th in atha and nilathiyā; see above, p. lxxi and n. 4.

rd becomes d in madava (= Skt. mārdava).

rdh becomes dh in vadhite, vadhiyisati; dh in vadhite, vadhiyati, [pa]v[a]dhayisamt[i], diyadha.

rbh becomes bh in gabhāgālas[i].

rm becomes imm or m in kainma (= Skt. karman), dhainma and dhama.

ry becomes y in ayesu (= Skt. \bar{a} ry \bar{e} shu), but liy in ana \bar{n} [ta]I[i]ya (= \bar{a} nantarya), madhuliya (= $m\bar{a}$ dhurya), [shamacha]liya (= *sama-charya).

rv becomes v in sava, nivateti, niv[u]tiyā, but luv in puluva.

rs becomes s in dasana, dasayitu, Piyadasi (also spelt Piyadashi and Piyadasi).

rsh becomes s in vasa (also spelt [va]sha and vasa).

rh becomes lah in ga[la]hati, galahā.

Ip becomes p in apa, kapain.

ly becomes y in kayana.

vy remains in divyāni (IV, 10); but it is assimilated in pasavati (= Skt. prasāvyatē, IX, 27), and it becomes viy in viyamjana, viyashanam, viyāpatā, migaviyā, and in the affix -taviya.

vr becomes v in tive, pav[a] jitā[n]i, vacha (VI, 18; XII, 34) = Skt. vraja.

sch becomes chh in [pa]chhā.

sy becomes siy in pativesiyenā.

shk becomes k in dukata, dukala.

shkr becomes kh in nikham am tu, nikhamisu, nikhamitha, vinikhamane.

sht becomes th in atha (XIII, 35); th in nikhamithā.

shih becomes the in sethe, chithit[u]; the in adhithat naye].

shy becomes s (or sh) in manusa and manusha, anap[a] yisamti and other futures.

sk becomes k in agi-kamdh[ā]ni, while Girnar has agi-kh[a]mdhāni (with kh).

st becomes th in athi, nathi, [ha]thini, samthuta, vithatenā, anusathi.

¹ Dhauli and Jaugada read °dāye, Mānsehrā °daye, but Shāhbāzgarhī pajupadane, which might correspond to Skt. prajötpādane. At Kālsī the locative of utpādana is excluded, because it would end in -asi. For upadā = Skt. *utpad see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 431 f.

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str becomes th in ithi (= Skt. strī).

sth becomes th in gahathāni, gih[i]thā, chi[la]-thitikyā (V, 17), but th in chila-thitikyā (VI, 20). sn becomes shin in shinehe.

sm becomes s in the locatives in -asi, but ph in $[ta]ph\bar{a}$ (= Skt. tasmāt, XIII, 35).

sy becomes siy (śiy or shiy) in siyā, śiyāt, shiyāti (= Skt. syāt), but s in a[su] (3. plur. optative of root as) and in the genitives in -asa.

sv remains in svagam (VI, 20); but it is assimilated in shayaka (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. svayam, and it becomes suv in suvāmika (IX, 25).

hm becomes mbh in bambhana. The form bamhmana (XIII, 39) is intermediate between *bahmana (= Skt. brāhmana) and *bamhana (bamhana at Girnār, IX, 5).

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.

Nom. masc. jane, &c.; neut. dāne, &c.
Acc. masc. dhammam, &c.; neut. dānam, &c.
Instr. dānena or dānenā, &c.
Dat. athāye, &c.
Abl. anubadh[ā], [pa]chhā.
Gen. jana[sa] (IV, 10) or janasā, &c.

Loc. dhammasi, &c.

Plural.

Masc. putā, &c.; neut. phalāni, &c. Masc. yutāni, &c.; neut. divyāni, lupāni. [sa]tēhi. mahāmat[e]hi.

pānānam, &c. vasesu, &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—There are two forms in -o (Sātiyaputo and Ke[lala]puto, II, 4), two in a (vadha, XIII, 36, and hidalokikya, XIII, 17), and one in -ā (Makā, XIII, 7).

Nom. sing. neut.—In four instances the termination is -am (anamtam, IX, 26, 27, -anusāsanam and kamm[am], IV, 12). It is -a in adisha (XI, 29), and -ā in [ā]disā (IV, 10), kam[ma]talā (VI, 20), punā (thrice = Skt. punyam).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in -pāśada (four times, XII, 32), -pāshada and -pāshanda (XII, 33), [shayama] (XIII, 4), vijay[a] and vijayataviya (XIII, 16). The termination -an is replaced by -ā in ata-pāśadā (XII, 32), bahuk[ā] and dosā (I, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The termination is -a in madava (XIII, 4); -ā in maha-phalā (XIII, 14), khudā and nilathiyā (IX, 24); -e in dāne (XII, 31) and bāḍhatale (XII, 33).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final ā is shortened in -[nā]tikya (XIII, 38), pāśamda (XIII, 37), -pāshamda (XII, 34), -[pāsa]mda (VII, 21), -puluva (V, 14), pujetav[i]ya (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. neut.—In hālāpitā chā lopāpitā chā (II, B and C), the termination is -ā instead of -āni. The Sanskrit masculine vriksha is used as neuter: [lu]khāni (II, 6).2

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. in -āni are -kamdh[ā]ni (IV, 10), Kaligyāni (XIII, 36), -pāsham[dān]i, pav[a] jitā[n]i, gahathāni (XII, 31).

Acc. plur. neut.—The termination is $-\bar{a}$ in vimana-dasan[\bar{a}] (IV, 9).

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in $-p\bar{a}\dot{s}ad\bar{a}na$ (XII, 31) and $m[a]nush\bar{a}n[a]$ (XIII, 39). The termination is $-\bar{a}$ in $-[ba]\dot{m}bhan\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ (XI, 29).

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Nom. ichhā, &c.
Acc. pujā, &c.
Instr. puj[ā] ye.
Gen. or loc. samtil[a]nāye.

Nom. sing.—In hi[da]lokika (XIII, 18) the final ā is shortened.

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Acc. sing.—In $[-j\bar{a}tain]$ (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination $-\bar{a}m$ seems to be preserved, and the \bar{a} to be shortened before it.

Instr. sing.—In vividh[aye] (XII, 31) the penultimate \bar{a} seems to be shortened.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. neut. asamati. Nom. plur. neut. osadhīn[i],¹ tini, timni. Gen. plur. nāti[nam], nātinā. Loc. plur. Nābhapamtishu.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.

Nom. lipi, &c.

Acc. Sambodhi, &c.

Instr. bhatiyā, -anusathiye.

Dat. -anusathiyā, vadhiyā.

Abl. ni[v]utiyā, Tambapamniyā.

Gen.

Loc. ayatiye.

Plural.

jani[yo].2

bh[agi]ni[nā].

III. BASES IN -u.

The nom. sing. sādhu or shādhu is the same in all three genders.

Nom. and acc. sing. neut. bahu. Nom. and acc. plur. neut. bahuni. Instr. plur. ba[h]u[hi]. Gen. plur. gulunä.

IV. MASCULINES IN -ri.

Nom. plur. natāle (= Skt. naptāraķ). Gen. plur. bhā[tina]m (= bhrātṛīṇām). Loc. plur. pitisu or pitishu (= pitṛishu).

The instr. sing. follows the i-declension: pitinā, bhātinā.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

The nom. sing. masc. has a very curious form; it affixes the termination -am, which is evidently derived from Skt. -an, to the strong form of the base: samtam from root as, kalamtam (kala[mta], kalata) from root kri.

(2) Bases in -vat.

Nom. sing. masc. pajāva (= Skt. prajāvān). Instr. sing. hetuvatā.³

With the nom, sing, cf. Pāli gunavā = Skt. gunavān.

¹ The Kālsī dialect has mixed up osadhi (= Skt. ōshadhi, fem.) with osadha (= Skt. aushadha, neut.).

² From Vēdic jani, 'a wife'.

³ In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not hētuvat, but hētumat; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9, and Pischel's Grammatik, § 601.





(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.

Nom. masc. lājā, lajā, lāja. Acc. neut. nāma, nāmā. Instr. lājinā, lajinā. Gen. lājine. Plural.

lā[j]āno, lajāne.

The neuter base karman follows the a-declension: nom. sing. $k[a\dot{m}]me$ or $ka\dot{m}m[a\dot{m}]$, dat. $ka\dot{m}m\ddot{a}ye$.

(4) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. Pi[ya]dasī (I, 2), Piyadasi, Piyadashi.

Instr. sing. Piyadasinā, Piyadasinā.

Gen. sing. Piyadasine, Piyadashine, Piyadasisā.

Acc. plur. [ha]thini (= hathīni at Dhauli, IV, 2).

The gen. sing. Piyadasisā follows the analogy of the a-declension.

With the acc. plur. masc. [ha]thini (i. e. hathīni), cf. yutāni, &c., in the a-declension (above, p. lxxvi).

(5) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. yaso or yasho, bh[u] ye.

The base va[cha]- (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt. vachas.

(6) Other bases in consonants.

The feminine base dis (or $dis\bar{a}$) forms the acc. sing. $dish\bar{a}$ (for $dis\bar{a}m$). The two feminine bases *utpad and parishad also follow the a-declension: loc. sing. pajopadāne(ye) (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), $palis[\bar{a}]ye$; nom. plur. $palis\bar{a}$.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.

Nom. hakain. Instr. mamayā, me (III, 7).

Gen. [mama], mamā, me.

Plural.

ne (V, 16).

The nom. sing. hakari must be derived from ahakarı (= ahaari in Māhārāshṭrī); see Pān. V, 3, 71, and Pischel's Grammatik, § 417.

The instr. sing. mamayā for Skt. mayā is due to the influence of the genitive mama. Cf. mamae, Hēmachandra, III, 109.

(2) Base ta.

Singular.

Nom. masc. se, [s]e, she; neut. ta, se, [sh]e.

Acc. masc. tain; neut. se, she.

Instr. tena, tenā.

Dat. tā[ye].

Abl. [ta]phā, t[ā].

Gen. taśa, tasha, tasā, tashā.

Loc. taśi.

Plural.

Masc. te.

tehi.

te[hi].

teshain, tānain.

Nom sing. fem. sā, shā.

As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl. sing. $[ta]ph\bar{a}$ goes back to $tamh\bar{a}$ (= Skt. $tasm\bar{a}t$); cf. aphe and tuphe (= Prākṛit amhe and tumhe) in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. The abl. $t[\bar{a}]$ is used as conjunction (V, 13); cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 425.



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(3) Base ēta.

Singular.

Nom. masc. [e]se (VIII, 23),1 [e]she (X, 28),2 esh[a]

(XIII, 38); neut. ese, eshe.

Instr. etakenā.

Dat. etāya (XII, 34), etāye, dha(e)ta[k]āye.

Gen. etishā.

Neut. e[t]āni.

Nom. sing. fem. [e]sh[a] (XIII, 37).

With the gen. sing. etishā cf. etisa at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā.

(4) Demonstrative idam.

Singular.

Nom. masc. ayam, iyam; neut. iyam.

Acc. neut. imain.

Gen. imas [a].

Plural.

Plural.

Masc. ime.

Nom. sing. fem. iyam. Dat. sing. fem. imāya.

The nom. masc. ayam is taken from V, 15, where eyam perhaps stands for e + ayam (= Skt. yō-yam). The form iyam is used as masculine in V, 16; elsewhere as feminine and neuter.

(5) Interrogative pronoun.

The acc. plur. neut. [kā]ni is used as a demonstrative; see Text, p. 35, n. 12. The indefinite pronoun is formed with chha = Skt. cha (nom. sing. masc. kechha) or chhi = Skt. chid (nom. and acc. sing. neut. kichhi). As at Girnār, the compounds kiniti (XII, 33) and kiti are used in the sense of 'that'.

(6) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. ye, e; neut. ye, e, a, am. Acc. neut. yain, ain, e (XIII, 38).

Instr. yena.

Gen. asā.

Loc.

Plural.

Masc. ye, e.

yesham. vesu.

(7) Base anya.

Singular.

Nom. masc. and neut. ainne.

Acc.

Dat. amnaye.

Gen. amnamanashā.

Plural.

Plural.

neut. amnāni.

(8) Base sarva.

Singular.

Nom. neut. save, shave, [sha]va.

Acc. masc. savam; neut. savam, shava[m].

Loc.

Masc. [sa]ve.

s[a]ves[u], shaveshu.

Nom. sing. fem. shavā.

(9)

Nom. sing. neut. i [ta] le, while classical Sanskrit has itarat.



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(10) Base ubhaya.

Gen. plur. ubhaye[sa]m.

(11) Base ēkatara.

Loc. sing. ekatalash[i].

(12) Base *ēkatya.

Nom. plur. masc. [e]katiyā.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. eke.

Two.

Nom. masc. duve.

This form may be used for all genders in all Prākrits; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 437.

Three.

Nom. neut. tini, timni.

Cf. Prākrit tinni; Pischel's Grammatik, §§ 91, 438.

Four.

The nom. neut. chatāli is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7). The same irregularity is frequent in Prākṛit; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 439.

Five, six.

Loc. painchasu, shashu (= Prākrit chhasu).

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

atha, das[a], duvādasa (with lingual d), t[e]dasa.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. satāni; instr. [sa]tehi; loc. shateshu.

The ordinal is shata (= Skt. śatatama); see XIII, 39.

Thousand.

The ordinal is shah[a]sha (= Skt. sahasratama); see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. shat[a]-shaha[ś]e. Nom. plur. [sa*]ta-sahasāni.

¹ The d has been further changed to r in Prākṛit bārasa and bāraha.



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E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root kram: palakamāmi, nikham[am]tu.

Root garh: ga[la]hati.

Root ji: the participle vijinamane and the absolutive vijin[i]tu (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākrit jinādi) and subsequently the a-conjugation (Prākrit jinadi).¹

Root dris: dakhati.2

Root bhū: hoti, huveyu (sixth class).

Root vas: vashati, vas[e]vu. Root vrit: anuvatamti.

Root sthā. The absolutive chithit[u] (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākrit present chitthadi.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root ad follows the a-conjugation: adamana.

Root as: athi.

Root i or yā: yamti.

Root yā: ye[ham]; see below, p. lxxxii.

Root han: up[a]haint[i].

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive pajohitaviye (I, 1) is derived from the present *johati, in which the \bar{u} of *jūhati (see above, p. lxvi) is strengthened by Guṇa.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pad: patipajeyā.

Root man: mamnat[i] and manati.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root $\bar{a}p$ follows the ninth class: $p\bar{a}pun\bar{a}ta(ti)$. Root $\bar{s}ru$ follows the a-conjugation: shune[y]u.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root ish: ichhati.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root yuj follows the a-conjugation: yujamtu.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root kri. The 3. sing. kaleti follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3. plur. ka[la]inti the a-conjugation. Cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 509.

Root kshan follows the a-conjugation: chhanati.

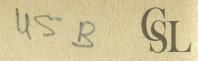
Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With aya: dasayitu, [d]ipayema, ālādhayi(yam)tu, a-lockayitu, alochayisu, [pa]v[a]dha-yisamt[i]. The character aya is changed to iya in vadhiyati (XII, 32) and vadhiyisati (IV, II) and is contracted to e in pujeti, pujetav[i] ya, lochetu, nivateti and ni[va*]teti, [pati*]vedetu.

¹ See Pischel's Grammatik, § 473.

² See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.





(b) With āya: sukhāyāmi (VI, 20).

(c) With paya: hāpa[y]i[sat]i, [ānapayā]mi, anap[a]yisainti, ānapayite, lopita.

(d) With apaya: lekhapesami, likhapita (without Guna of the radical vowel), khanapita, halapita.

(e) With pāpaya: lopāpita.

(2) Moods.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist nikhamithā and the two participles present adamāna and vijinamana.

(a) Indicative.

I. sing. palakamāni, [ānapayā]mi.

3. sing. [pa*]lakamati, ga[la]hati, dakhati, hoti, athi, up[a]hant[i], mannat[i] and manati,

ichhati, kaleti, chhanati, pujeti, nivateti and ni[va*]teti, vadhiyati.

3. plur. anuvatamti, vashati (= Skt. vasanti), yamti, ichhamti, ka[la]mti. In pāpunāta(ti) the termination -ti (for -nti) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (pāpunā-); cf. the 3. sing. pāpunāti and the 2. plur. pāpunātha in the first separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugada.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. sukhäyāmi (with indicative termination).

3. sing. susushātu (desiderative, with imperative termination).

3. plur. palakamātu (with -tu for -ntu).

(c) Optative.

I. sing. ye[ham] (for *yeyam) from root yā (VI, 20). Cf. [pa]ti[pāday]eham (or paṭipātayeham) and ālabheham in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada. Senart has noted similar forms in the Mahāvastu (vol. 1 of his edition of this work, p. 403): tishṭheham, abhisambudhyeham, gachchheham.

3. sing. nivatey[ā], patipajeyā, siyā, siyāt, shiyāti. The two last forms (= Skt. syāt) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form nivatey[ā] (= Skt. nirvartayēt, IX, 26) Senart (Inscriptions de Piyadasi, 1. 215) compares Pāli nibbatteyyam (for nibbattayeyyam) in the commentary on the Dhammapada, p. 143 [l. 2]. Cf. also choreyya for chorayeyya in E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 110, dāve = Skt. dapayēh and padigāhe = Skt. pratigrāhayēh in Pischel's Grammatik, § 460.

1. plur. [d]ipayema.

3. plur. a[su] (cf. above, p. lxvii), huveyu, huve

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. hotu, [a]nuva[ta]tu.

3. plur. nikham[ain]tu, manatu, yujaintu, ālādhayi(yain)tu, lochetu (= Skt. rōchayantu), [paṭi*]-vedetu, anuvi[dh]iya[in]tu (passive).

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. aho (from root bhū).

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle nikhamithä (from nish-kram, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī the termination is -ittha and -itthā; see E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 115, and Pischel's Grammatik, § 517.

3. plur. active nikhamisu, husu (= ahumsu at Girnār). The two forms manishu (XIII, 16) and alochayisu² are used as subjunctives.

² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

¹ Hēmachandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes huveyya (= Skt. bhavēt) from the Paiśāchī dialect.

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III. PERFECT.

3. sing. $\bar{a}h\bar{a}$, $ah\bar{a}$ (V, 13) = Skt. $\bar{a}ha$.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. kachhāmi,1 lekhāpeśāmi.

3. sing. kachhati, vadhiyisati, hapa[y]i[sat]i.

3. plur. kachham[t]i, anuvațisa[m]ti, anusāsisamti, anap[a]yisamti, [pa]v[a]dhayisamt[i], and the two passives [a]nuvidhiyisama (read °samti) and alābhi[y]isa[m]ti.

V. PASSIVE.

The terminations are those of the active.

The 3. sing. indicative pasavati (= Skt. prasāvyatē) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (pavasati, IX, 26, and paśavati, XI, 30); cf. Text, p. 39, n. 3.

3. plur. indicative anuvidhiyama (read °yamti, = Skt. anuvidhīyantē), alabhī[yam]ti.

3. plur. imperative anuvi[dh]iya[in]tu.

3. plur. aorist alambhiyisu.2

3. plur. future [a]nuvidhiyisama (read °samti), alābhi[y]isa[m]ti (cf. the Sanskrit aorist passive alābhi).

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. subjunctive susushātu.

3. plur. optative shushusheyu.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root as: saintain.

Root kri: kalamtam (kala mta, kalata).

Middle.

Root ji: vijinamana; see above, p. lxxxi.

Root ad: adamāna.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta: mata and muta (= Skt. mata), maţa (= mṛita), kaṭa (= kṛita), viyāpaṭa (= vyāpṛita), vithaṭa (= vistṛita), [u]shaṭa and ushuṭa (= utsṛita), nisita (= *niśrita), likhita, lekhita, likhāpita, khānāpita, hālāpita, lopita, lopāpita, ānapayita,³ huta (= bhūta), atikanta (= atikrānta), su(san)khita (= sankshipta), vudha (= vṛiddha), apavuḍha (= apōḍha), ladha (= labdha), āladha (= *ārāddha), &c.

(b) In -na: p[a]sh[am]na, vipahina (i. e. hīna).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In -tavya: kaṭaviya, vataviya, pajohitaviya (see above, p. lxxxi), vijayataviya (for Skt. vijētavya under the influence of the substantive vijaya), pujetav[i]ya, paṭi[vedeta*]viya.

(b) In -anīya: vedaniya.

Johansson (Shāhb., § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from *kajjati (= *karyati), and compares the Ardhamāgadhī passive kajjai.

² The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive

alambhi or of the substantive ālambha (III, 8, &c.).

³ This barbarous equivalent of Skt. ājñapta and ājñāpita retains the causative character aya of the present ānapayati.





VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In -tu (= Skt. $-tv\bar{a}$): \bar{a} labhitu, palitiditu (from root tyaj with Samprasāraṇa of ya and dentalization of j), chithit[u] (from the Prākrit present chitthadi), vijin[i]tu (from the present *vi-jinati; see above, p. lxxxi), sutu (from root sru), dasayitu, a-lochayitu (= a-rōchayitvā).

(b) In -ya: shamkheye (read samkhaya) from sam-khya.

F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix -ka (or -kya) occurs in hakam (= Skt. aham), etaka, ava[ta]ka (from Skt. yāvat), tāvataka, nātika or nātikya (= Skt. jñāti), panātikya (= praṇapṭri), suvāmika (= svāmin). The adjective shayaka seems to be formed from Skt. svayam; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix -ālaka or -ālaya is formed mahālaka, 'wide' (XIV, 20), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākrit mahālaya (Pischel's Grammatik, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 33, n. 3), supadālaya (V, 14)

seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes -tara and -tama are added to substantives in kam[ma]talā (i.e. karmataram, VI, 20) and gajatame, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS, WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgarhī version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johansson:—Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi-Redaktion der vierzehn Edikte des Königs Açōka. (Tiré des Actes du 8° Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania). [Part 1,] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel a becomes u after a labial in mut[a] (= Skt. mata, XIII, 8) and uchavucha. In meñati (= manyatë, XIII, 11) the change of a into \check{e} is perhaps caused by the palatal \tilde{n} .

If the reading etra (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here iyain, eshe, &c.), it would correspond to eta (Girnār) and heta (Kālsī) = *itra; see above, pp. lvi and lxx. As at Kālsī, the

vowel e corresponds to Skt. \bar{i} in ediśa (= $\bar{i}driśa$).

As in Pāli, Skt. u is represented by a in pana (VI, 14, 15) = puna (six times, for Skt. punah), and in garuna (IX, 19) = guruna (XIII, 4, for Skt. gurunām). Michelson suggests that the form pana may be due to vowel-assimilation; see IF, 23. 258, n. 1. In kho (= Skt. khalu) Skt. u is represented by o; see above, p. v is and v. 2.

The vowel ri is replaced by (1) a, (2) i, (3) u, (4) ra, (5) ri, (6) ir, (7) ru, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) usatena, dukațam, bhața, bhațaka, vadhi (= Skt. vriddhi), vapața and viyapața (= $vy\bar{a}prita$), ananiyam, [da]khati; (2) kita, s[u]kita[m], edisa, tadisa, vadisa, vadi

With meñati Johansson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (Altind. Grammatik, vol. 1, p. xx) compare Gothic ga-mainjan and German meinen (English to mean).



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and for ri after a labial: agrabhuti, viyaputa (= vyāprita), muța, vutam and vutam (= vrittam), nivuta (= nirvritta), nivuți (= nirvritti), vudha (= vriddha); (4) grahatha (= grihastha); (5) [kr]i[ta] (II, 4), dridha, vistritena; (6) kitra (i.e. kirta, = Skt. krita); (7) for ri after a labial: pa[ri]p[ru]chha, mrugo, mrugaya (= mrigayā). In śruneyu (XII, 7) the ru is due to the influence of śruta, śrutu. &c.

In a few cases the vowel e, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectical changes (cf. Johannson, § 23), appears to have become i; see duv[i] = du[v]e at Mänsehrä for Skt. dvē (II, 4) and dvau (I, 3), ayi for *aye = Skt. ayam, amni (VIII, 17) for amne = Skt. anyah, Amtikini (nom. sing., XIII, 9), rajani (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs ai and an have become e and o, respectively; see niche (perhaps = Skt.

nīchaih, VII, 5), [o]sha[dha]ni (II, 5), papotra (XIII, 11), paralokika, -opaka and -opaya.

The Kharöshthi alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels a, i, u, and we must always keep in mind that every a, i, u of the text may be meant for a or \bar{a}, i or \bar{i}, u or \bar{u}, u

respectively.

Initial a is dropped in pi (= Skt. api); i in ti (= iti) and kiti (= *kid + iti); e generally in va, while eva is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides va, the text often uses the two forms vo (= Vēdic evē, i.e. eva+u)2 and yo, which Johansson (§ 36) derives from Prākrit yeva $(= Skt. \bar{e}va).^3$

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The guttural k has become y in nirathiya (=nilathiya at Kālsī) and -opaya (VIII, 17) = -opaka (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānsehrā) have -opaga. It seems to be dropped altogether in $diadha = *dvik\bar{a}rdha$. Greek x is expressed by k in Amtiyoka, and γ by the same in Amtikini and Maka. Skt. gh has become h in lahu and lahuka.

The palatal j has become y in Kamboya, [p]rayuhotave, samaya (= Skt. samāja, I, I, 2), raya (= rājā), and is represented by ch in vrachaspi, vracha-bhumika (also at Mānsehrā), and in

vrachamti, v[r]acheyam; cf. Prākrit vachchai (for *vrajyati?) = Skt. vrajati.

Skt. n is generally preserved, except in kshamanaye, garana, aviprahino, pranatika, Pitinika (=P[e]tenika at Girnār). In terminations, however, dental n is never lingualized after ri, r, or sh; see akarena, agrena, anamtariyena, khudrakena, Devanampriyena, parakramena, putrena, vagrena, abhiramani, rupani, sahasani, Gamdharanam, manusanam, mahamatranam, Rathikanam, guruna, garuna, pituna, bhratuna, spasa(su)na. On the other hand lingual n is newly developed after r in prapunati (from Skt. prapnoti), samtirana (from tīrayati), and wrongly in Devanapriy[e] (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original ri (see above, p. lxxxiv), after ra in the preposition pati (eight times) or prati (twice) for prati (five times), and after sha in [o]sha[dha]ni (II, 5), prashanda and prashada (for *pārshainda and *pārshada = Skt. pārshada). Between vowels t is replaced by d in hapesadi (= hapesati at Mānsehrā) and, as at Kālsī, in hida-sukhaye (V, 12).4 Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic t underwent in the Sauraseni dialect. For hida (five times) = idha at Girnār, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākrit, the labial p becomes v between vowels in avatrapeyu (XIII, 8). Initial b is replaced by p in padham (VII, 5) for badham (XIII, 3). The aspirate bh has turned to h in hoti (only VIII, section E, for the usual bhoti), aho, and in the termination -hi (= Skt. -bhih) of bahuhi and satehi.

As at Kālsī, y becomes j in majura (= Skt. mayūra, I, 3), and v in vishava (XIII, 9). It is dropped at the beginning of ava (five times) for yava (IX, 19) = Skt. yāvat and of [e] (XIII, 5) for ye = Skt. yat, and between two vowels in Priadrasi (thrice), Devanapriasa (four times) or

3 Michelson (JAOS, 30. 86, n. 4) identifies yo with the nom. sing. masc. of the relative

At Mānsehrā (VIII, 35) t is softened also before r in yada (for *yadra = Skt. yātrā); and tenada (= tēnātra) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form *tenadra. Cf. adra, pudra, midra in the Wardak vase-inscription; EI, 11. 208, n. 3.

The spelling kitra suggests that (5) [kr]i[ta] is also meant for kirta. Cf. Johansson, § 27; Michelson, AJP, 31. 57; and below, p. lxxxvii.

See Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kirste.



piasa (I, 2), ekatia (I, 2), vijetav[i]a (XIII, 11). The syllable ya becomes i in paritijitu (= palitiditu at Kālsī). The causative affixes aya and ayi either remain unchanged (in anapayami, draśayitu, &c.) or are contracted (in anapemi, anapeśainti, &c.). The same contraction takes place in anuneti (XIII, 7). The e of the 3. sing. optative nivateyati (= Skt. nirvartayēt) corresponds to an original aye, and the o of the numeral todaśa (= Skt. trayodaśa) to an original ayo.1

The change of r into l in palig[o]dha (V, 12), palibodha (V, 13), sala (= Skt. sāra, XII, 2, 8), lo[ch]e[sh]u and a-locheti2 is a Magadhism, while, as at Girnar, r corresponds to l in *arabhati, 'to kill', = Skt. ālabhatē (see below, p. xciv), and in Turamaye = Πτολεμαΐος (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvii), this wrong translation of the foreign name Tulamaye (Kālsī) proves that the Shāhbāzgarhī version is based on a Māgadha original. In Keradaputro (II, 4) the d corresponds to the lingual ! of Tamil Kerala; the other versions of the rock-edicts have ! instead of !.

The semivowel v is developed out of u and \bar{u} in vuchati (= Skt. uchyatē), vuta (= upta, II, 5), and apavudha (= apodha). As at Kālsī, the syllable $v\bar{a}$ becomes u in the absolutives in -tu (= Skt.

-tvā). Contraction of ava into o takes place in orodhana, bhoti, hoti, bhotu, aho.

Like the Kālsī version, the Shāhbāzgarhī one distinguishes the three sibilants s, sh, s, but with one important difference. While at Kālsī these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxxii), the Shāhbāzgarhī text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit.3 Thus we find s in anusasti, asamana, edisa, tadisa, yadisa, dasa, desa, draśana, draśayitu, Priyadraśi, paśu, pradeśi[ka], yaśo, śaka (= Skt. śakya), śata, śila (i. e. śīla), [śilana] (i. e. śīlana), śudhi (i. e. śuddhi), saśayike, prativeśiya, niśita (= Skt. *niśrita), śramana, śravaka, śruta, śrutu, śruneyu; and sh in eshe, esha, [o]sha[dha]ni, ghosha, tosho, dosha, parisha, prashanda, vishava (= vishaya), pitushu, in the loc. plur. in -eshu, in the gen. plur. tesha[in] and yesha, in the 3. plur. aorist nikramishu, mañishu, lo[ch]e[sh]u, in vasha (= varsha) and kashati (= *karshyati). Exceptions are not frequent: s for s in anusochana, [s]rețha (= śrēshṭha); s for sh in abhisita (= abhishikta), yesu, u[bha]y[e]sa, [arabhi]yis[u]; sh for s in pamchashu and shashu. In manusa (= manushya) and in the futures in -isati and -esati the s is a defective spelling for 55, in which the original sh had been palatalized through the influence of the following y. In suśrusha, suśrushatu, suśrusheyu the first s (for s) is probably due to dissimilation, and in an [u] sasana, anusasisainti the second s (for s) is due to assimilation.4

Cases of Cockneyism are hamche (see above, p. lxxii), hahati (twice) for ahati (thrice) = Skt. āha, hida (see above, p. lxxii), hidalokika. Conversely, h is dropped at the beginning of [a]stina = Skt. hastinah, and between two vowels in maa = Prākrit maha (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the

first person), ia (= Skt. iha) and ialoka.

As at Girnār and Kālsī, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the s of final as; see jana, &c. (below, p. xc), [sa] (XIII, 10), ekatia (I, 2), [a]stina (= Skt. hastinah, IV, 8), vacha- (XII, 2). But generally final as becomes o, and frequently, as in the Māgadha dialect, e; see bhuy[e], chature, and the nom. sing. masc. eshe, y[e] (V, 13), añe (XII, 9), jane, &c. (below, p. xc). In amñi (VIII, 17), Amtikini (XIII, 9), rajani (XIII, 9) = rajano (II, 4),

-i has taken the place of -e.

The Anusvara of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are prajava (= Skt. prajāvān), ida (IX, 20) = idam (XIII, 3), ima (IX, 19) = imam (passim), aya (twice) = ayam (V, 13), [i]dani (= Skt. idanīm), eva (twice) = evam (passim), the acc. sing. masc. ath[r]a, dosha, ba[hu]ka, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. dana, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. puja, &c., and Sabodhi, &c., the gen. plur. ñatina, Nabhitina, guruna, garuna, bhratuna, spasa(su)na, tesha, yesha, u[bha]y[e]sa, abhiratana, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Magadha dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in -e instead of -am; see eshe (X, section E), ye (VI, section F; IX, F and I; XIII, 1), savre (XII, 5; XIV, 13), [saha] sre

² But not in rochetu; see Text, p. 8, n. 3. 3 I differ here from Johansson, §§ 14, 48, and side with Michelson, AJP, 30. 289.

4 Cf. Skt. śaśa instead of *śasa, which is presupposed by German Hase (English hare).

⁵ Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 29.

¹ Mānsehrā has tredaša, Dhauli and Kālsī tedasa, for *trayadaša.



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(XIII, 1), dane, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing, masculine. The termination -e is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (sayame, VII, 2) and in the particle [e] (= Skt. yat, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have -e for -o (see above, p. lxxxvi), the -e of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by -o in katavo and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun idam has once the form iyo (XII, 2) for iyam (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. so is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative yo (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. yat. Instead of anudivasam at Girnar we find anudivaso (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine dhrama is dhramo. Finally it must be noted that ayi occurs repeatedly instead of ayam and aya (= Skt. ayam and iyam).

III. SANDHI.

Final m is preserved before the particle eva in [e]vam-eva and paratri[ka]m-eva, and hiatus is

prevented by m in añam-añasa and bhatam-ayeshu.

As the length of \ddot{a} is not marked in the Kharōshthī alphabet, the result of a+a always appears in writing as short a; see kiṭabhikaro, grabhagara, tenada (= Skt. tēnātra), nasti, praṇarambho, mahathavaha, -vashabhisita, supaṭhay[e], dhramanuśasti, &c. The hiatus remains in [atha]vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa] (XIII, 1).

a is elided before i in braman-ibheshu; before u in chu (= cha+u) and paj-upadane; before e in ch-eva; before o in manus-opakani and tat-opayam (see above, p. lxxii); and u before o in

paś-opakani.

i+a are contracted into i in i[stridhi]yaksha (= Skt. stry-adhyaksha).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

As at Girnār (above, p. lix), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter r if it is combined with other consonants. 'The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations':²

- (1) r is combined with the preceding akshara
 - (a) in rbh: grabhagara (= garbhāgāra).
- (b) in rm: dhrama (i. e. dharma) and dhramma (i. e. dharmma), krama (= Skt. karman) and kramma (i. e. karmma).
 - (c) in rv: pruva (= Skt. pūrva).
 - (d) in rs: drasana (i.e. darsana), drasayitu (= Skt. darsayitvā), Priyadrasi.
 - (e) in rsh: prashanda and prashada (from Skt. pārshada).
 - (2) r is attached to the next following consonant
 - (a) in rg: vagra (i. e. varga), spagra (= Skt. svarga).
 - (b) in rt: kitra (i. e. kirța, = Skt. krita), kitri (= Skt. kīrti).
 - (c) in rth and rth: athra and athra (= Skt. artha).
 - (d) in rv: savra (i. e. sarva) and savratra (i. e. sarvatra).

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants; see atara and amtara, atikrata (= Skt. atikrānta), Atiyoka and Amtiyoka, anata and anamta, Alikasudaro (= 'Ahéfavôpos), karatam and karamtam, Kaliga, Devanapriya and Devanampriya, prashada and prashamda, badhana and samba[m]dha, magala and mamgala, vihisa (= Skt. vihimsā), satam and sa[m]tam, Sabodhi, sayama and sa[m]yama, s[a]yuta (= samyukta), sasayika (= sāmsayika),

¹ Cf. above, pp. lxii, lxxiii, and Johansson, part 2, p. 47.

³ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.

² Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 133. Cf. Johansson, § 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30. 289, n. 2.





sastuta and sainstuta, and the 3. plur. karo[ti] (IX, section C), prapunati (XIII, 6), bhoti (XIII, 7), vasati (XIII, 4), nik[r]amatu, maña[tu], aradhetu, paţivedetu, rochetu.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is a in garahati; u before or after a labial in duv[i], prapunati; and frequently i, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Shāhbāzgarhī will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Mägadhisms and alien to the Shābbāzgarhī dialect; see his articles in AIP, vols. 30 and 31, and IAOS, vol. 30.

kt becomes t in abhisita, &c.

ky becomes k in sako (= Skt. sakvam).

kr remains in atikratain, &c.

ksh remains in akshati, [adhi] yaksha, [ksham] ti, kshanati, kshamanaye, kshamitaviya, mo kshaye, samkshitena, but becomes kh in khudrakena and [da]khati.2

kshy becomes ksh in vrakshamti.

khy becomes kh in mukha (= Skt. mukhya, XIII, 8), samkhay[a] (= samkhyāya).

khl becomes kh in kho = Skt. khalu; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr remains in agra, [a] pag[r] atho (XIII, 5), but the g seems to be aspirated in apaghratho (XIII, 6).

chy becomes ch in vuchati (= Skt. uchyatē).

jñ becomes ñ in kitrañata (= Skt. kritajñatā), ñati, ñatika, ñanam, raña, raño; n, as in literary Prākrit, in anapayami and anapemi, anapeśainti, anapita.

jy becomes j in joti- (= Skt. jyōtis, IV, 8).

ñj becomes mñ in vamnanato (= Skt. vyanjanatah).

dy becomes d, as at Girnār, in Painda (XIII, 9), but diy, as at Kālsī, in Paindiya (II, 4).

ny becomes ñ in puña, hiraña, but niy in ananiya (= Skt. ānrinya).

tp becomes p in pajupadane.3

tm becomes t in ata- (= Skt. ātman).

ty becomes ti in ekatia, but ch in achayika, apacha, chati.

tr remains in trayo, atra, putra, savatra, &c., but becomes t in savata (V, section N) and todaśa (= Skt. trayodaśa, V, II), and d in tenada (= Skt. tenatra, VIII, 17).4

tv remains in tadatvaye, but becomes t in the absolutives in -ti (= Vēdic -tvi).

ts becomes s in usatena, chikisa.

tsth becomes th in uthanas[i] (VI, 15), but th in uthanam (ibid.).5

dy becomes j in aja, patipajeyati; y in uyana (= Skt. udyāna).

dr remains in khudrakena.

dv becomes duv in duv[i], but b in badaya(sa) (cf. dbādasa at Girnār), and d in diadha.

As at Kālsī, dhy becomes jh in nijha[t]i and anunija(jha)peti (= [a]nu[nijha]paya[ti] at Mänsehrā), but dhiy in [adhi] yaksha.

dhr remains in dhruva and Amdhra.

nm becomes m in yamatra (= Skt. yanmātra).

ny becomes mn or n in amna and ana, manati and menati, manishu, hamnamt i], [ha]mñeyasu.

pt becomes t in guti, nijha[t]i, vuta (= Skt. upta, II, 5), asamatain, sainkshitena, nataro (= naptarah), pranatika, Turamaye $(= \Pi \tau \circ \lambda \in \mu \circ \circ \circ)$.

pn becomes pun in prapunati.

pr remains in Priyadrasi, Devanampriya, priti (i. e. prīti), prakara[n]e (XII, 3), p[r]aja and prajava (V, 13), prana (i.e. prana), pradeśi[ka], pranatika, prapunati, prabhave, [p]rayuhotave, pra[va]dh[e]sainti, pravase, pravrajita, prasado, prasana, prasavati, aviprahino, pratipa[ti] (XIII, 5), pratibhagam, pratibh[o] gaye, prativesiyena, p[r]atividhane (VIII, 17), prativedetavo (VI, 14), but becomes p in Devanapiasa (I, 2), [a] pakaranasi (XII, 3), pajupadane (IX, 18), papotra, patipajeyati,

⁵ Mānsehrā has uthana in both cases.

¹ For the sign which I have transcribed by ksh, see Text, p. 55, note 5.

See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.
 Mānsehrā has yada (for *yadra = Skt. yātrā) in the same section. 3 See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.

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patipati (twice), sampatipati (twice), pațividhana (V, 13), pațivedaka, pațivedana, pațivedetu, pațivedetavo (VI, 15).

bdh becomes dh in ladha.

br remains in bramana (= Skt. brāhmana).

bhy becomes bh in -ibheshu, arabhiśamti (future passive), but bhiy in [arabhi] yis[u] (aorist passive). bhr remains in bhratuna.

my becomes mm (also spelt mmm) in samma- and sammma-.

mr becomes mb in Tambapamni.

rg remains in vagra (i.e. varga; see above, p. lxxxvii) and spagra (i.e. sparga = Skt. svarga). rn becomes inn in Tambapamni.

rt becomes t in anuvatatu, but rt in kitri (i. e. kirti = Skt. kīrti), and t in kaṭava, anuvaṭamti, an[u]vaṭiśamti, nivateti, nivateta.

rth remains in athra (i. e. artha, IV, 10), but becomes rth in athra (i. e. artha, VI, 14; IX, 19), and th in atha (passim), nirathiyam.

rdh becomes dh' in vadhisati, vadheti, pra[va]dh[e]sainti, vadhita, diadha.

rbh remains in grabhagara (i. e. garbhagara).

rm remains in krama (i.e. karma) and kramma (i.e. karmma, III, 6), dhrama (i.e. dharma) and dhramma (i.e. dharmma).1

ry becomes y in -ayeshu (= Skt. āryēshu), but riy in anamtariyena, madhuriyaye, sama[cha]-riyam.

rv remains in pruva (i.e. purva = Skt. pūrva), sarra (i.e. sarva), but becomes v in sava, nivateti, nivateyati, nivuta, nivuti.

r's remains in drasana (i.e. darsana), drasayitu (= Skt. darsayitvā), Priyadrasi (= °darsin), but becomes s' in dasana (VIII, 17).

rsh remains in prashamda (i.e. *pārshamda)² and prashada, but becomes sh in vasha, pashamda (XII, 3) and pashada (XII, 9).

rshy becomes sh in kasham, kashati, kashamti.

rh becomes rah in garahati: r in garana (= Skt. garhaṇā).3

Up becomes p in apa, kapa.

ly becomes l in kalana (= Skt. kalyāna).

vy becomes v in vamnana, vapata (twice), apa-vayata, vasana, divani, prasavati, katava, pativedetavo, [p]rayuhotave, vatavo, but vi in vijetav[i]a, and viy in viyapata and viyaputa (V, 13), kshamitaviya, pujetaviya.

vr remains in [tivre], pravrajita, vrachamti, v[r]acheyam, vrakshamti, vrachaspi and vrachabhumika (also at Mānsehrā).

śch becomes ch in kachi (= Skt. kaśchit), pacha (= paśchāt).

sy becomes siy in prativesiyena.

śr remains in śramana, śravaka, suśrusha, suśrushatu, suśrusheyu, śruta, śrutu, but becomes δ in śamana (IX, 19), niśite, and sr in [s]retha (= Skt. śrēshtha).

shk becomes k in dukatam, dukara.

shkr becomes kr in nikramanam, nik[r]amatu, nikrami, nikramishu.

sht becomes th in $\lceil atha \rceil = Skt. ashta (XIII, 1)$.

shtr becomes th in Rathikanam.

shth becomes th in tithiti, [s] retham; th in -adhithana.

shy becomes s (i. e. ss) in manusa and in the futures in -isati and -esati.

As at Kālsī, sk becomes k in joti-kamdhani.

st remains in asti, nasti, [a]stina (= Skt. hastinah), samstava, samstuta, vistrițena, -anusasti. It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word nipista.⁴

² This form is a variant of Skt. pārshada (for pārishada) and the origin of Skt. pāshanḍa; cf. Johansson, §§ 37, 64.

³ See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli rassa = Skt. hrasva (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsehrā the reading is garaha (= Skt. garhā).

See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli rassa = Skt. hrasva (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsehrā the reading is garaha (= Skt. garhā).

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¹ At Mānsehrā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling dhama beside the usual form dhrama.

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INTRODUCTION



str remains in i[stri], striyaka.

sth becomes th in grahatha, chira-thitika.

sn becomes sin in [si][ne*]ho (XIII, 5).1

sm becomes sp or s in the locatives singular in -aspi and -asi.

sy becomes siy in rabhasiye, siya, siyati, siyasu, but s in asu and in the genitives singular in -asa and -isa.

sr remains in parisrave, sahasra, but becomes s in sahasani (I, 2).

sv becomes sp in spa[ka], spagra (= Skt. svarga), spamikena, spasa(su)na (= svasrīnām). hm becomes m in bramana.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.

Nom. masc. jano, &c.; neut. danam, &c.

Acc. masc. dhramain, &c.; neut. maingalain, &c.

Instr. putrena, danena, &c.

Dat. athaye, &c.

Abl. karana (= Skt. kāranāt, III, 6), pacha.

Gen. janasa, &c.

Loc. (a) orodhanaspi, &c.; (b) dhrame, &c.

Plural.

Masc. putra, &c.; neut. [o]sha[dha]ni, &c. Masc. yutani, &c.; neut. divani, rupani. satehi.

prananam, &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination -s is dropped in jana (XIV, 13), ghosha (IV, 8), pradeśi[ka] (III, 6), vadha (XIII, 3), samba[m]dha (XI, 23), sayama (VII, 4), Maka (XIII, 9). The Māgadha termination -e is frequent; see jane (X, 21), vivade (VI, 14, 15), Turamaye (XIII, 9), Devanapriye (X, 21), &c. In Amtikini (XIII, 9) we have -i instead of -e.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in dana, a[cha] yika (VI, 14), anusochana (XIII, 2), [du]kara (VI, 16), drašana and dašana (VIII, 17), puña (XI, 24), maingala (IX, sections D and F), maha-phala (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadha forms in -e are frequent; see dane (VII, 4), drašane (VIII, 17), likhite (XIV, 13), vijite (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have -o instead of -am or -e: kaṭavo (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), praṭivedetavo (VI, 14) and paṭivedetavo (VI, 15), vatavo (IX, 19; XI, 24; XII, 8), śako (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine bhāga is used as neuter in sahasra-bhagam (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In ath[r]a (VI, section E), dosha and ba[hu]ka (I, 1), the Anusvära is omitted. There are two irregular forms: dhramo (XII, 6) and sayamo (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in [da]na (XII, 1), karaņa (XIV, 14), vasana (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group sp of the termination -spi is assimilated in [a]pakaraṇasi (XII, 3), uthanas[i] (VI, 15), [ga]ṇanasi (III, 7), mahana[sas]i (I, 2), yu[ta]si (V, 13). The termination -e occurs also in anutape, abadhe, avahe, Kalige, prakara[n]e, pravase, vijay[e] (XIII, 11), vijite, vivahe, śile.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter apatya is used as masculine in [y]e me apacha vrakshamti (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is -a instead of -ani in [o]sha[dha]ni harapita cha vuta cha (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are -kaindhani, Kaliga[ni], -prashaindani, pravrajita[ni], grahathani.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in abhiratana (XIII, 5), mahamatrana (VI, 14), -brama-nana (twice), -śramanana (IV, 9).



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(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.

Nom. ichha, &cc. Acc. puja, &c. Instr. pujaye, vividhaye. Loc. sa[m] tiranaye.

Plural. chik[i]sa, [kr]i[ta], striyaka.1

Plural.

Plural.

rajano, rajani.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. travo.

Gen. plur. ñatina[m], ñatina, Nabhitina.

Singular.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

atavi.

Nom. dipi, &c.

Acc. Sabodhi, &c.

Instr. -anusa[sti] ya, bhatiya.

Dat. -anuśastiye, vadhiya.

Abl. nivuțiya, Ta[m]bapam[ni]ya.

Loc. ayatiya.

With the nom. plur atavi cf. Pāli rattī, nom. plur. of ratti (= Skt. rātri).

III. BASES IN -u.

The same forms as at Girnār and Kālsī occur, viz. nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. sadhu; nom. and acc. sing. neut. bahu; nom. and acc. plur. neut. bahuni; instr. plur. bahuhi; gen. plur. guruna, garuna.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ri.

Nom. plur. nataro. Gen. plur. bhratuna, spasa(su)na.2 Loc. plur. pitushu.

The instr. sing. follows the u-declension: pituna, bhratuna.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

As at Kālsī, we have the two nom. sing. masc. sa[m]tam (satam) and karamtam (karatam).

(2) Masculine in -vat.

Nom. sing. prajava (= Skt. prajavan).

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.

Nom. masc. raja, raya.

Acc. neut. nama.

Instr. raña.

Gen. raño.

The neuter base karman follows the a-declension: nom. sing. kramam, dat. krammaye.

¹ The Skt. feminine strī, from which this curious diminutive is formed, occurs at XII, 9 in the form i[stri]. ² At Mānsehrā (V, 24) the reading is spas[u]na.





(4) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. Priyadraśi. Instr. sing. Priyadraśina. Gen. sing. Priyadraśisa.

Acc. plur. [a]stina (asti[ne] at Mānsehrā).

The gen, sing, follows the analogy of the a-declension.

(5) Neuters in -as.

Acc. Sing. yaso, bhuy[e].

The base vacha- (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. vachas.

(6) Neuter in -is.

The base joti- (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. jyōtis.

(7) Feminine in -d.

The base parishad follows the a-declension: loc. sing. parishaye. The nom. sing. parisha is preserved at Mansehra (III, 11).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. aham. Instr. sing. maya. Gen. sing. maa, me.

With the gen. maa cf. Prakrit maha, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive mama under the influence of the dative mahyam; see Michelson, JAOS, 30. 85, n. 2.

(2) Base ta.

Singular.

Nom. masc. so neut. tam, so. Acc. masc. tain

Instr. tena.

Dat. taye.

Gen. tasa.

Loc. tasi.

Plural.

Masc. te.

tesha[m], tesha.

Nom. sing. fem. sa.

Acc. plur. fem. ta (XIII, 7).

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have sa for so (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base sha.

The acc. plur. neut. sha (VI, 16) corresponds to she (acc. plur. masc.?) at Mānsehrā; cf. Text, p. 59, n. I.

(4) Base ēta.

Masc. eta (I, 3).

Singular.

Plural.

Nom. masc. eshe; neut. eta, etain, etake, eshe

(X. section E).

Instr. etakena.

Dat. etaye, etakaye.

Gen. etisa (III, 6; XII, 9).

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Nom. sing. fem. esha (XIII, 4).

The i of the gen. sing. etisa, which is found also at Mänsehrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative kissa (from base ki) = kassa (from base ka).

(5) Demonstrative idam.

Singular.

Nom. masc. ayam, ayi; neut. idam, ida, imam, ima, iyam, iyo. Acc. neut. imain. Gen. imisa (IV, 10).

> Nom. fem. aya, ayi. Dat. fem. imisa (III, 6).

With the gen, masc. imisa cf. etisa (from ēta) and the Girnar and Pāli instrumental iminā. The dat. fem. imisa is an imperfect spelling of Pāli imissā. Cf. the feminine bases imī, tī, eī, jī, kī in Prākrit (Pischel's Grammatik, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The indefinite kichi (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. kachi (XII, 5). The compound kiti is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. yo, y[e]; neut. yam, ye. Acc. neut. yam, yo (X, 21), [e] (XIII, 5). Instr. ye[na].

Gen. yasa. Loc.

Masc. ye.

yesha (yesha[in] at Mänsehrä).

Nom. sing. fem. ya (XIII, 12). Nom. plur. fem. ya (XIII, 7).

Singular.

Nom. masc. añe, amñi; neut. añam.1 Acc.

Dat. añave.

Gen. añamañasa.

(8) Base anya.

Plural.

Plural.

Masc. amne

(9) Base sarva.

Singular.

Nom. neut. sav[r]am, savre.

Acc. masc. and neut. savrain, savain.

Loc.

Plural.

Masc. save.

savreshu, saveshu.

(10) Base ubhaya.

Gen. plur. u[bha]y[e]sa (ubhayesam at Mānsehrā).

(II) Base ēkatara.

Loc. sing. ekatare.

(12) Base *ēkatya.

Nom. sing. masc. ekatia.





D.—NUMERALS

One.

Acc. sing. neut. [e*]kain.

Two.

Nom. masc. and fem. duv[i].

Three.

Nom. masc. trayo.

Four.

As in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's Grammatik, § 439), the acc. masc. chature (= Skt. chaturah) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9).

Five, six.

Loc. painchashu, shashu.

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen. [atha], daśa, badaya(śa), todaśa.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. śatani, instr. śatehi, loc. śateshu.

The ordinal is sata; see sata-bhage, XIII, 7.

Thousand.

The ordinal is sahasra (XIII, 7).

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. śa[ta-saha]sre. Nom. plur. śata-sahasani.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root kram: parakramati, nik[r]amatu.

Root garh: garahati.

Root ji: [vi] jinamano, vijiniti; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.

Root trap: avatrapeyu. Root dris: [da]khati. Root nī: anuneti. Root bhū: bhoti, hoti.

Root labh: the absolutive ara[bhitu] and the two passive forms [arabhi]yis[u] and arabhi- samti presuppose the present *arabhati, 'to kill' (= Skt. ālabhatē).

Root vas: vasati.

Root vrit: anuvatatu, anuvațainti.

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Root vraj: vrachamti. For Prākrit vachchai (for *vrajyati?) = Skt. vrajati see Hēmachandra, IV, 225; Pischel's Grammatik, § 202 and n. 3.

Root sthā. The absolutive tithiti (IV, 10) presupposes the present *titthati (= Skt. tishthati).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root as: asti.

Root han: upahamti.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root hu. The gerundive [p] rayuhotave is formed from the Skt. present juhöti.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pad: patipajeyati.

Root man: mañati and meñati.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root āp follows the ninth class: prapunati. Root śru follows the a-conjugation: śruneyu.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root ish: ichhati.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root yuj follows the a-conjugation: yujaintu.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root kṛi: karoti; but the optative apakareyati and the two present participles karamtam and ka[ra]min[o] presuppose the present *karati, *karate.

Root kshan follows the a-conjugation: kshanati.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root as follows the a-conjugation: asamana (part. pres. middle).

Tenth Sanskrit class.

- (a) With aya: dipayami, draśayitu, sukhayami. The character aya is contracted into e in pujeti, pujetaviya, a[ra]dheti, aradhetu, rochetu, lo[ch]e[sh]u, a-locheti, pațivedetu, pativedetavo, nivațeti, vadheti.
 - (b) With paya: anapayami and anapemi, anapeśainti, anapita, anunija(jha)peti, hapeśadi.
 - (c) With apaya: likha[p]eśami, likhapitu(ta), khanapita, nipesapita, harapita.

(2) Moods.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the present participles [vi] jinamana, ka[ra]mina, aśamana.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. parak[r]amami, karomi, anapayami and anapemi.

3. sing. parakramati, garahati, [da]khati, anuneti, bhoti and hoti, asti, upahamti, mañati and meñati, ichhati, karoti, kshanati, anunija(jha)peti, pujeti, a[ra]dheti, nivateti, vadheti.

3. plur. anuvațamti, vrachamti, ichhamti. The Anusvāra is missing in bhoti (XIII, 7), vasati, prapunati, karo[ti] (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. dipayami and sukhayami (with indicative termination).





(c) Optative.

1. sing. v[r] acheyam (from *vrachchati = Skt. vrajati).

3. sing. siya and siyati (= Skt. syāt), patipajeyati, apakareyati (from Skt. apakarēti), nivate-yati (= Skt. nirvartayēt; cf. above, p. lxxxii). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.

3. plur. avatrapeyu, vaseyu, śruneyu, asu (= Päli assu) and siyasu. With the last form cf. the optative passive [ha]mñeyasu (below, V).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. bhotu, anuvatatu.

3. plur. parakramamtu, yujamtu. The Anusvāra is missing in nik[r]amatu, maña[tu], aradhetu, rochetu, paṭivedetu.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. aho (= Skt. abhavat).

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. nikrami.

3. plur. nikramishu. In abhuvasu (VIII, 17) the aorist termination -su seems to be affixed to abhūvan, the Sanskrit aorist of root bhū; cf. Johansson, § 30.

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. mañishu (from Skt. manyatē), lo[ch]e[sh]u (alochayisu at Kālsī and Mānsehrā).2

III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect āha, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84), the termination of the 3. sing. indicative present is affixed: ahati and hahati.³

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. kasham ([ka]shami at Mānsehrā), likha[p]eśami (while Girnār has likhāpayisam).

3. sing. kashati, vadhisati, hapesadi.

3. plur. kashanti, an[u]vatišanti, vrakshanti (from root vraj), anušašišanti (from anu-šās), anapešanti, pra[va]dh[e]šanti (pavadhayišanti at Mānsehrā).

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative vuchati (= Skt. uchyatē), prasavati (= prasāvyatē).

3. plur, indicative [a] nuvidhiyamti (= anuvidhiyantē), hamñamt[i] (= hanyantē).

3. plur. optative [ha]mneyasu (XIII, 8) with a rist termination; cf. siyasu (= Skt. syuh, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.

3. sing. imperative anuvi[dhi] yatu.

3. plur. aorist [arabhi]yis[u] (from Skt. ālabhyatē).

3. plur. future anuvidhiyisam [ti] (from Skt. anuvidhīyatē), arabhisamti (for *ālabhyishyanti from Skt. ālabhyatē).⁴

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. plur. optative suśrusheyu.

3. sing. imperative suśrushatu.

¹ Mänsehrä reads nivateya. ² See Text, p. 31, n. 7. ³ Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11.

4 Cf. ārabhare, ārabhisu, and ārabhisare at Girnār, where bh is also a defective spelling for bbh.



SHAHBAZGARHI GRAMMAR



VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root as: sa[m]tam (satam). Root kri: karamtam (karatam).

Middle.

Root ji: [vi] jinamana; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.

Root kri: ka[ra]mina. Root as: asamana.

Other participles in -mina or -mina are found in the Māgadha edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

(2) Past passive participle.

- (a) In-ta: mata and muta (= Skt. mata, XIII, 8), muta (= mṛita), kiṭa, [kr]i[ṭa], and kiṭra (= kṛita), vapaṭa, viyapaṭa, and viyapuṭa (= vyāpṛita, V, 13), vistriṭa (= vistṛita), usaṭa (= utsṛita), niṣita (= *niṣrita), nipista (= Ancient Persian nipishta; see above, p. xlii), nipesita, nipesapita, likhita, likhapitu(ta), khanapita, harapita, aropita, anapita, bhuta (i. e. bhūta), atikrata (= atikrānta), [la]pita, nivuṭa (= nirvṛitta), vuta (= upta), samata (= samāpṭa), samkshita (= samkshipṭa), vuḍha (= vriddha), apavuḍha (= apōḍha), ladha (= labdha), &c.
 - (b) In -na: prasana (i.e. prasanna), viprahina (i.e. °hīna).
 - (3) Future passive participle.
- (a) In -tavya: kshamitaviya, pujetaviya, vijetav[i]a, kaṭava, vatava, [p]rayuhotava, paṭive-detava.
 - (b) In -anīya: v[e]dani[ya].
 - (c) In -ya: śaka (= Skt. śakya)

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

- (a) In -tu (= Skt. $-tv\bar{a}$): ara[bhitu], paritijitu (from root tyaj with Samprasāraņa of ya), srutu, drasayitu.
- (b) In -ti (= Vēdic -tvī): 1 tithiti (from the Skt. present tishthati), vijiniti (from the present vi-jinati; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1), a-locheti.
 - (c) In -ya: samkhay[a] (from sam-khyā).

The dialect of the Mānsehrā text is nearly identical with the Shāhbāzgarhī one, but contains some more Māgadhisms.² It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at Mānsehrā which differ from the corresponding ones at Shāhbāzgarhī.

The vowel e for a in the second syllable of sayeme (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal y, unless it is a clerical error. For the form $m[uni] \le a$ (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel ri the Mānsehrā version has (1) a in kata, sukata, [ma]te; (2) u in [pa]r[i]puchha, vaputa (= Skt. vyāprita); (3) e in gehatha (= grihastha); (4) ra in viyaprata (V, 24); (5) ar in katra (i. e. karta = Skt. krita), vadhri (i. e. varddhi = Skt. vriddhi); (6) ri in mrig[e], mrigaviya (= mrigavya); (7) ru in vrudhi (= vriddhi); (8) ur in vudhra (i. e. vurddha = Skt. vriddha). For vuchha = Skt. vriksha (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural k becomes y in [di]ya[dha] (XIII, 1). Greek χ is represented by g in [A]tiyoge

² Cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 285 f.

³ The Prākṛit form gēha is used for gṛiha also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change is the root ēdh = ridh; see Wackernagel's Altind. Grammatik, 1. 39.

⁴ The spelling (5) katra (for karta) suggests that (4) viyaprata is meant for viyaparta.
⁵ The spellings (5) vadhri and (8) vudhra suggest that (7) vrudhi is meant for vurddhi.

¹ Cf. Delbrück's Altind. Verbum, § 221; Macdonell's Vedic Grammar, p. 412.

(II, 6). As at Kālsī, the palatal ch has been aspirated in kechhi (= Skt. kaśchit) and kichhi (= *kid+chid). Dentals are lingualized in duva[da]śa (III, 9) = duva[da]śa (IV, 18), tredaśa (V, 21), and after ri in kaṭa, sukaṭa, [ma]te, vapuṭa, viyapraṭa, vrudhi. Sanskrit n is preserved in paṇatika (= praṇaptrika), but is represented by dental n in ti[ni] (= trīni). In ananiyaṁ (VI, 31) the first n is due to assimilation. The t for dh in śuti (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The bh of the root bhū has become h in hoti, hotu, aho, [hu]veyu, husu, huta-pruve (twice), but not in bhuta-pruva (V, 21) and in the substantive bhuta (i. e. bhūta). The semivowel y is prefixed to e in yeva, while initial y is lost in e, aṁ (= yat), [a]diśe (twice), atra (twice = yatra), atha (thrice = yathā). In supadarave (V, 21) we seem to have r for l and v for y; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvii, n. 2. The first ś of śa[śa] yike (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists husu, [arabh]isu, and [alo]chay[i]su, dental s has taken the place of sh. In aa (VI, 26) = aha (i. e. āha) and aaṁ (VI, 30) = ahaṁ (VI, 28), h is elided between vowels.

Final as becomes o only in tato, mukhato (VI, 28), yaśo, Devanapriyo (VII, 32), niśito (V, 25), but generally e; see he[tute], vi[yańja]nate, natare (= Skt. naptārah), rajine (= rājňah), ra[jane] (= rājānah), Priyadraśine (gen. sing.), Devanapriye, &c. In vini[k]ramani (XIII, 5) the -e is

replaced by -i.

The hiatus remains in dhramayuta-apalibodhaye (V, 23). a+e becomes e in usaten-eva

(X, II), and $\bar{a} + u$ becomes o in praj-opadaye (IX, 2).

As at Shāhbāzgarhī, the letter r is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus nirathriya (IX, 3) is meant for nirathiya, vadhrite and vadhrayisati (IV, 15) for vardhite and vardhayisati. Similarly kaṭra (= Skt. kṛita, V, 24) stands for karṭa,¹ vadhri (= vṛiddhi) for varddhi, vudhra (= vṛiddha) for vurddha. Anusvāra is omitted before consonants in ata (II, 5), aparata (V, 22), samata (II, 6), [A]tiyoge, Adha, a[na]taliyena, anarabhe, anubadha, apa-bha[data], [aba]ka,asapa[f]ipati, Gadharana,-chhade, para[kra]mate (3. plur.), satirana (VI, 30), hache (for haṃche).

ksh becomes chh in chhanati and ruchhani.

jñ becomes n in kiţanata (= Skt. kritajñatā), but jin in rajina (= rājñā) and rajine (= rājñah).

ny becomes n in puna, punam, apu[ne].

tm becomes tv in atva- (= Skt. ātman).

ty becomes tiy in apatiye, [eka]tiya.

tr remains in tredasa, but becomes t in ti[ni] (= Skt. trīni), and d in tenada and yada.2

dr becomes d in khuda and khudakena.

dv becomes duv in duva[da]śa and duva[da]śa.

dhy becomes jh in istrija(jha)ksha.

ny becomes n, as at Kālsī, in ana[tra] (X, 11); n in ane, anatra (X, 9), anamanasa, manati, man[ishu].

pr remains in prap[o]tra, but becomes p in panatika, pavadhayisainti, avipahin[e], patibhogaye,

pativesiyena.

br becomes b in bamana (IV, 15) = bramana (passim).

bhy remains in -ibhyeshu, but becomes bhiy in [ara]bh[iyamti], and bh in [arabh]isu (aorist passive).

bhr becomes bh in bhata(tu)na (V, 24) = bhratuna (twice).

my remains in samya-.

rg becomes g in ma[geshu].

rt becomes t in anuvațatu and kiți (= Skt. kīrti).

rth remains in nirathriya (i. e. nirarthiya).

rdh remains in vadhrite (i. e. vardhite, IV, 15) and vadhrayisati (i. e. vardha°), but becomes dh in vadhite (IV, 12).

ly becomes y in kayana (= Skt. kalyāna).

vy becomes v in vaputa; viy in viyaprata, vi[yainja]nate, mrigaviya, kataviya, pra[johi]taviye, vataviye, pativedetaviye.

vr becomes v in [p]rava[ji]tani.

st becomes th in saintha [v]e.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxv, n. 4.

¹ In viyaprata (i. e. viyaparta = Skt. vyāprita) the r is combined with the preceding akshara.

MANSEHRA NOTES





sth becomes the in chira-thitika.

sr becomes s in pa[r]isave.

Masculines in -a: abl. sing. anubadha; dat. plur. mahamatrehi.

Feminines in -ā: acc. sing. puja[ii]; loc. sing. prajopadaye; nom. plur. janika.1

Masculines in -i: loc. plur. [Na]bhapa[m]tishu.

Masculines in -ri: nom. plur. natare.

Present participle in -at.—The gen. sing. asatasa follows the a-declension.

Masculines and neuters in -an: instr. sing. rajina; dat. sing. krama[n]e (i. e. karmane); gen. sing. rajine; nom. plur. ra[jane].

Masculines in -in: gen. sing. Priyadrasine.

Pronoun of the first person: nom. sing. aam (VI, 30) = aham (VI, 28); instr. sing. me (III, 9). Base ta.—The nom. sing. masc. se is used also as nom. and acc. sing. neut.; dat. plur. tehi (XII, 7); gen. plur. ta[nam] (XIII, 5).

Base ēta: nom. sing. masc. [esha] (XIII, 6); gen. sing. e[ta]sa; nom. plur. neut. [e]tani.

Demonstrative idam: nom. sing. neut. iya (VIII, 35); gen. sing. imasa; nom. plur. masc. ime; nom. sing. fem. iyam; dat. sing. fem. imaye.

Indefinite pronoun: nom. sing. masc. kechhi; nom. and acc. sing. neut. kichhi.

Base itara: nom. sing. neut. [i]tare.

Numerals: [e]k[e] (nom. sing. masc.), du[v]e, ti[ni], duva[da] sa and duva[da] sa, treda sa.

Present indicative: 3. plur. yamti (from root i or yā).—Subjunctive: 1. plur. dipayama; 3. plur. middle: para[kra]mate.—Optative: 1. sing. ye[ham] and 3. plur. [hu]veyu, as in the Kālsī version, which cf. also for the aorist husu (VIII, 34) and the perfect aha (i. e. āha).

Passive: 3. plur. indicative [ara]bh[iyamti] (alabhi[yam]ti at Kālsī); 3. plur. aorist [arabh]isu

(ārabhisu at Girnār).

Present participle: aśatasa (gen. sing.) from root aś.

Past passive participle: [anapayit]e (III, 9),2 ropapita (ropāpita at Girnār).

Future passive participle: pra[johi]taviye; see above, p. lxxxi.

Absolutive in -ti: draseti.

CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel a is converted to i through the influence of a neighbouring y in majhima (= Skt. madhyama) and likhiyis[$\bar{a}mi^*$]. It becomes u after a labial in munisa (= manushya), uchāvucha, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in $udup\bar{a}na$ (= $udap\bar{a}na$).

The a in the second syllable of puthavi, which corresponds to Skt. i, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 115. In su = Skt. svid, i has become u through the influence of the preceding v. For e = i and \bar{i} in heta (= *itra) and edisa, hedisa (= Skt. idrisa), see

above, p. lxx.

Skt. u is represented by a in pana (= punah). In pulisa (= purusha) the i of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. u, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 124. For the i in the second syllable of munisa (= Skt. manushya), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In kho (= Skt. khalu), Skt. u is represented by o; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

¹ This is a diminutive of jani, 'a wife', which occurs at Kālsī.

GL

Skt. ri becomes (1) a in ana[n]a (= anrina), $\bar{a}namna$, $\bar{a}naniya$, and $\bar{a}naneya$, usata, kata, $[ka]t\bar{u}$ and katu (= $kritv\bar{a}$), dakhatha, $dakh\bar{a}mi$, [bha]taka, bhat, $vadh\bar{t}$, vithata, $viy\bar{a}pata$; (2) i in edisa and hedisa, $t\bar{a}disa$, $\bar{a}disa$ (= $y\bar{a}drisa$), dhiti, p[i]t[i]su, $bh\bar{a}t[\bar{i}]nam$, $m[\bar{a}]t[i]$ - (= $m\bar{a}tri$ -, Dhau. IV, 4), mige, $[miga]viy[\bar{a}]$; (3) u in pitu- (= pitri-, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in $[a]n\bar{a}[v]uti$ [= $an\bar{a}vritti$), $p[al]i[puchh]\bar{a}$, puthavi (= $prithiv\bar{i}$), vudha (= vriddha); (4) e in dekhata; (5) ra in drakhati (Jau. I, 2). The syllable vri is represented by lu in lukha (= vriksha).

The diphthong ai becomes e in niche (perhaps = Skt. nichaih), and au becomes o in -opaga and

-[o] paya, osadhāni, mokhya and mokhiya, papotā, pālalokika.

Short a, i, u are lengthened in $atiy\bar{a}yike$ (= Skt. $\bar{a}tyayikam$), $abh\bar{i}k\bar{a}[a]$, chi[a]- $thit\bar{i}k\bar{a}$, $[v]\bar{i}[v\bar{a}ha]$, $an\bar{a}v\bar{u}tiya$ (Dhau. Sep.) = $[a]n\bar{a}[v]uti[ya]$ (Jau. Sep.), $t\bar{u}lan\bar{a}[ya]$ and $at[\bar{u}]l[a]n\bar{a}$ (for which Jau. Sep. reads $t[u]\bar{a}ya$ and $[atulan\bar{a}]$), $nith\bar{u}liyena$, $y[\bar{u}]jey\bar{u}$ and $y\bar{u}jev\bar{u}$ (also $yujey\bar{u}$ and $yujev\bar{u}$), $bah\bar{u}hi$, $bah\bar{u}su$. Final a, i, u may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle ti (= iti) or without it; see $\bar{a}l\bar{a}[dha]yisa[th]\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}h\bar{a}$ (passim) = $\bar{a}[ha]$ (Jau. Sep. II, 1), $ch\bar{a}$, $kech\bar{a}$, $patip\bar{a}dayem\bar{a}$ ti, $ma[m]\bar{a}$ ti, $v\bar{a}$ (twice = Skt. $\bar{e}va$), $saven\bar{a}$ (Jau. Sep. II, 3), $hos\bar{a}m\bar{i}$, $aphes\bar{u}$ ti, $\bar{a}l\bar{a}dhayamt\bar{u}$ ti, $[ka]t\bar{u}$ (Jau. Sep.) = katu (Dhau. Sep.), $palakama[m]t[\bar{u}]$, $yujamt\bar{u}$, $s[\bar{a}]dh[\bar{u}]$ ti. Final a, i, u, which stand for original am, is, ur, are treated in the same way; see $[aph]\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ ti, $anusath\bar{u}$ ti, $\bar{a}l[adh]\bar{i}$, $[n]ijhat\bar{i}$, $[ip\bar{i},v[a]dh\bar{i}$, $sudh\bar{i}$, $alochayis\bar{u}$, $\bar{a}l\bar{a}dhayev[\bar{u}]$ and $\bar{a}l\bar{a}dhayev\bar{u}$, $chalev[\bar{u}]$, $[va]sev\bar{u}$ ti, $nusvev\bar{u}$ t

The three derivatives gamu[k]a, nagalaka, and vachanik[a] correspond to Skt. gamuka, nagaraka, and vachanika. The \bar{a} of $mah\bar{a}$ - is shortened in $mahamat\bar{a}$ (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final \bar{a} is often shortened; see atha and $ath\bar{a}$ (= Skt. $yath\bar{a}$), ada and $ad\bar{a}$ (= $yad\bar{a}$), tatha and $tath\bar{a}$, pita and $pit\bar{a}$, $l\bar{a}ja$ and $l\bar{a}j\bar{a}$, va and $v\bar{a}$, kam[mana] and kamana (= $karman\bar{a}$), $[a]n\bar{a}[v]uti[ya]$ and $an\bar{a}v\bar{u}tiya$, and the nominatives singular feminine achala, ichha, likhit[a], sotaviya. Long $\bar{\imath}$ is shortened in nitiyam (thrice) = $n\bar{\imath}t[\bar{\imath}]yam$ (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. nati (Dhau. IV, 5) = $nat[\bar{\imath}]$ (Dhau. and

Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in pi (= Skt. api), hakam (for ahakam = aham), ti (passim) = iti (thrice) and kimti, va and $v\bar{a}$ (= $\bar{e}va$). In $hvey\bar{u}$ (Jau. Sep.) = huveyu (Kālsī and Mānsehrā), the vowel u seems to be elided.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

In the separate edicts at Jaugada the guttural k is softened in palalogam, hidalogika, while Dhauli reads palaloka[m], hidaloka, hidalokika.\(^1\) k is represented by y in [nilathi] yam (Dhau. IX, 2) and supadālaye (Dhau. and Jau. V, 3); g by y in -[o]paya (Dhau. VIII, 3) = -opaga (Dhau. and Jau. II, 3). In akhakhasa (= Skt. akarkasa, Dhau. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first kh is perhaps due to the influence of the second kh, which is a defective spelling of khh, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group rk.\(^2\) Greek χ is expressed by k in Amtiyoka.

The palatal ch is aspirated in [k]e[chha] (Dhau. Sep. I, 7) = $kech\bar{a}$ (Jau. Sep. I, 4), kimchhi and kichhi. It is softened in $[a]jal\bar{a}$ (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) = achala (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while j is hardened in Kambocha and vachasi (=Skt. $vraj\bar{e}$). The palatal nasal \tilde{n} occurs only in patimna (Dhau. Sep. II, 6), instead of which the Jaugada text reads patimna. It is replaced by dental n also in ana-

payāmi, ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti, nātisu.

As at Kālsī, lingual n is replaced by dental n. But n is used in four stray instances: [kha]nas[i] (Dhau. Sep. II, 10), nijhap[e]ta[vi] ye (Jau. Sep. I, 1), pālaloki[k]e[na] (Jau. Sep. II, 4),

and savenā (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are lingualized after ra in the preposition pati (also prati in prativedayamtu, Jau. VI, 2), and after ri in usata, kata, $[ka]t\bar{u}$ and katu, puthaviyam, [bha]taka, bhati, $vadh\bar{v}$, vithata, $viy\bar{a}pata$, vudha. t becomes ch in [ch]i[th]itu. In the Jaugada separate edicts, d is hardened in the following forms of the root pad: patipatayeham, [pa]tipatayem[a], vipatipatayamtam, [sampatipa]ta[yam]tam, sampatipatayit[av]e, while Dhauli reads [pa]ti[paday]eham, &c. For [idha] (Dhau. IV, 8) and hida (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle nam (in huvamti nam, Dhau. and Jau. VIII, 1)

Both Dhau, and Jau. have sava-loka-hita and pālalokika.

² For other instances of the aspiration of initial k see Pischel's Grammatik, § 206.

DHAULI AND JAUGADA GRAMMAR



As derived by native grammarians from Skt. nanu; but in Pischel's opinion (Grammatik, § 150) it goes back to Skt. nūnam, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial p is aspirated in aphal[usa] in (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prākṛit pharusa (= Skt. parusha); see Pischel's Grammatik, § 208. bh becomes h in the instrumental and dative plural in-hi, in lahey[\bar{u}] and lahevu, hoti, hotu, a[h]o, huvamti, [h]uveyā, huvevu, and in the participle hūta, while bhūta is used as substantive.

The semivowel y becomes j in majūla (= Skt. mayūra), and h in the optatives ālabheham, yeham, [pa]ti[pāday]eham and paṭipātayeham. It is replaced by v before u and ū at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugaḍa; see -āvutike, asvasevu, ālādhayevū, chalevū, [p]ā[p]unevu and pāpunevū, yujevū and yūjevū, lahevu, [va]sevū, huvevu and huvevū, instead of which Jaugaḍa reads -āy[ut]ike, &c. But both Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have nikhamāvū (III, 2). y is prefixed to e in yeva, but is dropped at the beginning of e, ena, am (= Skt. yat), ata (= yatra), athā and atha (= yathā), adā and ada (= yadā), asa (= yasya), ā (= yā), āni, ādise, āva (= yāvat). The syllable ya becomes i in apaviy[a]t[ā], palitijit[u], bhaṭi (= bhritya). The syllables aya and ayi are contracted to e in tedasa (= *trayadaśa), Ujeni (= Ujjayinī), nijhap[e]ta[vi] ye, pativedetaviye.

As at Kālsī, r becomes l throughout.

v is prefixed to u in v[u]te (= uktam). The syllable va becomes u in $t[ul]\bar{a}ya$ and $[atulan\bar{a}]$; $v\bar{a}$ becomes \bar{u} in $[ka]t\bar{u}$ (= $kritv\bar{a}$), and u in katu, $anus\bar{a}situ$, and other absolutives. The syllables ava and avi become o in olodhana, viyovadita[viye*], $-viyoh\bar{a}laka$, hoti, hotu, a[h]o, and hosati (= bhavishyati).

The two sibilants δ and sh are replaced by s throughout. Skt. δ is represented by ch in chakiye and chaghatha, from root chak $(= \delta ak)$.

h is prefixed in hida, heta, hedisa, hevain.

As in other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in sammyā- (= Skt. samyak), $p[a]lis\bar{a}$ (= parishat), anusathī, ālādhayevū, &c. (see above, p. c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened; see [siya] and siyā (= syāt), da[kheya] and $dakh[e]y\bar{a}$, anubamdh[a] (= anubandhāt, Dhau. V, 6), and the nom. plur. masc. anuvigina, &c. (below, p. civ). Final as generally becomes e; see Ujenite, kute, $T[a]kha[s]il\bar{a}$ te, $duv\bar{a}$ late, mukhate, viyamijanate, hetute, the genitives singular atane, $l\bar{a}$ jine, Piyadasine, the nom. plur. $l\bar{a}$ jāne, da[v]iye, [bhuy]e, ne, jane, &c. It becomes o only in seto, [ya]so, and man[o]-; a in $[sampa]tip\bar{a}$ da (?), sa, esa; l \bar{a} in $e[s\bar{a}]$. Final ar becomes e in amte = Prākṛit and Pāli anto (Skt. antar), and a in pana (= punar).

Final a and u are nasalized in mamain (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = mama (passim) and sahasesum (Dhau.) = sahasesu (Jau.), while the Anusvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in hidaloka, bahuka, -vachanik[a], -a[m]tik[a], &c. (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. Sambodh[i] and hīni, aphāka (= Skt. asmākam) and t[u] phāk[a]. The Anusvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in kiţī, vaḍhī, sudhī, kaṭaviyatalā, k[am]matalā, duvālā, [aph]ākā ti; cf. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in -a generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in -e; see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened; see the genitives plural bhaginīnam, gulūnam, bhāt[ī]nam, [te]sa[m], pānānam, &c., the acc. sing. fem. yātam, susūsam, and the loc. sing. fem. [pa]lisāy[am] (Jau. VI, 4), Samāpāyam, Tosaliyam, nitiyam, puṭhaviyam. The Anusvāra is omitted in palisāyā (Dhau. VI, 3); in tes[a] and samtīlanāya the long ā is shortened at the same time.²

III. SANDHI.

Final d is preserved in [ta]d- $[o]pay\bar{a}$, and final m in hedisamseva. In hemeva (= Skt. $\bar{e}vamseva$) the syllable va of $\bar{e}vam$ is dropped.³ The final m is doubled in hevainmeva and sukhainmeva. Hiatus is prevented by m in bhati[m-ayesu].

Hiatus remains in svag[a]-āladhi (Jau. Sep.), mahā-apāye (Dhau. Sep.) = mahāpāy[e] (Jau.

¹ The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuters.

³ Cf. emeva = Skt. ēvam-ēva, Hēmachandra, I, 271, and Jacobi, ZDMG, 47. 579.

² But palisāyā and samtīlanāya may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.



Sep.), duāhale (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), pasu-opagāni (Dhau. and Jau.), man[o]-atileke (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.). As a rule, $a+\check{a}$ are contracted into \check{a} ; see -vasābhisita, pānālambhe, &c. But the \check{a} is shortened before a group of consonants; see atata (= Skt. yatra yatra), āpalamtā (= *āpa-rāntāh), $[i]e[na]t\check{a}$ (= $t\bar{e}n\check{a}tra$), nathi (= $n\bar{a}sti$), $badhana[\check{m}]tik[a]$ (= bandhanāntikam), $s\bar{u}pathāye$. Final a preceding i, u, e, o is dropped in $b\bar{a}bha[n]$ -ibhi[yes]u, chu (= cha+u), [pa]j-upadāye, ch-eva, [ta]tsesa, munis-opagāni. In eve (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel $a\check{m}$ of $eva\check{m}$ is treated in the same manner before e (= yah). a is elided after e in $[e]y[a\check{m}]$ for $e+aya\check{m}$ (= Skt. $y\~o$ -yam).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are khy, tr, tv, ny, pr, my, vy, sv (which becomes sv), sm, sy, sv. Moreover the group rs is preserved at Jaugada in drasayitu (IV, 3) and Piyadrasine (I, 3), which are meant for darsayitu and Piyadarsine; cf. above, p. lxxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see atane (= ātmanaḥ), atānam, atiyāyike (= ātyayikam), anusathi (= anuśāsti), anusathe, [ayesu] (= āryēshu), asvāsanāye, asvāsa[n]iyā, [a]svaseyu, asvasevu, asamati (= asamāpti), āladhi (= *ārāddhi), tadatvāye, p[a]la-kamāmi, palakamena, maga (= mārga), mahamatā (Jau. Sep. II, 1), Lathika, sasvatam, isāya (= īrshyayā), kiţī (= kīrtim), puluva (= pūrva).¹ But ā remains in ānapayāmi, ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti, mahāmāta (passīm), sāsvatam (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In timni (= trīni) the ī is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels i and u in asvāsa[n]iyā, da[v]iye, and [bhuy]e suggest that these three words are meant for asvāsaniyyā, daviyye, and bhuyye; cf. above, p. lxxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in atikamtam, apa-bh[am]datā, kilamte, Devānampiya, Pamdiyā, bambhana, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in bābhana. In chhāmda (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 11) = chhamda (passim), the am is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anusvāra is omitted after short vowels in kichhi (cf. above, p. lx), badhana (= Skt. bandhana), vihisā; after e in kaleti (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2); and before y in anusayānam, sayama, sayuta (= samyukta).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is u before or after labials in duve, duvādasa, duvāda, puluva, suvāmika, pāpunāti; e in ānaneyam (Jau. Sep.) = ānaniyam (Dhau.); and frequently i, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhauli and Jaugada will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups kr, gr, dr, dhr, br, bhr, sr, which have become k, g, d, dh, b, bh, s, s, respectively.

hkh becomes kh (i. e. kkh) in dukha[m] and dukhīyati.

kt becomes t in -ay[ut]ike, -avutike, &c.

ky becomes kiy in sakiye and chakiye.

kl becomes kil in kilainte, k[i]lamathena, palikilesa.

ksh becomes kh in khana, khamitave, khamisati, [kh]ud[ain], khudakena, T[a]kha[s]ilāte, dakhāmi, &c.,² nakhatena, mokhāye, lukhāni.

kshn becomes khin in s[a]khina (= Skt. ślakshna).

kshy becomes gh in chaghatha.

khy remains in mokhya (Dhau. Sep.), but becomes khiy in mokhiya (Jau. Sep.).

khl becomes kh in kho = Skt. khalu; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes g in [a]gi, but gin in anuvigina.

jñ becomes jin in lājinā, lājine; mñ in paţimñā (Dhau. Sep.); mn or n in paţimnā (Jau. Sep.), ānapayāmi, ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti, ānāp[ay]i[ta], nātisu.

jy becomes j in the passive forms yujeyū and y[ū] jeyū.

dy becomes diy in Pamdiyā.

ny becomes inn in hilainna and anainne, but niy in ananiyam, and ney in ananeyam.

tp becomes p in [pa] jupadāye.

² See above, p. lxxiv and n. 5.

¹ puluva presupposes an intermediate form *purva, in which the \bar{u} of $p\bar{u}rva$ was shortened before the group rv. The same applies to $atiy\bar{a}yike$. Cf. above, p. lxxiv, n. 1.



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tm becomes t in atane and atanam.

ty becomes tiy in atiyāyike, apatiye, ekatiyā.

tr remains in s[a]vatra (Jau. II, 4), but becomes t in s[a]vata (passim), timni, &c.

tv remains in tadatvāye.

ts becomes s in usatena and chikisā.

tsth becomes th in uthana, but th in uthay[a]; cf. above, p. lxxxviii.

dg becomes g in uga[chha](chhe).

dy becomes y in $uy\bar{a}nasi$; j in aja, [pa]tipa[ja]ti, $patipajey\bar{a}$, sampatipajati, sa[m] $patipajam[\bar{i}]n[e]$.

dv becomes v in anuvigina, but duv in duve, duvādasa, duvāla.

dhy becomes jh in [n]ijhatī, nijhap[e]ta[vi] ye, majhan, majhime[na].

ny remains in [anye] (Jau. Sep. I, 5), but becomes inn in ainna (passim) and mainn[ate].

pt becomes t in asamati, nat[i] and nati (= Skt. naptāraḥ), [n]ijhatī.

pn becomes pun in pāpunāti, &c.

pr remains in prativedayamiu (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes p everywhere else.

bhy becomes bhiy in āla[m]bhiyamti, ālabhiyisu, āla[bh]iyisamti, -ibhi[yes]u.

my remains (with the nasal doubled) in sammyā-.

rk becomes kh in akhakhasa (= Skt. akarkaśa).

rg becomes g in magesu, vaga, svaga.

rt becomes t in [anu]vatatu and anuvatisainti; t in vatitaviya, kataviya, kiţī.

rth becomes th in atha (Jau. Sep. II, 2, 12, 14); th in atha (passim) and [nilathi] yain.

rdh becomes dh in vadhite, vadhayis[a]ti, pavadhayisamti.

rbh becomes bh in gabhāgālasi.

rm becomes $\dot{m}m$ or m in a[nu]chātummāsam, kamma- (= Skt. karman) and kamana (= karmanā), dhamma.

ry becomes y in [ayesu], but liy in anamtaliyam, nithuliyena, madhuliyaye.

rv becomes v in pavatasi and sava, but luv in puluva.

rs becomes s in dasana and Piyadasi, but rs in drasayitu (i. e. darsayitu, Jau. IV, 3) and Piyadrasine (i. e. °darsine, Jau. I, 3).

rsh becomes s in vasa.

rshy becomes s in isāya.

lp becomes p in apa and -kapain.

ly becomes y in kayāna.

vy remains in samchalitavye (Jau. Sep. I, 7), but becomes y in [ichhi]taye (Jau. Sep. I, 5), and viy in samchalitaviy[e] (Dhau. Sep. I, 13), ichhitaviye, and other gerundives, divi[y]āni, [miga]viy[ā], viyamjanate, viyāpaṭā, -viyohālaka.

vr becomes v in vachasi (= Skt. vrajē).

śch becomes chh in pachhā.

śl becomes s in s[a]khina (= Skt. ślakshna).

śv becomes sv in asvāsanāye, asvāsa[n]iyā, [a]svaseyu, asvasevu, sāsvatam and sasvatam, but s in seto.

shk becomes k in dukatain and dukala.

shkr becomes kh in nikhamāvū, [n]ikhami, [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u], nikhamisamti, nikhāmayisāmi.

shtr becomes th in Lathika.

shth becomes the in [ch]i[th]itu, nithūliyena, se[the]; the in adhithana.

shp becomes ph in niphati.

shm becomes ph in tuphe, &c.

shy becomes s in tisa, munisa, hosati, esatha (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but h in ehatha (Dhau. Sep.); cf. Māhārāshṭrī ehii in Pischel's Grammatik, § 529, and ehiti in Pāli.

As at Kālsī, sk becomes k in [a] gi-kamdhāni.

st becomes th in athi, nathi, anusathi, anusathe, vithatena, sainthuta, hathini; th in athi (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

str becomes th in ithī.

sth becomes th in chila-thitīkā.

sm remains in akasmā, but becomes ph in aphe, &c., and s in the locative singular in -asi.



sy remains in $[\bar{a}la]s[y]e[na]$ (Jau. Sep. I, 6), but becomes siy in $\bar{a}lasiyena$ (Dhau. Sep. I, 11), $siy\bar{a}$ and [siya] (= Skt. $sy\bar{a}t$), and s in the genitive singular in -asa.

sv remains in svaga, but becomes suv in suvāmike [na].

hm becomes inbh in bambhana. In babhana the Anusvara is omitted, and the long a of Skt. brahmana is preserved.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES in -a.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.

Nom. masc. jane, &c.; neut. däne, &c. Acc. masc. dhainmain, &c.; neut. maingalain, &c.

Instr. putena, &c.

Dat. athaye, &c.

Abl. anubamdh[a], pachhā.

Gen. janasa, &c.

T.oc. athasi, &c.

Plural.

Masc. putā, &c.; neut. osadhāni, &c. Masc. kandhāni, $y[u]t[\bar{a}n]i$; neut. vasāni, &c. jāte[h]i. mahāmātehi, samanehi.

mente medicine, derma

pānānam, &c. vasesu, &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination -s seems to be dropped in [sampa]tipāda (Dhau. Sep. I, 14). The termination is -o instead of -e in the colophon of Dhauli: seto (Text, p. 91).

Nom. sing. neut.—The termination is -am in jīvam (Dhau. and Jau. I, 1) and duvālam (Jau. Sep. I, 2); -a in -a[m]tik[a] (Dhau. Sep. I, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 5), duvāl[a] (Dhau. Sep. I, 3; Jau. Sep. II, 2), mata (four times), v[a]titaviya (Jau. Sep. I, 7); -ā in kaṭaviyatalā (Jau. IX, 6), k[am]matalā (Jau. VI, 5), duvālā (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in hidaloka (Dhau. Sep. II, 6).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvara is omitted in bahuka (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and -vachanik[a] (Jau. Sep.

I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in anamne (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final \bar{a} is shortened in anuvigina (Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5), $\bar{a}ya[ta]$ (Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2), nagalaka (Jau. Sep. I, 10), $ma[h\bar{a}]m\bar{a}ta$ (Dhau. Sep. I, 1), vataviya) Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1), $-viyoh\bar{a}laka$ (Jau. Sep. I, 1).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is -ā instead of -āni in lopāpitā and hālāpitā (Dhau. II, sections B and C; Jau. II, 4). As at Kālsī and Mānsehrā, the two Sanskrit masculines vriksha and prāna are used as neuters: lukhāni (Dhau. and Jau. II, 4) and pānāni (I, 4).

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Nom. sing. pajā, &c.
Acc. sing. yātam, susūsam.
Instr. sing. isāya, t[ul]āya, tūlanā[ya].
Loc. sing. Samāpāyam, samtīlanāya, pajāye, [pa] jupadāye.

Nom. sing.—The final ā is shortened in achala, ichha, likhit[a], sotaviya.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.
Nom. and. acc. plur. neut. timni.
Loc. plur. nātisu.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Nom. sing. anusathi, āladhi, lipi, &c.
Acc. sing. Sambodh[i], hīni.
Instr. sing. anusathiyā, anāvūtiya.



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Dat. sing. anus ath | iy [e], [va] dhiye. Abl. sing. niphatiy [a]. Loc. sing. Tosaliyain, nitiyain, puthaviyain, ā[ya]tiye. Nom. plur. ithī.1 Gen. plur. bhagininam.

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in anusathi, al[adh]i, [n]ijhati, lipi, v[a]dhi (Dhau. IV, section I), sudhī (Dhau. VII, section E).

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ī in kiţī, vadhī (Dhau. IV, J), sudhī (Dhau. and Jau. VII, B).

III. BASES IN -u.

Nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. sādhu, sādh[ū]. Nom. and acc. plur. neut. bahūni. Instr. plur. bahūhi. Gen. plur. gulunain. Loc. plur. bahüsu.

IV. MASCULINES IN -ri.

Nom. Sing. pitā, pita (Jau. Sep. II, 10). Gen. plur. bhāt [i] nam. Loc. plur. p[i]t[i]su.

The instr. sing. follows the i-declension: [p]itinā, bhātinā, likewise the nom. plur. nat[i], nati; cf. Prākrit and Pāli aggī (nom. plur. masc.).

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. saintam, kalaintam, vipatipätayaintam, [sainpatipä]ta[yain]tam. The base mahat follows the a-declension: nom. sing. masc. mahainte.

(2) Masculines and neuters in -an.

lajane.

Singular.

Nom. masc. lājā, lāja (Dhau. Sep. II, 4).

Acc. masc. atānam; neut. nāma.

Instr. lājinā, kam mana, kamana.

Dat. kammane.

Gen. atane, lajine.

The neuter base karman may also follow the a-declension: nom. sing. karmae, acc. karman, gen. kammasa.

(3) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. Piyadasī.

Instr. sing. Piyadasinā.

Gen. sing. Pivadasine.

Acc. plur. hathīni (= [ha]thini at Kālsī).

(4) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. [ya]so, da[v]iye, [bhuy]e.

(5) Feminine in -d.

The base parishad follows the a-declension: nom. sing. p[a]lisā, loc. [pa]lisāy[am] and palisāyā.

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Plural.

¹ Cf. atavi, above, p. xci.

² For these two forms see above, p. lxxvii.





C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.

Plural.

Nom. hakam.

Acc.

Instr. mamayā, mamāye, mamiyāye, me.

Abl. mamate.

Gen. mama, mamā, mamain, me.

Loc.

mave. aphe, a ph eni.

aphāka, [aph]ākā, ne. [aphesu], aphesu.

For the forms hakam and mamayā see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. mamāye (Dhau. Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads mamiyaye, cf. mamai, Hemachandra, III, 109. The ablative mamate for Skt. mattah is, like the instrumental mamayā, due to the influence of the genitive mama. The nom. plur. maye is derived from Skt. vayam, but influenced by the instr. sing. maya, and the acc. aphe (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. asman. The acc. al phleni (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. aphesu follow the analogy of the masculines in -a.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. tuphe, phe. Acc. plur. tuphe, tupheni. Instr. plur. tuphehi. Gen. plur. t[u]phāk[a]. Loc. plur. tuphesu.

The base *tushma, from which the nom. and acc. plur. tuphe (= Prākrit tumhe) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base yushma and the singular tvam (Prākrit tumam).1 With the form phe (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. bhe, Hemachandra, III, 91. The three forms tupheni (Jau-Sep.), tuphehi, and tuphesu follow the analogy of the masculines in -a.

(3) Base ta.

Singular.

Nom. masc. se, te (Dhau. Sep. I, 13).

Acc. neut. tain, se, sa.

Instr. tena.

Gen. tasa.

Loc. tasi.

Plural.

te, se.

[te]sa[m], tes[a].

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. tāni takes the place of the masc. te (Jau. Sep. II, 9).

(4) Base ēta.

Singular.

Nom. masc. $e[s\bar{a}]$ (Dhau. VIII, 3); neut. esa.

Acc. masc. and neut. etain.

Instr. [e]takena.

Dat. etäye, etakäye.

Gen. etasa.

Loc. etasi.

Plural.

Masc. ete; neut. etani.

Nom. sing. fem. etā(ta)kā.

In Dhau. Sep. I, 11 f., the nom. plur. masc. ete [jātā] corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. et[ā]ni jātā[ni] in Jau. Sep. I, 6.

With aphe and tuphe cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. api and topi.



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(5) Demonstrative idam.

Singular.

Nom. masc. ay[am], iyam; neut. iyam.

Acc. neut. imain. Instr. imena.

Dat. [i]m[a] ye. Gen. imasa.

Plural.

Masc. ime.

imehi.

Nom. sing. fem. iyain. Dat. sing. fem. ima ye.

As at Kālsī, the nom. sing. masc. ayam occurs only in [e]y[am] (= Skt. yo-yam, Jau. Sep. I, 6).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. kim. The acc. sing. neut. kam and the acc. plur. neut. kāni are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in akasmā. The indefinite pronoun is formed with cha or chha (nom. sing. masc. kechā, [k]e[chha]), and with chhi = Skt. chid (neut. sing. kimchhi, kichhi); and kimti is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. ye, e; neut. e. Acc. neut. am.

Instr. ena. Gen. asa.

Plural.

Masc. ye, e; neut. ani.

Nom. sing. fem. yā, ā.

(8) Base anya.

Singular.

Nom. masc. [anye], amne; neut. amne.

Acc.

Dat. amnāye.

Loc.

Plural.

Masc. ainne neut. amnāni.

amnesu.

(9) Base sarva.

Singular.

Nom. neut. save. Acc. masc. and neut. savain.

Instr. savena, savenā.

Gen. savasa.

Loc.

Plural.

Masc. save.

savesu.

(10) Base *ēkatva.

Nom. plur. masc. ekatiyā.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. eke; instr. sing. ekena, ek[a]k[e]na.

Two, three, five.

Nom. masc. duve (cf. above, p. lxxx); nom. and acc. neut. timni; loc. painchasu.





Ten, twelve, thirteen. d[a]sa, duvādasa, tedasa.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. satāni; instr. satehi.

Thousand.

Loc. plur. sahasesu, sahasesum (Dhau. Sep. I, 4).

Literary Prākrit also uses the termination -esum besides -esu; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 371.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. sata-sah[a]sāni.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(I) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root kamp: anukampati.

Root kram: p[a]lakamāmi, nikhamāvū.

Root gam: gachhema. Root chal: chaley $[\bar{u}]$.

Root dris: dakhāmi, drakhati, dekhata. Root bhū: hoti, huvamti (sixth class). Roots rabh and labh: ālabheham, lahey[ū].

Root vas: [va]sevū.
Root vṛit: [anu]vatatu.
Root śvas: [a]svaseyu.

Root sthā: [ch]i[th]itu (from *chitthati), uthāy[ā] (from *utthāti).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root as: athi, athi (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

Root i: eti.

The two roots yā and śās follow the a-conjugation: yeham, anusāsāmi.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root hu: pajohitaviye; see above, p. lxxxi.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pad: [pa]tipa[ja]ti. Root man: mainn[ate].

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root āp follows the ninth class (pāpunāti, pāpunātha) and the a-conjugation (pāpuneyu).

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root ish: ichhati.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root yuj follows the a-conjugation: yujeyū and yūjevū, yujamtū, yujisamti.



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Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root kṛi: kaleti, kalāmi, kalamti, kalamtam; see above, p. lxxxi.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root jñā: jānitu and jānisamti are formed from the present jānāti.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With aya: atikāmayisati, nikhāmayisāmi, dasayitu and drasayitu (i.e. darsayitu), paṭipāda-yemā, ālādhayamtū, likhiyis[āmi*], alochayisū, vaḍhayis[a]ti, vedayati, sukhayāmi. The character ayi is contracted into e in paṭivedetaviye.

(b) With paya: hāpayisat[i]. In ānapayāmi and nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye1 the long vowel of the two

roots jñā and dhyā is shortened.2

(c) With āpaya: khānāpitāni, likhāpitā, hālāpita.

(d) With pāpaya: lopāpita.

(e) With īya: dukhīyati (denominative of Skt. dukkha).

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. p[a]lakamāmi, dakhāmi, anusāsāmi, ichhāmi, kalāmi, ānapayāmi.

- 3. sing. anukampati, [pa]lakama[t]i, drakhati, hoti, athi and athi, eti, [pa]tipa[ja]ti, sampatipajati, pāpunāti, ichhati, kal[e]ti, vedayati, dukhīyati. The only middle form is mamn[ate] (Dhau. X, 1).
 - 2. plur. pāpunātha (from the strong base of the ninth class).
 - 3. plur. huvamti, ichhamti, kalamti and kaleti (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. sukhayāmi with indicative termination; cf. above, p. xcv.

3. plur. nikhamāvū with optative termination; cf. Johansson, Shāhb., part 2, p. 89, n. 2.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. ālabheham, yeham, [pa]ti[pāday]eham and paṭipātayeham; see above, p. lxxxii.

3. sing. uga[chha](chhe), $dakh[e]v\bar{a}$ and da[kheya], $uth\bar{a}y[\bar{a}]$ (from the indicative *utth\bar{a}ti = Pāli utth\bar{a}ti; cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 483), $[h]uvey\bar{a}$, $siv\bar{a}$ and [siva] (= Skt. $sy\bar{a}t$), $patipajey\bar{a}$.

1. plur. gachhema, paţipādayemā and [pa]tipātayem[a].

3. plur. chaley[\bar{u}] and chalev \bar{u} , hvey \bar{u} , hvevu and huvev \bar{u} , lahey[\bar{u}] and lahevu, [va]sev \bar{u} , [a]svaseyu and asvasevu, pāpuneyu, [p] \bar{a} [p]unevu and pāpunev \bar{u} , yu[j]ey[u], yujey \bar{u} , and y \bar{u} jev \bar{u} , \bar{a} lādhayey[\bar{u}] and ālādhayev \bar{u} .

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. hotu, [anu]vatatu.

2. plur. dakhatha (with indicative termination), dekhata.

3. plur. [pa]lakamamtu and $palakama[m]t[\overline{u}]$, $yujamt\overline{u}$, $\overline{a}l\overline{a}dhayamt\overline{u}$, prativedayamtu.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. a[h]o.

But in ānāp[ay]i[ta] (Dhau. III, 1), the long vowel of the root jnā is preserved.

¹ Cf. the substantive nijhati (= *nidhyapti) in the rock-edict VI, which is formed from *nidhyapayati, as Skt. ājñapti and vijñapti from jňapayati = jňāpayati.





II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. [n]ikhami; 3. plur. [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u].

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. alochayisū; see Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. ā[ha] (only Jau. Sep. II, 1) and āhā.

IV. FUTURE.

I. sing. hosami and hosāmī (= Prākrit hossāmi), nikhāmayisāmi, likhiyis[āmi*].

3. sing. khamisati, hosati, kachhati,¹ atikāmayisati, ā[na] p[ay]is[a]ti, vaḍhayis[a]ti.

2. plur. esatha and ehatha, chaghatha (from root chak = Skt. δak), δak , δak ,

3. plur. nikhamisamti, anuvatisamti, [a]nus[ā]sisam[t]i, yujisamti, kachhamti, jānisamti, pava-

dhayisamti.

V. PASSIVE.

3. plur. indicative āla[m]bhiyamti.3

3. plur. optative yujeyū, y[ū] jeyū, yujevū, y[ūjev]ū.

3. plur. aorist ālabhiyisu.

3. plur. future āla[bh]iyisamti and āl[am]bhiyisa[m]t[i].

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. imperative susūsatu.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root as: saintain. Root kri: kalaintain.

Causative of pad: vipaţipātayamtam and [sampaţipā]ta[yam]tam (Jau. Sep.).

Middle.

Root pad: $sa[m]patipajam[\bar{\imath}]n[e]$, and causative: $[vi]pat[i]p\bar{a}dayam\bar{\imath}ne$ (Dhau. Sep.).

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta: mata, kaţa (= Skt. krita), viyāpaţa (= vyāprita), vithaţa (= vistrita), usaţa (= utsrita), [n]isita (= *niśrita), likhita, likhāpita, khānāpita, hālāpita, ālopita, lopāpita, ānā-

² Cf. sagghasi in the Suttanipāta, verse 834.
 ³ For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 2.

¹ For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1.

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 $p[ay]i[ta],^1$ hūta, atikamta, kilamta, āya[ta] (i.e. āyatta), sayuta (= samyukta), v[u]ta (= ukta), vudha (= vriddha), anusatha (from anu-sās), &c.

(b) In -na: uvigina (= udvigna).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In -tavya: etaviya, sotaviya, kaṭaviya, vataviya, pajohitaviya, ichhitaviya and [ichhi]taya (from the present ichchhati), chalitaviya, samchalitavya and °taviya, vaṭitaviya, viyovadita[viya*], pativedetaviya, nijhap[e]ta[vi]ya.

(b) In -anīya: asvāsa[n]iya.(c) In -ya: sakiya and chakiya.

VIII. INFINITIVE.

khamitave, ālādhayitave, sampaţipādayitave and sampaţipātayit[av]e.

IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

kaţu and [ka]ţū (= Skt. kritvā), anusāsitu, ālabhitu, samchalitu, jānitu (from jānāti), palitijit[u] (from root tyaj), [ch]i[th]itu (from *chitthati), dasayitu and drasayitu (i. e. darsayitu), hāpayitu. In veditu, which corresponds to Skt. vēdayitvā, the causative character ay is neglected.

A few words may be inserted here on the small **Bombay-Sopara** fragment of the eighth rock-edict (Text, p. 118). The preserved forms agree with the Māgadha dialect of Dhauli and Jaugada. But, as at Girnār, the semivowel r is not changed to l; see hiramna (= Skt. hiramna, 1.7) and [ra]ti (1.9). In the agrist nikhamitha (1.5) the lingual is retained, while Kālsī has nikhamitha and the pillar-edicts have hutha and vadhitha, with dental th.

CHAPTER X

GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

THE vowel a is replaced by i in the second syllable of gihitha (see above, p. lxx), in majhima (see above, p. xcix), and perhaps in $min[\bar{a}]$ (Delhi-Mīraṭh) and mina (= Skt. $man\bar{a}k$?). It becomes u in the second syllable of $udup\bar{a}na$ (see above, p. xcix), and after m in muta (= mata), munisa (= manushya). The change of a into e in seyaka (i. e. seyaka), which is the reading of three versions instead of sayaka (= Skt. salyaka) at Delhi-Tōprā, is due to the following palatal y.

Skt. i is represented by a in the first syllable of $kapīlik\bar{a}$ (Delhi-Toprā) = $kipilik\bar{a}$ (Allahabad-Kōsam) and = Skt. $pipīlik\bar{a}$, and by u after original v in dutiya and dutiya, dupada, kinasu (i. e. kinassu) = Skt. $k\bar{e}nasvit$; see Text, p. 134, n. 1. e corresponds to Skt. \bar{i} in hedisa (Sārnāth, ll. 6, 7).

i corresponds to Skt. u in the second syllable of pulisa (see above, p. xcix) and of munisa (see above, p. lxx). In kho (= Skt. khalu) Skt. u is represented by o; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

ri becomes (1) a in anugahinevu, apakatha (= Skt. apakrishta), kata, kapana (= kripana), dāna-[gah]e² (Queen's edict, l. 3), bhatakesu, vadikā and vadikyā (=*vritikā), vadhi, viyāpata; (2) i in



gihitha (= grihastha), nisijitu (from nisrijati), pit[i]su (= pitrishu), simala (= srimara), hedisa (= īdriša); (3) e in dekhati, &c.

i corresponds to Skt. e in ika (Sārnāth, Il. 6, 7, 8), i. e. *ikka = Prākrit ekka and Skt. ēka. Cf.

Ardhamāgadhī ikkārasa = Skt. ēkādaśa; Pischel's Grammatik, § 443.

ai becomes e in kevata (= Skt. kaivarta), and au becomes o in -opagāni, Kosambiyam, putā-

papotike, mokhya.

Initial a is lengthened in ānāvāsasi (Sārnāth) = $an\bar{a}[v\bar{a}]sasi$ (Kauśāmbī and Sāmchī). Final a is lengthened frequently; see eva, yeva, va and evā, yevā, vā (= Skt. ēva), cha and chā, na and nā (in nāsamtam), hetā, āha and āhā or ahā, vadhithā, huthā, vivāsāpayāthā, [sa]mnamdhāpayiyā, nāma and nāmā (in nāmā ti), mama and mamā, asvasa and asvasā, gonasa and gonasā, jānapadasa and jānapadasā, Devānampiyashā, lokasa and lokasā, usāhena and usāhenā, bhayena and bhayenā, v[a]chanenā. Interconsonantal i and u are sometimes lengthened; see ganīyati (Queen's edict, l. 4), -thitīka and -thitīka (also -thitika and -thitika), tīlīta (thus Allahabad-Kōsam; tīlita in the other versions), devīve (Queen's edict, l. 2; deviye, id., ll. 4, 5), pavajītānam, lājīhi (instr. plur. of Skt. rājan), anupatīpajamtam, anupatīpajamtu (also anupațio), anupatīpajīsati, anupatīpati (also anupațio), sampatīpati, patīpati, patībhoga (also patio), patīvisitham (also patio), patī vedayamti*], nithūliye, pachūpagamane (pachupa° Allahabad-Kosam), bahūsu (but gulusu). Final i and u may be lengthened before ti (= iti) or without it; see anuvidhīyamtī, āvahāmī ti, kachhatī ti, khādiyatī, tī, tī ti (Delhi-Toprā, II, l. 16), [ha] intaviyānī, anupațipajaintū, hotū ti. Final i and u, which stand for original is and us or ur, are treated in the same way; see [gut]i and gotī ti, lipi and lipī, bhikhu and [bhikh]ū, Sakyamunī ti, sādhu and sādhū, ālādhayevu and ālādhayevū ti, upadahevu and upadahevū, pavatayevü ti.

Initial \bar{a} is shortened in avahāmī and ava 1 (Delhi-Töprā) = $\bar{a}vah\bar{a}m\bar{i}$ and $\bar{a}va$ or $\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ (in the other versions). Interconsonantal ā is shortened in the Queen's edict in ālama (= Skt. ārāma) and mahamata (= mahāmātra). Final ā is often shortened; see athā and atha (= Skt. yathā), tathā and tatha, vā and va (= Skt. vā), apahatā and apahata, lājā and lāja, atanā and atana, lājina, Piyadasina, anusathiyā and anusathiya, and the nom. sing. fem. esa (pillar edict I, section D), apekhā and apekha, &c. Also final ī is sometimes shortened; see Piyadasī (Allahabad-Kōsam) and Piyadasi, dudī and duļi, dhāti (= Skt. dhātrī), athamī-pakha (Delhi-Toprā) and athami-pakha, chātuinmāsi-pakha, devi-kumālānain, bhikhuni, Luinmini-gāme. Interconsonantal ī is shortened in dutiya = dutīya 2 (Queen's edict, 1. 5), and ū in anulupāyā, thube, bhutānam, sususā (also susūsā).

Initial vowels are dropped in pi (= Skt. api), laghainti (for *alaghainti = Skt. arhanti), hakain

(for ahakam = aham), ti (for iti) and kimti, posatha (for upavasatha), va and vā (for ēva).

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

As at Kālsī, palatal \tilde{n} and lingual n are replaced by dental n throughout.

The guttural k is palatalized in adha-[kos]ikyāni and vadikyā;3 cf. above, p. lxxi. It is represented by y in atha-bhagiye (Rumminder, 1. 5), ata-patiye (Delhi-Topra, IV, 11. 4, 14), nimsi-[dha] yā (= Skt. *niślishtakā), and perhaps in gevayā; see Text, p. 120, n. 4, gh is preserved in laghainti (for *alaghainti = Skt. arhanti), but has become h in lahu.

The palatal ch is softened in samkuja, which is probably connected with Skt. samkuchi,

'a skate-fish.' It is aspirated in kīchhi (Queen's edict, 1.4) = kichhi at Kālsī, &c.

Lingual d may become l; see edake and elake, edakā and elakā, dudī and duli.

Dentals are lingualized after ri in kaṭa, bhaṭakesu, vadhi, viyāpaṭa, vadikā and vadikyā (= *vritikā), in which the t (for t) is softened, and after ra in nigamitha (= Skt. nirgrantha) and in the preposition pati, but not in pachupagamana (= pratyupagamana), patyāsamna and patiyāsamna $(=praty\bar{a}sanna)$. t is elided, a lengthened, a and a developed from a in a in a in a is elided, a lengthened, a and a developed from a in a in a is elided, a lengthened, a and a developed from a in a in a is elided, a lengthened, a and a developed from a in a in a is elided, a lengthened, a and a developed from a in a i while aii is contracted to o in chodasa (= chaturdasa). d becomes d or l in duvādasa and duvā[la]s[a], painnadasā and painnalasā (= Skt. panchadasī). The original dh of the root *nadh (= Skt. nah)

³ In ambā-vadikyā (Delhi-Toprā, VII, 1. 23) = ambā-vadikā (Queen's edict, 1. 3).

4 Cf. Pischel's Grammatik, §§ 78 and 443.

¹ Cf. ava, avā, avam at Kālsī. Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares Avestan yavat (= Skt. yāvat). ² Pischel (Grammatik, § 82) derived Prākrit dudia, &c., from a supposed Skt. form *dvitya.

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is preserved in [sa]mnamdhāpayiyā and sanamdhāpayitu.\(^1\) dh becomes h in nigoha (= nyagrodha), vidahāmi and upadahevu (from dadhāti). For hida (= idha at Girnār) see above, p. lxxii.

p is softened in thuba (= $st\bar{u}pa$, Nigālī Sāgar, l. 2) and $libi^2$ (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 31, 32) = lipi (passim). It becomes k through dissimilation in $kipilik\bar{a}$ and $kap\bar{\imath}lik\bar{a}$ = Skt. $pip\bar{\imath}lik\bar{a}$. bh becomes h in l[a]hiye, hoti, hotu, $huv\bar{a}ti$, hosamti, hohamti, $huth\bar{a}$, husu, and in the instr. plur. in -hi (for -bhilh). m becomes p, and the aspiration changes place, in kaphata = Skt. kamatha; cf. aphe and tuphe (= Prākrit amhe and tumhe) at Dhauli and Jaugada, and $[ta]ph\bar{a}$ (= Skt. $tasm\bar{a}t$) at Kālsī.

y is represented by h in abhyuinnāmayehain, and by v in āvuti (= *āyukti), vishava (= Skt. vishaya), sochava ior sochaya (= *śauchya), pāpovā (= *prāpnō + yāt), yāvu, anugahinevu, ālādhayevu, upadahevu, pavatayevū. It is prefixed to e in yeva and yevā (also eva and evā), but is dropped at the beginning of ata (= Skt. yatra), athā and atha (= Skt. yathā), āva (also yāva, = Skt. yāvat), āvate, e (also ye), ena (also yena). At the end of etad-athā (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) the syllable ya seems to be dropped; cf. above, p. lvii. It becomes i in nigoha (= Skt. nyagrādha), paţivekhāmi, dupaţivekhe, and ayi becomes e in jhāpetaviye (also jhāpayitaviye).

r has become l throughout, except in cham[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke (Sāmchī, l. 4).

va becomes u in anuvekhamāne; vā becomes the same in the absolutives in -tu (= Skt. $tv\bar{a}$); ava and avi become o in odāta, olodhana, posatha, paliyovadātha, paliyovadisamti, viyovadisamti, viyobāla, hoti, hotu, hosamti, hohamti.

The two sibilants s and sh have become s throughout. But sh is used in vishava (= Skt. vishaya, Sārnāth, 1. 10), Devānampiyashā and she (Queen's edict, ll. 1 and 4). In chaghati, s is represented by ch; cf. above, p. ci.

h is prefixed in hida, hidata, hedisa, hevain. For hetā (Queen's edict, l. 2) see above, p. lxx.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened; see $min[\bar{a}]$ and mina (= Skt. $man\bar{a}k$?), $p\bar{a}pov\bar{a}$ and $p\bar{a}pova$, $siy\bar{a}$ and siya, $aviman\bar{a}$ and avimana, $abh\bar{i}t\bar{a}$ and $abh\bar{i}ta$, &c. (below, p. cxvi). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened; see $\bar{a}va$ and $\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ (= $y\bar{a}vat$), lipi and $lip\bar{i}$, $s\bar{a}dhu$ and $s\bar{a}dh\bar{u}$, &c. (above, p. cxii). Final as generally becomes e; see ite, suve (= svas), bhuye, $l\bar{a}j\bar{a}ne$, $viy\bar{a}pat\bar{a}se$, jane, &c. But it becomes o in vayo-; a in chaindama-and esa (nom. sing. masc. and neut.); and \bar{a} in $es\bar{a}$ (nom. sing. neut.).

The vowel u is nasalized in *chum* (Sārnāth, l. 3) for *chu* (passim). Final Anusvāra is omitted in $b\bar{a}dha$ (Delhi-Tōprā, III, l. 21), heva (= Skt. $\bar{e}vam$, Rāmpurvā, I, l. 1), and in the acc. sing. vadhi (pillar-edict VI, B). The Anusvāra is dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, in the acc. sing. $anupat\bar{v}pat\bar{v}$ (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 24) and in the nom. sing. $[d\bar{a}]n\bar{a}$ (Delhi-Mīraṭh, II, l. 2). But the nom. sing. of neuters in -a generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in -e; see below, p. cxvi.

Long nasal vowels are generally shortened; see kiyam (= Skt. kiyān), Bhagavam (= Bhagavān), the gen. plur. in -am, the loc. sing. fem. tisāyam, tisyam, Kosambiyam, pumnamāsiyam, and the acc. sing. mam (= mām), imam (= imām), tam (= tām, pillar-edict VI, B), ikam (= ēkām), pajam (= prajām), dukhīyanam, chāvudasam, pamnadasam, paṭipadam, hedisam (acc. sing. fem., Sārnāth, l. 7). But the Anusvāra is omitted in the acc. sing. p[a]tipada (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 6), and the long \bar{a} is shortened at the same time in kiya (Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh, II, l. 1).

III. SANDHI.

Final d is preserved in etad-athā (Delhi-Toprā, VII, l. 24), and final m in etameva (id., l. 23; Sārnāth, ll. 8, 9), kayānam-eva (Allahabad-Kōsam, III, l. 1), hedisam-eva (Sārnāth, l. 7). The final m is doubled in iyaimmana (= Skt. idam anyat), kayānaimmeva, hevaimmeva. In hemeva, hemevā, heimmeva, the syllable va of Skt. ēvam is dropped.

Hiatus remains in -vasa-abhisita at Delhi-Toprā (six times), while the remaining versions (and Delhi-Toprā, VII, l. 31) read -vasābhisita. Other instances of $a + \tilde{a} = \tilde{a}$ are dhammānupatipati,

² This Prākṛit form is mentioned already by Pāṇini, III, 2, 21.

¹ Cf. pilandhati &c. in E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 34.

³ Cf. Geiger's Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen, § 29, section 1.
⁴ Cf. above, p. lviii, n. 2, and p. lxxxvi, l. 6 from bottom.
⁵ Also at Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 14.



dhammānusathi, dhammāpadāna, dhammāpekhā, apāsinave. The \bar{a} which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in samghathasi and -apadānathāye (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25 and 28). The nasal vowel am of tuphākam and upāsakānam is treated in the same manner before amtikam in tuphāk-amtikam and upāsakān-amtikam (Sārnāth, ll. 6 and 7). In ikike (= Skt. ākaikah), chu (= cha+u), cheeva, and chhāy-opagāni, final a and ā are elided before the initial i, u, e, and o of the next following word.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are ky, khy, ty, dhy, dhr, bhy, rshy (which becomes sy), sv (which becomes sy). For the group ky see also above, p. cxii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see ata- (= Skt. ātman), asvatha (= āśvasta), anusathi (= anuśāsti), āladha (= *ārāddha), kinasu (for *kinā+ssu = Skt. svid), pata (= prāpta), maga (= mārga), madava (= mārdava), mahamata (= mahāmātra, Queen's edict, l. 1), Sakyamunī, isyā (= īrshyā), -suliyika¹ (for *sūryika), dusa (= dūshya), puinnamāsiyam. But the length remains in ānapayati, pāpovā (from prāpnōti), mahāmāta (for °mātra), palīkhā (for parīkshā). While long ī is preserved before n in -gāmīni and bhi[klun]īnam, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in timni (= trīṇi). Similarly, anusathini and devinam are perhaps defective spellings for anusathinini and devimam. Before y and l the length is preserved in anuvidhīyamti, sukhīyanā, kapīlikā, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in anuvidhiyamti, sukhiyanā, bhuye, kipilikā; cf. above, p. cii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in āgācha (= āgatya), dākhinā (also dakhinā, i. e. dakkhinā), putāpapotike² (for putrapra°), punāvasune (for punarva°), kīchhi (for *kid+chid, Queen's edict, l. 4), nīlakhiyati (for nirla°), nīlakhitaviye (also nila° at Rāmpurvā, V, l. 9), vadhīsati (also vadhisati, i. e. vaddhissati), sampaṭipajīsati (also 'jisati), anupaṭīpajīsati, anūp[a]ṭīpamne (for anupratī°).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in ambā-(= Skt. āmra), atikamtam, Kosambiyam (= Kauśāmbyām), Devānampiya,³ while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in bābhana (= bāmhana at Girnār). Anusvāra is lost after a short vowel in thabha (Rummindēī, 1. 3) = thambha (Delhi-Tōprā), in sayame and savibhāge (also samyame and samvibhāge), in vihisāye (but not in avihimsāye), and in satavisati. The nasal vowel im is replaced by a length in vīsati, pamnavīsati, and saduvīsati. Similarly, am seems to be replaced by ā in bh[ā]khati (= Skt. bhankshyati).

In visvamsayitave (Sārnāth, Il. 8, 9) the nasal vowel am corresponds to Skt. ā.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is u before v in duvehi, duvadasa, $saduv\bar{s}sati$, suve; a in dusampatipadaye, laghamti (for *alaghamti), sochaye and sochave; and frequently i, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups kr, gr, tr, pr, br, sr, which have become k, g, t, p, b, s, s, respectively.

hkh becomes kh (i. e. kkh) in dukhīyanam.

kt becomes t in abhisita, yuta, vataviya, viyata.

ky remains in Sakyamunī (Rummindēī, l. 2).

ksh becomes jh in jhāpayitaviye,4 but kh everywhere else.

kshy becomes khiy in nīlakhiyati; kh in dupaṭivekhe and bh[ā]khati; gh in chaghati.

khy is preserved in mukhya and mokhya, but is assimilated in mukhā (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, 1. 27).

² The Sāmchī pillar (section C) has putapapotike.

3 The Anusvāra is omitted in Devāna[pi] yena (Rummindēī, l. 1).

4 Cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 326.

This word presupposes an intermediate form with short n: *-suryika; cf. above, p. cii, n. i. In the Māgadha dialect the affix -ika does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Vriddhi of the first syllable; see putāpapotika and hidatika, but ānugahika. In aintalika, adha[kos]ikya, chaindamasuliyika we cannot say whether the a preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first a of chaindiya, which was formed from Skt. chanda with the affix -ya. In nithūliya and pumnamāsiyam the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are naishihurya and paurnamāsyām, with Vriddhi of the first vowel.

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khl becomes kh in kho = Skt. khalu; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

chy becomes chay or chav in sochaye and sochave.1

jñ becomes jin in lājina; mn in chhamdamnāni and vimnapayitaviye; n in ānapayati, ānapita, nātikā, nātisu.

ñch becomes in in painnavīsati, painnadasā and painnalasā, but remains in [pa]incha[dasā] (Allahabad-Kōsam).

dy becomes diy in chamdiye.

dv becomes duv in saduvīsati.

nm becomes inm in asainmasike.

tk becomes k in ukasā.

tm becomes t in ata- (= Skt. $\bar{a}tman$).

ty remains in patyāsamna, but becomes tiy în patiyāsamna (Delhi-Toprā), and ch in āgācha, pachupagamane, sache.

tér becomes s in usapāpite.

ts becomes s in usāha.

tsy becomes chh in machhe.

db becomes b in ubalike.

dy becomes j in anupațipajaintu, &c.; diy in khādiyati; day in dusainpațipādaye.

dr becomes d in chaindama-.

dv becomes d in dupada, dutīva and dutiva, but duv in duvehi, duvādasa.

dhy remains in avadhya, but becomes dhiy in avadhiya, and jh in majhimā, nijhatiyā, nijha-payitave, nijhapayitā, nijhapayisamti.

dhr remains in $dh[r]uv\bar{a}ye$ (Delhi-Mīraṭh), but becomes dh in $dhuv\bar{a}ye$ and vadhi (pillaredict V, D).

ny becomes inn or n in ainna (passim) and ana (pillar-edict III, H).

pt becomes t in [gut]i, gotī (= Skt. *gōpti), nikhitā, nijhatiyā, pata (= prāpta), sata (= sapta, Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31).

pn becomes p in pāpovā.

bhy remains in abhyuinnamayehain and abhyuinnamisati, but becomes hiy in [a]hiye.

bhr becomes bh in palibhasayisain.

mb becomes im in Lummini- (Rumminder, 1. 4).

mr becomes mb (for mbr) in ambā- (= Skt. āmra).

yy becomes yiy in äväsayiye and [sa]mnamdhāpayiyā.

rg becomes g in magesu and visaga.

rgr becomes g in nigainthesu.

rgh becomes lagh in laghainti (for *alaghainti).

rn becomes inn in painna (pillar-edict V, B) and puinnamāsiyain.

rt becomes t in pavatayevū, but t in kataviya, kevata, palihatave, apahatā.

rth becomes th in atha (Delhi-Topra, VII, W and OO), but th in atha (passim).

rd becomes d in chakhudāne, chodasa, chāvudasā, madave.

rdh becomes dh in vadhati, vadheyā, vadhithā, vadhisati, vadhita.

rbh becomes bh in gabhinī.

rm becomes mm in kammani, chātummāsī, dhamma (spelt dhama at Lauriyā-Ararāj, II, 1. 3).

ry becomes liy in nithūliye, paliyovadātha and paliyovadisamti, -suliyike (Delhi-Toprā, VII, 1. 31), but riy in -[sū]ri[yi]ke (Sāmchī, 1. 4).

rl becomes l in nīlakhiyati and nīlakhitavive.

rv becomes v in punāvasune and sava.

rs becomes s in Piyadasi.

rsh becomes s in ukasā and vasa.

rshy becomes sy in isyā.

lp becomes p in apa (pillar-edict II, C).

ly becomes y in kayāna, sayaka and seyaka (= Skt. śalyaka).

¹ Three versions of the pillar-edict II, C, read socheye, which Michelson (IF, 23. 241) identifies with Pāli socheyya (= Skt. *śauchēya).

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vy becomes viy in viyamjanena, viyata, viyāpaṭa, viyovadisamti, viyohāla, and in the gerundives in -taviya.

vr becomes v in pavajītānam.

sy becomes s in palibhasayisain (future of the causative of Skt. bhrasyati).

śl becomes ins in ninsi[dha] yā (= Skt. *niślishtakā); cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 74.

św becomes sw in asva, asvatha (= Skt. āśvasta), visvamsayitave (infinitive of viśvāsayati); suv in suve (= śvah); s in seta.

sht becomes the in vadhithā and huthā; the in atha-bhāgiye, athamī, apakathesu, tuthāyatan[ā]ni, paṭivisitham; dhe in adha-[kos]ikyāni and nimsi[dha]yā.

shth becomes th in nithuliye.

shp becomes p in chatupada.

shpr becomes p in dupativekhe.

shy becomes sy in tisyam; siy in tisiyam; s in tisäyam and tisäye, dusäni, pusitaviya (from Skt. pushyati), munisa (= manushya), hosamti and other futures; h in hohamti.

st becomes th in athi, anusathi, asvatha (= Skt. āśvasta), thambhāni, thuba (= stūpa), pavitha-

lisamti.

sth becomes th in gihitha (= Skt. gṛihastha) and -thitika or -thitika; th in anathika and -thitika or -thitika.

sn becomes sin in āsinava (from ā-snu).

sm becomes s in the locative singular in -asi.

sy becomes siy in siyā (= Skt. syāt); s in the genitive singular in -asa; h in dāhamti.

hn becomes hin in anugahinevu.

hm becomes bh in babhana.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN -a.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.

Nom. masc. jane, &c.; neut. dane, &c.

Acc. masc. janam, &c.; neut. dānam, &c.

Instr. dhammena, &c.

Dat. athaye, &c.

Gen. janasa, &c.

Loc. janasi, &c.

Plural.

Masc. pulisā, &c. neut. sāvanāni, &c. Masc. pulisāni

ākālehi, pulimehi.3

pānānain, &c. athesu, &c.

Nom. sing. neut.—In [dä]nā (Delhi-Mīrath, II, l. 2) the termination is -ā.

Instr. sing.—The final a is lengthened in usāhenā, bhayenā, v[a]chanenā.

Gen. sing.—The final a is lengthened in asvasā, gonasā, jānapadasā, Devānampiyashā, lokasā.

Nom. plur. masc.—The final \bar{a} is shortened in abhīta, asvatha, āyata, kaṭa, pūjita, mahām $[\bar{a}]$ ta (Kauśāmbī edict, l. 1), lajūka. The Vēdic termination -āsaḥ is preserved in viyāpaṭāse (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25, 27).

Nom. plur. neut.—The final i is lengthened in [ha]intaviyānī (Delhi-Mīraṭh, V, l. 8). The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter: thainbhāni, nikāyāni, nigohāni, niyamāni, mokhāni, timni divasāni and etāni divasāni (acc.).

² In chila-thitikė (Delhi-Töprā, VII, l. 32) and chila-thitīkā (Allahabad-Kösam, II, l. 3).

3 From pulima = Pāli purima.

With the compound chilam-thitika or chilam-thitika cf. Skt. chiramjivin and chirantana.



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(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.

Plural.

Nom. ichhā, &c.

Acc. pajam, &c.

Instr. pūjāyā and pūjāya, &c.

Dat. vihisāye, avihimsāye.

Abl. dakhināye, dākhināye. Gen. dutīyāye, dutiyāye.

Loc. tisāyain, tisāye, chāvudasāye, painnadasāye, patipaday [e].1

disāsu.

vadikyā, &c.

Nom. sing.—The final ā is shortened in apekha, avadhya, isya, kapilika, kālāpita, jatūka, daya, pālana, likhāpita, vadhita, viyata, sālika, sukhīyana.

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ā in p[a]tipadā (Delhi-Mīrath, V, l. 6).

Instr. sing.—The termination is -āyā in agāyā, anulupāyā, -kāmatāyā, palīkhāyā, vividhāyā, sukhāyanāyā, susūsāyā, while the final ā is shortened, as at Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugada, in agāya, . -kāmatāya, palīkhāya, vividhāya, susūsāya.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. masc. vidhi, Sakyamuni; acc. plur. neut. timni; loc. plur. nātisu.

The feminine base anusathi forms the nom. and acc. plur. anusathini with the termination of the neuter.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.

Plural.

Nom. vadhi, dhāti, &c.

Acc. lipim, vadhi (pillar-edict VI, B), anupațipati.

Instr. vadhiyā, anupatīpatiyā, &c. Dat. anupatipative, dhātive, devive.

Gen. Kāluvākiye, deviye and devīye.

Loc. tisyam, tisiyam, Kosambiyam, pumnamāsiyain, chätuinmäsiye.

bhi khun inam, devinam. chātummāsīsu, tīsu.2

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in gabhinī, sūkalī, dudī (also duli), lipī (also lipī). Instr. sing.—The final \bar{a} is shortened in anusathiya (also anusathiya).

III. MASCULINES AND NEUTERS IN -u.

Singular.

Plural.

Nom. masc. bhikhu and [bhikh]ū, sādhu and sādhū, lahu; neut. bahu.

Gen.

Loc. punavasune, bahune.

Neut. bahüni.

[bhi* khuna m]. gulusu, bahūsu.

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -na.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ri.

Nom. sing. apahatā and apahata, nijhapayitā. Gen. sing. mātu.

Loc. plur. pitisu.

As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine pratipad has assumed the form paţipadā. Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 15.
² In Sanskrit the corresponding form is tisrishu.





V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. samtam, anupaţīpajamtam; cf. above, p. cx.

(2) Masculines in -yat and -vat.

Nom. sing. masc. kiyain and kiya (Lauriyā-Nandangarh), Bhagavain. The base yāvat follows the a-declension: nom. sing. masc. āvate (Sārnāth, 1. 9).

(3) Masculines and neuters in -an.

Singular.

Nom. masc. lājā, lāja. Acc. neut. nāma. Instr. atanā, atana, lājina.

The instr. plur. follows the i-declension.

Plural.

lājāne. kammāni. lājīhi.

(4) Masculines and neuters in -in.

Nom. sing. masc. Piyadasī; instr. sing. Piyadasīna; nom. plur. neut. -gāmīni.

The final \bar{i} of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad-Kōsam version, while all others read *Piyadasi*.

(5) Masculines and neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. neut. bhuye.

The masculine chaindama- (= Skt. chandramas) and the neuter vayo- occur as first members of compounds. The base avimanas follows the a-declension: nom. plur. masc. avimanā and (with shortening of the final \bar{a}) avimana.

C.-PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. hakain. Acc. sing. main.

Instr. sing. mamayā and mamiyā, mama and mamā, me.

Gen. sing. mama, me.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. tuphe; gen. plur. tuphākam.

(3) Base ta.

Singular.

Nom. masc. and neut. se. Acc. neut. tain, se. Instr. tena.

Gen. Loc. Plural.

Masc. te. Neut. tāni.

tesain, tānain. tesu.

Acc. sing. fem. tain. Dat. sing. fem. tāye.

(4) Base na.

Nom. plur. neut. nāni; see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

¹ Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. she occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4.



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(5) Base ēta.

Singular.

Nom. masc. esa; neut. esa, esā.

Acc. neut. etain. Instr. etena. Dat. etäve.

Loc.

Plural.

Masc. etc. Neut. etāni.

etesu.

Nom. sing. fem. esa.

(6) Demonstrative idam.

Nom. sing. neut. iyan; nom. plur. masc. ime, neut. imāni; nom. sing. fem. iyan, acc. iman.

(7) Interrogative pronoun.

The base ki forms the acc. sing. neut. kim (in kimti), kimam or kimmam (see Text, p. 129, n. 5) and the instrumental $*kin\bar{a}^1$ (in kinasu, i.e. *kinassu = Pāli kenassu and Skt. $k\bar{e}nasvit$). The base ka is used as demonstrative: nom. plur. neut. $k\bar{a}ni$ (in $potake\ cha\ k\bar{a}ni$; see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. $k\bar{a}ni$ (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with pi (= Skt. api) or chi (= Skt. chid): instr. sing. kenapi; nom. plur. neut. $[k]\bar{a}nichi$.

(8) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. and neut. ye, e. Instr. yena, ena.

Plural.

Masc. ye; neut. yāni.

Nom. sing. fem. yā.

(9) Base anya.

Singular.

Nom. masc. amne; neut. [a]mne, ana.

Gen.

Loc.

Plural.

Masc. amne; neut. amnāni.

annesu.

The gen. plur. $a\dot{m}n\ddot{a}na\dot{m}$ follows the analogy of the nouns in -a (above, p. cxvi); cf. $t\ddot{a}na\dot{m}$ for tesam (above, pp. lxxviii and cxviii), $ta[na\dot{m}]$ at Mänsehrä, and the dat. sing. fem. $t\ddot{a}ye$ (above, p. cxviii), $im\ddot{a}ya$ and $im\ddot{a}[y]e$ at Girnār, Kālsī, and Dhauli, imaye at Mänsehrä.

(10) Base sarva.

Singular.

Nom. masc. save. Loc. savasi. Plural.

savesu.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. ikike (= Skt. ēkaikaḥ), fem. ikā; acc. sing. fem. ikam.

Two.

Instr. masc. duvehi (from the base dva). The base dvi appears as du in the ordinal dutiva or dutiva, and in the compound dupada.

¹ Cf. kinā, Himachandra, III, 69, and Pischel's Grammatik, § 428.





Three, four, six.

Acc. neut. timni; loc. fem. tīsu. The bases chatur and shash form part of the compounds chatupada and āsammāsika.

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen.

duvādasa and duvā[la]s[a]; chodasa. The ordinals chāvudasā and [pa]mcha[dasā] (Allahabad-Kösam), pamnadasā, pamnalasā correspond to Skt. chaturdasī and panchadasī.

Twenty, &c.

vīsati, pamnavīsati, saduvīsati, satavisati.

Hundred thousand.

· Loc. plur. sata-sahasesu.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(I) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *argh (= Skt. arh): laghamti for *alaghamti; cf. Skt. argha and Pāli agghati, and see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 993.

Root īksh: paţivekhāmi, anuvekhamāne.

Root dris: dekhati.

Root bhū: hoti, huvāti (sixth class).

Root vad: paliyovadātha. Root vah: āvahāmī. Root vridh: vadhati.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root as: athi. Root i: eti. Root yā: yāti.

Root śās: anus [ā] sāmi (subjunctive).

Third Sanskrit class.

Root dhā: vidahāmi, upadahevu (which follows the a-conjugation).

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root pad: anupatipajaintu, &c.

Root push. The gerundive pusitaviya is formed from the Sanskrit present pushyati.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root ap: papova.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root ish. The agrist ichhisu and the gerundive ichhitaviye are formed from the Sanskrit present ichchhati.

Root kship: nikhipätha.

Root spij: absolutive nisijitu (from the Sanskrit present nisrijati).



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Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root grah follows the a-conjugation: anugahinevu.

Root jña. The future jānisamti and the infinitive ājānitave are formed from the present.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

- (a) With aya: abhyunnāmayeham, sampaṭipādayamti, pāyamīnā (from pāyati = pāyeti; see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s.v. pivati), palibhasayisam (future of the causative of Pāli bhassati = Skt. bhrasyati; see Michelson, IF, 23. 263), ālādhayevu, āvāsayiye, vivāsayātha, paṭī[vedayamti*], pavatayevū, visvamsayitave.
- (b) With paya: jhāpayitaviye and jhāpetaviye (from root kshai). The long vowel of the roots jñā, dā, dhyai is shortened in ānapayati, vimnapayitaviye, samādapayitave, nijhapayisamti, nijhapayitā, nijhapayitave.
- (c) With āpaya: kālāpita, [sa]mnamdhāpayiyā and sanamdhāpayitu (from root *nadh = Skt. nah), likhāpita, vā[sā]petaviy[e], vivāsāpayāthā, sāvāpayāmi.
- (d) With pāpaya: lopāpita, usapāpite; cf. Ardhamāgadhī ūsaviya (= *uchchhrapita) in Pischel's Grammatik, § 64, and Skt. uchchhrāpayati. Similar forms are viññāpāpeti in E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 122, thapāpeti in Geiger's Pāli, § 182, and davāvei in Pischel's Grammatik, § 552.
 - (e) With āpāpaya: khānāpāpitāni, likhāpāpitā.
- (f) Denominatives: tīlita and tīlīta (from Skt. tīrayati), sukhayite, sukhāyanā, sukhīyanā, dukhīyan[ā], mahīyite.

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

- 1. sing. pativekhāmi, vidahāmi.
- 3. sing. dekhati, hoti, vadhati, athi, eti, yati, anapayati.
- 3. plur. laghamti, dekhamti, sampatipādayamti, paṭī [vedayamti*].

(b) Subjunctive.

- 1. sing. āvahāmī, anus [ā]sāmi, sāvāpayāmi.
- 3. sing. huvāti (Sārnāth, 1. 6).
- 2. plur. nikhipātha, paliyovadātha, vivāsayātha, vivāsāpayāthā.

(c) Optative.

- I. sing. abhyumnāmayeham; cf. above, pp. lxxxii, cix.
- 3. sing. siyā and siya, anu[pa]tipajeyā, pāpovā and pāpova (from the strong base prāpnō-), vadheyā.
 - 3. plur. yāvu, upadahevu, anugahinevu, ālādhayevu, pavatayevū.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. hotu; 3. plur. anupațipajaintu.

II. AORIST.

- 3. sing. middle: huthā, vadhithā.
- 3. plur. active: husu, ichhisu.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. āha, āhā, ahā, the last of which is unreduplicated; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.





IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. palibhasayisain. Cf. likhāpayisain at Girnār.

3. sing. abhyumnamisati, vadhisati and vadhīsati, anupatīpajīsati (from the present *pajjati = Skt. padyatē), sampatīpajīsati and °pajīsati, chaghati (from root chak = Skt. śak), bh[ā]khati (= Skt. bhankshyati), kachhati (see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1).

3. plur. patichalisamti, vadhisamti, hosamti and hohamti, paliyovadisamti, viyovadisamti, pavithalisamti (from root strī), dāhamti, chaghamti, kachhamti, jānisamti (from the present jānāti),

nijhapayisainti.

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative khādiyati, nīlakhiyati, ganīyati (Queen's edict, l. 4).

3. plur. indicative anuvidhīyamti and °dhiyamti.

VI. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active: samtam, anupațīpajamtam. Middle: anuvekhamāne, pāyamīnā.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In -ta: mata (Delhi-Toprā) and muta (= Skt. mata), kaṭa, viyāpaṭa, tīlita and tīlīta, mahīyita, sukhayita,¹ ānapita, kālāpita, sāvāpita, lopāpita, khānāpāpita, likhāpita, likhāpāpita, atikanta, āyata (i. e. āyatta), nikhita (= nikshipta), viyata (= vyakta), yuta (= yukta), badha (i. e. baddha), niludha (= niruddha), āladha (= *ārāddha), pata (= prāpta), apakaṭha (= apakṛishṭa), asvatha (= āśvasta), &c.

(b) In -na: anūp atīpamna, patyāsamna and patiyāsamna, dimna (for *didna; see Pischel's

Grammatik, p. 386).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In -tavya: hamtaviya, viketaviya, vataviya, kataviya, ichhitaviya (from the present ichchhati), pusitaviya (from pushyati), vinnapayitaviya, jhāpayitaviya and jhāpetaviya (from the causative of kshai), vā[sā]petaviya. In nīlakhitaviya (= *nirlakshayitavya) the causative character aya is neglected.

(b) In -ya: dekhiya (from the present dekhati), l[a]hiya (from root labh), avadhya and

avadhiya, dupativekha, dusampatipādaya, āvāsayiya (for *āvāsayya).2

VII. INFINITIVE.

bhetave (from root bhid), palihațave, pațichalitave, ājānitave, ālādhayitave, visvamsayitave, samādapayitave, nijhapayitave.

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In -tvā: sutu (= Skt. śrutvā), nisijitu (from the present nisrijati), sanamdhāpayitu.

(b) In -ya: āgācha (= āgatya), [sa]innamdhāpayiyā.3

³ Cf. the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both prāpayya and prāpya to be formed from prāpayati.

¹ In this form the causative character aya of the present sukhayati is retained, as in anapayite at Kālsī, [anapayit]e at Mānsehrā, and ānāp[ay]i[ta] at Dhauli.

² The correct Sanskrit form would be āvāsya; cf. the preceding note.





CHAPTER XI

GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

THE language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Māgadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhauli and Jaugada rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭinga-Rāmēśvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

I. THE FIVE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

The vowel a becomes u after m in $munis\bar{a}$, and i after y in the future vadhisiti (Rūpnāth and Maski) = vadhisati (Sahasrām and Bairāt); cf. Śaurasēnī bhavissidi, &c., in Hēmachandra, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the e of $het\bar{a}$ (Sahasrām) and for the i of $munis\bar{a}$ see above, p. lxx. The abstract $g\bar{a}lava$ (= Prākrit and Pāli $g\bar{a}rava$) presupposes the adjective galu (= Skt. guru), in which a corresponds to Skt. u; see above, p. lvi. For o = Skt. u in heta0, see ihid2, and n. 2. The diphthong heta1 becomes heta2 in heta3.

ri becomes (1) a in kaṭā, dakhitaviye, vaḍhi; (2) u in musā (= Skt. mrishā), sun[e]yu; (3) i in adhigichya (= Skt. adhikritya), diseyā (optative of driśyatē). In aḍhati[y]a (= Pāli aḍḍhatiya and Skt. ardhatritīya) the syllable tri is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhī aḍḍhāijja; see Geiger's Pāli, \S 65, 2, and cf. Pāli aḍḍhuḍḍha = Skt. ardhachaturtha.

Interconsonantal a and i are lengthened in $-[a]th\bar{a}ta$ (?) and chila-thitike. Final a is lengthened in $ev\bar{a}$ and $v\bar{a}$ (= Skt. $\bar{e}va$), $ch\bar{a}$, $het\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}h\bar{a}$, $[likh\bar{a}pa]y\bar{a}th\bar{a}$, $h[a]m\bar{a}$, $eteni(n\bar{a})$, apaladhiyen \bar{a} , &c. (below, p. cxxvi). Final i and u are lengthened before iti in samphas \bar{i} ti, hosat \bar{i} ti, jānamt \bar{u} ti, and final u which stands for ur in $upadh\bar{a}l[a]yey\bar{u}$.

Initial \bar{a} is shortened in ahāle (Rūpnāth); interconsonantal \bar{i} and \bar{u} in misibhūtā (Maski), Jambudipasi (= °dīpasi at Sahasrām), pa[ka]mam[i]menā (cf. palakamamīnenā at Sahasrām), ekunavīsati (Barābar); final \bar{a} and \bar{i} in lāja (Barābar) = lājā (Calcutta-Bairāṭ), sata (Rūpnāth) = satā (Sahasrām), Pr[i]yadas[i] (Calcutta-Bairāṭ) = $Piyadas\bar{i}$ (Barābar).

Initial vowels are dropped in pi (= Skt. api), sumi (for *smi = Skt. asmi), hakam (for ahakam = aham), ti (= iti), kimti and kiti, $d\bar{a}ni$ (= $id\bar{a}n\bar{i}m$), va and $v\bar{a}$ (= $\bar{e}va$).

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Intervocalic k is softened in adhigichya (Skt. = adhikritya) and appears to have become y in diyadhiya (= $*dvik\bar{a}rdhya$). 1 gh is preserved in $L\bar{a}ghula$ (= $R\bar{a}hula$) and suggests that this name of Buddha's son is derived from the ancient hero Raghu. In $kubh\bar{a}$ (Barābar) = Skt. $guh\bar{a}$, 'a cave', k and bh at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. g and h. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While $guh\bar{a}$ is connected with the root guh, 'to hide', $kubh\bar{a}$ may be related to kumbha, 'a pot' (originally 'a cavity'), and Greek $\kappa \acute{\nu} \mu \beta \eta$, 'a (hollow) boat'.

Lingual n is replaced by dental n throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Bairāt in Aliya-vasāni (= Skt. Ārya-vanisāh).

1 Cf. diyadha and diadha, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.

The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of 'a round projection' in Ancien Persian kaufa, 'a mountain', Avestan kaofa, 'a mountain, the hump of a camel', and Skt. kakubh, 'a peak'; cf. kakud, 'a peak, a hump'.



Dentals are lingualized in $ud\bar{a}la$ (= $P\bar{a}li\ ul\bar{a}ra$ and $Skt.\ ud\bar{a}ra$), $duv\bar{a}dasa$, and after ri in $kat\bar{a}$, $vadhi.\ t$ is palatalized in adhigichya (= $Skt.\ adhikritya$). dh seems to be preserved in ha(hi)dha (= idha at $Girn\bar{a}r$?), but has become h in [nigoha] (= $Skt.\ nyagr\bar{o}dha$).

Intervocalic p becomes v in pav[a]t[a]ve (Sahasrām), the infinitive of *prāpati (= Skt. prapnōti).

bh becomes h in hotu, hosatī, husu, devehi, [ājīvi]kehi.

y is dropped at the beginning of $\bar{a}vatake$ (from Skt. $y\bar{a}vat$), am and e (= yat). The syllable ya becomes i in [nigoha] (= $nyagr\bar{o}dha$). aya and ayi become e in $lekh\bar{a}peta$, $l\bar{a}(li)kh\bar{a}petavaya$, $\bar{a}rodheve$ (read $\bar{a}r\bar{a}dhetave$) and $[\bar{a}]l\bar{a}dheta[v]e$, $abhiv\bar{a}de[t\bar{u}]nam$.

As in the Māgadha dialect, r becomes l; but it is preserved at Rūpnāth in ārodheve (read ārādhetave), chira-thitike, chha(sa)vachhare, sāti[ra]kekāni (read sātirekāni), and at Maski in pure,

sat ire ke.

v becomes p in apaladhiyenā (Rūpnāth) = aval[a]dhiyenā (Sahasrām). It is developed out of u in vivutha (Sahasrām) = vy[u]tha (Rūpnāth). ava and avi become o in -ovāde, hotu, $hosat\bar{i}$.

 δ and sh have generally become s. But δ is preserved at Maski in $\hat{S}ake$ (= Skt. $\hat{S}akyah$) and is improperly used at Bairāṭ in $\hat{S}vage$ (= Svage at Rūpnāth); Sh is preserved at Maski in Vashā[ni]. In [cha]kye and Chakiye, Sh is represented by Ch; Ch above, Ch is a constant.

h is prefixed in ha(hi)dha (?), hetä, hevain.

Final consonants are dropped. \tilde{a} (for $\tilde{a}s$) is shortened in sainta and -deva (Sahasrām, 1. 2 f.). as becomes e; see pure 1 (= Skt. puras), ve (= vas), bhikhuniye (nom. plur.), athe, &c. It is represented by \tilde{a} in es \tilde{a} (nom. sing. neut.), and by a in -[a]thāta (?), esa (nom. sing neut.), yāvataka and vālata (Rūpnāth).

Final a is nasalized in cham (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 2), while final Anusvāra is omitted in ima, iya, tupaka (for tuphākam), diyaḍhiya (Rūpnāth), prakāsa, [bā]dha, vaḍhi (acc.), vipula, sagh[a] (acc.). The nom. sing. of neuters in -a generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in -e; see phale, &c. The termination -am is replaced by -i in bāḍhi (Rūpnāth, ll. 1, 2); cf. ayi for ayam at Shāhbāzgaṛhī.² The long nasal vowel ām is shortened in the termination (-am) of the acc. sing. of feminines in -ā (below, p. cxxvi), and īm becomes i in dāmi (= Skt. idānīm).

(3) SANDHI.

Final m is preserved and doubled in hevanimevā (Calcutta-Bairāt, 1. 8).

 $a+\check{a}$ becomes \bar{a} in -vasābhisita, sātileke, sādhi[ke], ap[ā]bādhatam, ja[lagh]o[sāgama] (?). The \bar{a} which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in -[āgama]thāta (?), apaladhiyenā and aval[a]dhiyenā, diyadhiyam, but the length is preserved in diyādhiyam (Sahasrām). Final \check{a} is elided before u, e, o in chu (= cha + u), ekunavīsati, ma[ha]tan>eva, Lāghul-ovāde.

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are ky, ty (which becomes chy), pr, rv, vy, sv.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in aliya (=Skt. ārya), pa[la]kamaintu (= $parākra^{\circ}$), palakamamīnenā, [palaka]in[t]e, mahata (=mahātman), Sake and [Sa]k[e] (=Sākyah), abhikhinain (=abhīkshnam). But the length remains in p[a]t[a]kame (Sahasrām), p[a]potave (from prāpnōti), lāti (=rātri), sūte (=sūtram). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in v[a]tave (infinitive of vach).

The long nasal vowel $\bar{a}m$ is shortened before consonants in $[palaka]m[t]e^3$ and $Dev\bar{a}nampiya$ (Rūpnāth and Maski), but remains in $Dev\bar{a}n\bar{a}mpiya$ (Sahasrām and Bairāt). In bhamte, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for bhaddamte 4 = Skt. bhadram tē, 'happiness to you', the syllable dda is elided. The nasal vowel im is replaced by a length in ekunavīsati. Anusvāra is sometimes omitted after a; see the infinitive adhigatave (Maski), $at\bar{a}$ (Rūpnāth) = $amt\bar{a}$ (Sahasrām and

3 The Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in pakate (= Skt. prakrāntah).

The same form is used in Ardhamāgadhī and Pāli. Cf. also [p]ule at Kālsī, I, 1. 3.
 Also Pāli saddhim = Skt. sārdham, &c.; see Geiger's Pāli, § 22.

^{*} See Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s.v. bhadanto. According to Hēmachandra, IV, 287, bhamte is the Mägadhī voc. sing. of bhadanta.

GRAMMAR OF THE RUPNATH EDICT, ETC.



Bairāt), th[abh]e (but tha[m]bhasi and tham[bh]ā), pakamatu (3. plur.), [pala]kamatu (Bairāt) = pa[la]kamamtu (Sahasrām), vayajanenā (=Skt. vyanjanēna), Aliya-vasāni (= Ārya-vamśāh), saghe (= samghaḥ), chha(sa)vachhare and sav[a]chhale (= samvatsarah). The final a of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in [m]isam-deva and ammisam-[de]vā (read ami°).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is u before labials in duve, $duv\bar{a}dasa$, s[u]ag[e], sumi; a in $alah\bar{a}mi$, $l\bar{a}(li)kh\bar{a}petavaya$, $vayajanen\bar{a}$; and frequently i, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions

at Rūpnāth, &c.

kt becomes t in abhisita, &c.

ky remains in [cha]kye (Bairāt), but becomes kiy in chakiye, sakiye, and k in sake (= Skt. śakyah), Śake and [Sa]k[e] (= Śākyah).

kr becomes k in pakamasi, pa[la]kamaintu, &c.

ksh becomes kh in khudaka, bhikhu, bhikhuniye, dakhitaviye.1

kshn becomes khin in abhikhinam.

khl becomes kh in kho = Skt. khalu; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr becomes g in [nigoha] (= Skt. nyagrödha).

jñ becomes jin in lajina.

ñch becomes inn in sapainnā = Skt. shatpañchāśat; cf. painnadasā, &c., in the pillar-edict V.

tp becomes p in sapamnā.

tk becomes k in samukase.

tm becomes t in mahata- (= Skt. mahātman).

ty becomes chy in adhigichya (= Skt. adhikritya).

tr becomes t in tata, lāti, sūte, hetā.

tv becomes t in mahatatā (= Skt. mahātmatvāt).

ts becomes chh in chha(sa)vachhare and sav[a]chhal.

tsth becomes th in [uthanam].2

dr becomes d in khudaka, bha dak e.

dv becomes duv in duve, duvādasa; d in Jambudīpasi, diyadhiyam.

pn becomes p in $p[\bar{a}]$ potave (from Skt. prāpnōti).

pr remains in prakāsa (Rūpnāth) and in abhipretam, prasāde, Pr[i]yadas[i] (Calcutta-Bairāt), but becomes p in $Piyadas\bar{i}$, &c., and perhaps ph in $ph\bar{a}su = V\bar{e}dic\ pr\bar{a}su$ (?); see Geiger's $P\bar{a}li$, § 62, 1.

rg becomes g in svage.

rth becomes th in atha, and perhaps th in -[a]thata (?).

rdh becomes dh in adhati[y]āni, vadhisati and vadhisiti.

rdhy becomes dhiy in apaladhiyenā and aval[a]dhiyenā; dhiy in diyadhiyam.

rm becomes imm in dhainma (spelt dhama at Maski, 1. 5).

ry becomes liv in aliva (= Skt. ārva) and palivāva.

rv remains in sarve (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 3), but becomes v in pavata and pavatis[u].

rs becomes s in Piyadasī.

rsh becomes sh in vashā[ni] (Maski, l, 2); s in vasa and samukase.

rh becomes lah in alahāmi.

lp becomes p in ap[ā]bādhatain.

vy remains in vy[u]thenā, but becomes viy in dakhitaviye, vataviyā, vivasetavā(vi)[ya], and vay in $l\bar{a}(li)kh\bar{a}petavaya$ and vayajanenā.

śn becomes sin in pasine (= Skt. praśnah).

sy becomes s in the optative passive diseyā.

śr becomes s in misa and sāvane.

sht becomes th in vy[u]tha (Rūpnāth); th in vivutha (Sahasrām).

shm becomes ph in tupaka (read perhaps tuphākam, as at Sārnāth).

shy becomes s in Upatisa, munisā, vadhisati and vadhisiti, hosatī.

st becomes th in athi and tham [bh]a (Sahasrām); th in tha [m] bha (Rūpnāth).

sth becomes th in chira-thitike and chila-thitike.

¹ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

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sm becomes sum in sumi (= Skt. asmi); s in the loc. sing. in -asi. sy becomes siy in siyā (= Skt. syāt); s in the gen. sing. in -asa. sy remains in svage (spelt svage at Bairāt), but becomes su in s[u]ag[e] (Sahasrām).

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.

Nom. masc. athe, &c.; neut. phale, &c.

Acc. masc. sainghain, &c.; neut. vipulain, &c.

Instr. Budhena, &c.

Dat. kālāya, athāya, ath a ye.

Abl. mahatatā.

Gen. Asok [a]sa, Dev [ā]na [m] piyasa.

Loc. Budhasi, &c.

Plural.

Masc. devā, &c.; neut. bhayāni, &c.

devehi.

[ājīvi]kehi.

pavatesu.

In the nom. sing. masc. yāvataka and the nom. sing. neut. lā(li)khāpetavaya, vivasetavā(vi)[ya] at Rūpnāth, -a is perhaps only a clerical error for -e.

In the acc. sing. masc. sagh[a] (for sainghain) and the acc. sing. neut. vipula at Rüpnāth, the

final Anusvāra is omitted.

The final a of the instr. sing. is lengthened in apaladhiyenā, aval[a]dhiyenā, -abhisitenā, pa[ka]mam[i]nenā, palakamamīnenā, vayajanenā, vy[u]thenā.

At Barābar we seem to have a loc. sing. in -e: su[p]i[y]e.

The final ā of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in -deva (Sahasrām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines paryāya, vainša, sainvatsara form the nom. and acc. plur. paliyāyāni, vasāni, [savachhalāni], with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending $-\bar{a}$ at Sahasrām (l. 6 f.) in lāti-satā vivuthā; at Rūpnāth (l. 5 f.) we have sata instead of satā.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Nom. sing. kubhā, dinā; acc. sing. ap[ā]bādhatam, phāsu-vihālatam; nom. plur. upāsikā, gāthā.

(3) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Acc. sing. vadhi; nom. plur bhikhuniye; loc. plur. pavatis[u].1

(4) Masculines in -at.

Nom. sing. kalamtam; instr. sing. bhagavatā; nom. plur. samta (for either samtā or samte).

(5) Masculines in -an.

Nom. sing. lājā, lāja; instr. sing. lājinā, ma[ha]tan[ā].

(6) Masculine in -in.

Nom. sing Piyadasī, Pr[i]yadas[i]; instr. sing. Piyadasinā.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. hakam. Instr. sing. $mamay\bar{a}$, $hamiy\bar{a}ye$, [me]. Gen. sing. $h[a]m\bar{a}$, me.

¹ The feminine parvati (= parvata) occurs in the Taittirīya-Sainhitā; see Böhtlingk's Wörterbuch, s. v.

GRAMMAR OF THE RUPNATH EDICT, ETC.



The genitive $h[a]m\bar{a}$ is a compromise between the usual form mama or mamā and the nom. *ham (for Skt. aham). With the instr. hamiyāye cf. mamiyāye at Jaugada.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Dat. plur. ve (= Skt. vaḥ), which is used for the nom. at Maski (l. 7); gen. plur. tupaka (Rūpnāth), which is probably a clerical error for tuphākam (Sārnāth).

(3) Base ta.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. se; acc. sing. neut. ta[in], se; nom. plur. masc. te.

(4) Base ēta.

Nom. sing. neut. esa, esā, e[s]e; instr. sing. [etena], eteni(nā), etinā; dat. sing. etāye, etiya; acc. plur. neut. etāni.

With the forms etinā and etiņa at Rūpnāth cf. the gen. sing. etisa in the two Kharōshṭhī versions of the rock-edicts, and etishā at Kālsī.

(5) Demonstrative idam.

Singular.

Plural.

Nom. masc. iya[m], iya; neut. iyam. Acc. masc. ima; neut. imam.

Neut. imäni.

Dat. [i] māyā.

Nom. sing. fem. iyain.

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The base ki forms part of the conjunction kimti or kiti, and the base ka of the indefinite kechi (nom. sing. neut.).

(7) Relative pronoun.

Nom. sing. masc. and neut. e; acc. sing. neut. ya, am; nom. plur. masc. $y\bar{a}$, which follows the analogy of the nouns in -a, and [ye].

(8) Base sarva.

Nom. sing. neut. sarve.

D.—NUMERALS

Two: nom. neut. duve. Twelve: duvādasa. Nineteen: ekunavīsati.

Fifty-six: sapainnā. For pannā = Skt. panchāśat, see Pischel's Grammatik, § 445

Hundred: satā and sata (nom. plur.).

E.—CONJUGATION

- (1) PRESENT.
- (a) Indicative.
- 1. sing. alahāmi, sumi, ichhāmi, likhā[pa]yāmi.
- 3. sing. athi.

- (b) Subjunctive.
- 2. plur. [likhāpa] yāthā.





- (c) Optative.
- 3. sing. adhigachh[e]yā, siyā, diseyā (passive).
- 3. plur. sun[e]yu (= shune[y]u at Kālsī), upadhāl[a]yeyū.
 - (d) Imperative.

3. sing. hotu.

2. plur. lekhapeta, [likhapayatha].

3. plur. pakamatu (for °maintu), palakamaintu, jānaintu.

(2) AORIST: 3. plur. husu.

(3) PERFECT: 3. sing. āhā.

(4) FUTURE.

3. sing. hosati, vadhisati and vadhisiti.

- (5) PARTICIPLES.
- (a) Present Participle.

Active: kalamtam, samta (nom. plur.). Middle: pa[ka]mam[i]na, palakamamīna.

(b) Past passive participle.

In -ta: kata, pakata (= Skt. prakrānta), vy[u]tha and vivutha (from vi-vas), &c. In -na: dina (i. e. dinna); see above, p. cxxii.

(c) Future passive participle.

In -tavya: dakhitaviya, vataviya, lā(li)khāpetavaya, vivasetavā(vi)[ya]. In -ya: sakiya and saka, [cha]kya and chakiya.

(6) Infinitive.

adhigatave, $v[\bar{a}]tave$ (from root vach), $p[\bar{a}]$ potave (from Skt. prāpnōti), $p\bar{a}v[a]t[a]ve$ (from *prāpati; see Pischel's Grammatik, § 504), ārodheve (read ārādhetave) and $[\bar{a}]l\bar{a}dheta[v]e$.

(7) ABSOLUTIVE.

abhivāde[tū]nam; cf. Pischel's Grammatik, § 585.

II. THE THREE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE A.—PHONETICS

(I) VOWELS.

For vadhisiti and munisā, see above, p. cxxiii. Skt. u is represented by a in garu (= guru). For o = Skt. u in kho, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. ri becomes (1) i in pakitī (= prakritih), pitisu (= pitrishu); (2) u in pitusu; (3) ra in drahyitavyam (from drihyati). au becomes o in porāņā.

Interconsonantal a or i are lengthened in adhātiya (= Ardhamāgadhī addhāijja; see above, p. cxxiii), upayīta (= Skt. upēta), chira-thitīke, Suvainnagirīte, and final i, which stands for is, in pakitī. Initial a and i are lost in pi, hakam, ti.



GRAMMAR OF THE MYSORE EDICTS



(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The three Mysore inscriptions agree with the Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā rock-edicts

in retaining the letter v, which has become l in the Magadha dialect.

Skt. n is preserved in guṇā, paka[m]i. neṇa (read pakamamīneṇa), porāṇā, prāṇesu, mahāmātāṇam, li[pi]kareṇa, Suvamṇagirīte, sāvaṇe, but is replaced by dental n in adhātiyāmi, khudakena, vasāni. It is used instead of n in Devāṇampiya (Brahmagiri and Jaṭinga-Rāmēśvara) = $[Dev]\bar{a}[na]mpiya$ (Siddāpura) and corresponds to Skt. $j\bar{n}$ in āṇapayati.

k appears to have become y in diyadhiya (= *dvikārdhya). bh becomes h in hoti, husam,

devehi.

y is developed out of i in upayīte and becomes v before u in $d\bar{\imath}[gh]\bar{a}vuse$. ayi becomes e in $\bar{a}r\bar{a}dhetave$. ava becomes o in hoti.

s and sh have become s throughout; but s is improperly used for s in [a]char[i]yasa (Jatinga-

Rāmēśvara) and śascha m (Śiddāpura). h is prefixed in hevam and hemeva.

Final as becomes e in Suvamnagirīte, athe, &c., but a in esa (nom. sing. neut.). Final Anusvāra is omitted in iya and bāḍha.

(3) SANDHI.

Final m is preserved, and the syllable va is dropped, in hemeva (= Skt. $\bar{e}vamz\bar{e}va$). Final a is elided before u in chu (=cha+u), and before e in $mah\bar{a}tpenzeva$. i+i become \bar{i} in $h\bar{i}yam$ (Brahmagiri, 1. 4).

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are ky, tm (which becomes tp), dr, pr, vy, sv, ky.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in ayaputasa, āchariya, avaradhiyā, diyadhiyam, e[t]āyathāya, but the length remains in āṇapayati, dī[gh]āvuse, pāpotave (from Skt. prāpnōti), mahāmāta, yathāraham. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in vyūthena.

The long nasal vowel am is shortened before consonants in [Dev]a[na]mpiye, prakamte and

pakamte. Anusvāra is omitted after a in atā and savachharam.

kt becomes t in vataviya.

ky remains in sakye (Brahmagiri), but becomes k in sake (Śiddāpura).

kr becomes k in pakama, prakamte and pakamte.

ksh becomes kh in khudaka.

khl becomes kh in kho = Skt. khalu; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gy becomes giy in ārogiyain.

jñ becomes ñ in ñātika; n in ānapayati.

As in ātpa- (= Skt. ātman) at Girnār, tm becomes tp in mahātpa (= mahātman).

ty becomes ch in sachain.

tr becomes t in ayaputasa, mahāmāta.

ts becomes chh in samvachhara.

dr remains in drahyitavyam, but becomes d in khudaka.

dv becomes d in Jambudīpasi and diyadhiyam.

pn becomes p in papotave (from Skt. prapnoti).

pr remains in prakamte (Brahmagiri, l. 2), but becomes p in pakamte, &c.

rg becomes g in svage.

rgh becomes gh in dī [gh]āvuse.

rn becomes mn in Suvamnagirite.

rt becomes t in pavatitaviya; t in kataviye.

rth becomes th in atha.

¹ Cf. Prākṛit āṇavedi, and aṇapemi, aṇapita, &c. at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā.

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rdh becomes dh in adhātiyāni and vadhisiti.

rdhy becomes dhiy in avaradhiyā; dhiy in diyadhiyain.

rm becomes inm in dhainma.

ry becomes riy in āchariya; y in ayaputasa.

rsh becomes s in vasāni.

rh becomes rah in yathāraham.

vy remains in vyūthena and drahyitavyam, but becomes viy in the remaining gerunds in -taviya (= Skt. -tavya).

śr becomes s in misa, sāvaņe, sāvite, sāvāpite, susūs[i]taviye.

sht becomes th in vyūthena.

shy becomes s in munisā and vadhisiti.

sth becomes th in chira-thittke.

sm becomes s in the loc. sing. in -asi.

sy becomes s in the gen. sing. in -asa.

sv remains in svage.

hy remains in drahyitavyain.

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in -a.

Singular.

Nom. masc. athe, &c.; neut. phale, &c.

Acc. masc. ekam, savachharam; neut. ärogiyam, &c.

Instr. kālena, &c.

Dat. athāya.

Abl. avaradhiyā.

Gen. ayaputasa, pakamasa.

Loc. Isilasi, Fambudīpasi.

Plural.

Masc. ñātikā, &c.; neut. vasāni, &c.

devehi.

mahāmātānain.

ñātikesu, prānesu.

The termination of the nom. sing. neut. is -am in [likhita]m (Jaţinga-Rāmēśvara) = likhite (Brahmagiri), vataviyam, sacham.

(2) Feminine in -ā: nom. sing. porāņā.

(3) Feminine in -i: nom. sing. pakitī.

(4) Masculine in -u: loc. plur. garu[su].

(5) Masculine in -ri: loc. plur. pitisu (Brahmagiri) and pitusu (Jaținga-Rāmēśvara).

(6) Masculine in -an. The Sanskrit base mahātman follows the a-declension: instr. sing. mahātpen[a]; nom. plur. mahātpā.

(7) Masculine in -in: instr. sing. amtevāsinā.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. hakam; instr. mayā, me; gen. mai (read me).

(2) Base ta.

Acc. sing. neut. se; nom. plur. masc. se.

(3) Base ēta.

Nom. sing. neut. esa; dat. sing. e[t]āya; nom. sing. fem. esā.



GRAMMAR OF THE MYSORE EDICTS



(4) Demonstrative idam.

Singular.

Plural.

Nom. masc. iyaii ; neut. iyaii, iya.

Masc. ime.

Acc. masc. *imain*. Instr. *iminā*.

(5) Relative pronoun.

Acc. sing. neut. ya, yain.

D.—CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

(a) Indicative: 3. sing. hoti, ānapayati.

(b) Optative: 3. plur. pakameyu, jäneyu (which follows the α-conjugation).

(2) Aorist: 1. sing. husain.

(3) Perfect: 3. sing. āha.

(4) Future: 3. sing. vadhisiti.

(5) Participles.

(a) Present middle participle: paka[m]i..na (read pakamamina), samāna (from root as).

(b) Past passive participle: upayīta (from upa-i), prakamta and pakamta (= Skt. prakrānta), vyūtha (from vi-vas), &c.

(c) Future passive participle: vataviya, kataviya, drahyitavya (from the present drihyati), apachāyitaviya, pavatitaviya, susūs[i]taviya (from the desiderative of śru).

(6). Infinitive.

pāpotave (from Skt. prāpnōti), ārādhetave.



1613

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
- 2 प्रियद्सिना राजा लेखापिता (B) इध न किं-
- उ चि जीवं आरिभत्या प्रजूहितव्यं
- 4 (c) न च समाजो कतच्यो (D) बहुकं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजिम्ह पसित देवानंप्रियो प्रियदिस राजा
- 6 (E) अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
- 7 प्रियस प्रियदिसनो राजो (F) पुरा महानसिन्ह
- 8 देवानंप्रियस प्रियदिसनो राजो अनुदिवसं व-
- 9 हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरिभसु सूपाणाय
- 10 (G) से अज यदा अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता ती एव पा-
- 11 सा आरभरे सूपायाय हो मोरा एको मगो सी पि
- 12 मगी न ध्रुवो (H) एते पि ची प्राणा पद्धा न आरिभसरे
 - 1 (A) iy[am] dhamma-lipī Devānampriyena
- 2 Priyadasinā rāñā lekh[ā]pitā (B) [i]dha na kim-
- 3 chi jīvam ārabhitpā prajūhitavyam
- 4 (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukam hi dosam
- 5 samājamhi pasati Devānampriye Priyadasi rājā 1
- 6 (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhu-matā Devānam-
- 7 priyasa Priyadasino rano (F) purā mahānas[amhi] 2
- 8 Devānampriyasa Priy[a]dasino rāno anudivasam ba-

Before rājā a superfluous ra seems to have been struck out by the writer.

B

The first syllable of mahānasa° looks almost like me, and sa like se. Originally mahānase may have been written, to which mhi was added subsequently without correcting the se into sa. As noted by Bühler (EI, 2. 449, n. 10), a second mhi was added at the very end of the line.



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9 hūni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya

10 (G) se aja yadā ayam dha[m]ma-lip[ī] likhitā tī eva prā-

11 nā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi

12 mago na dhruvo 1 (H) ete pi trī prāņā pachhā na ārabhisare

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality 2 has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.

(B) Here 3 no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And no festival meeting 4 must be held.

(D) For king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.⁵

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily) for the sake of curry, (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) सर्वत विजितिम्ह देवानंप्रियस पियदिसनी राजी
- 2 एवमपि प्रचंतेमु यथा चोडा पाडा सितयपुती केतलपुती आ तंव-
- उ पंगी अंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियकस सामीपं
- 4 राजानो सर्वच देवानंप्रियस प्रियदिसनो राजो हे चिकीछ कता

¹ dhuvo Senart and Bühler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the dh, one of which is u, while the upper one is probably r. Cf. the r of [A] indhra in the Girnār edict XIII, l. 9, and of aprakaranamhi in edict XII, l. 3.

² The literal meaning of dhamma-lipi (or dhrama-dipi in the two Kharoshthī versions) is 'a writing on morality'. To retain the sense of 'writing', I use the translation 'rescript on

morality' instead of 'religious edict' as the term was rendered by Bühler.

3 viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. the rock-edict XIII, Q and R, and the Rūpnāth rock-inscription, K.

⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 93 f.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the word samāja, which Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1324 f.) had translated by 'battue'.

⁵ This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.

⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes *Mahābhārata*, III, 208, 8-10, where 'we are told that 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of king Rantidēva, and that by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.' Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f., and VII, 67, 16-18: 'On the nights which guests spent with Rantidēva, the son of Sankriti, 21,000 kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: "Eat ye a lot of curry (sūpa)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!"'

7 Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict

vegetarians.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



मनुसचिकीछा च पमुचिकीछा च (B) छोसुढानि च यानि मनुसीपगानि च

6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वचा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च

- 7 (c) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यच नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
- 8 (D) पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता वहा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं

1 (A) sarvata vijitamhi Devānampriyasa Piyadasino 1 rāno

2 evamapi prachamtesu yathā Chodā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Tamba-

3 pamnī Amtiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tasa Amtiy[a]kas[a] 2 sāmīp[am] 3

4 rājāno sarvatra Devānampriyasa Priyadasino rāno dve chikichha katā

5 manusa - chikīchhā cha pasu - chikīchhā cha (B) osuḍhāni cha yāni m[a]nusopagān[i] cha

6 paso[pa]gāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni cha

7 (C) mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra 5 nāsti sarvata 6 hārāpitāni cha rop[ā]pitāni cha

8 (D) pamthesū kūpā cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpit[ā] paribhogāya pasumanusānam

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa,7 the Kētalaputa,8 even 9 Tāmraparṇī,10 the Yōna king Antiyaka,11 and also the

1 Priya° Bühler.

² Thus Senart and Bühler, EI, 2. 449; Aintiyokasā Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 95.

* sarvatā Senart, sarvatra Bühler.

s yata Bühler.

sarvatra Bühler.

Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 98 ff.) rejected Kern's identification of this term with the Sātpuṭā range, and explained it by 'the king of the Satvats', whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kālsī version reads Sātiyaputa, with Sātputē, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Lüders (ZDMG, 58. 693 f.) has shown that the Pāli putta (= Skt. putra) at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe', He quotes as examples Andhakaveṇhuputta, Videhaputta, Bhojaputta, Milāchaputta, devaputta (cf. the feminine devadhētā), and Skt. rājaputra.

⁸ Këtalaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Mānsehrā version: Kēralaputra, i.e. the king of Kērala or Malabar, the $K\eta\rho\delta\rho\theta\rho\rho\sigma$ of Ptolemy; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I

(sec. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.

The syllable \bar{a} cannot be the preposition \bar{a} , 'as far as', because the latter would require after it the ablative $Tambapamniy\bar{a}$, as at Mansehra, XIII, Q. Lüders therefore explains it as an

Ardhamāgadhī form of the Skt. relative yā; see SPAW, 1914. 831.

Tāmraparnī (Tambapannī in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the $D\bar{\imath}pavamsa$, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form $Ta\pi\rho o\beta \acute{a}\nu\eta$; see IA, 6. 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmraparnī is the name of a river in the Tinnevelly district, which was known to the author of the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17).

¹¹ Kälsī and Mānsehrā read Amtiyoga, the remaining versions Amtiyoka. Antiochus II Theos

³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 95) would read sāmīnam, which he considered to be a clerical error for sāmamtā, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that sāmamtā was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into sāmīpam (or sāmīpā?).

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



kings who are the neighbours 1 of this Antiyaka,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment 2 were established by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to

cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियटसि राजा एवं आह (B) हादसवासाभिसितेन मया इदं आजिपतं
- 2 (c) सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राजूने च प्रादेसिने च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
- **3 यानं नियातु एतायेव ऋषाय इमाय धंमानुसस्टिय यथा ऋजा-**
- 4 य पि कंमाय (D) साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसूसा मिनसंस्तुतजातीनं वाम्हण-
- 5 समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपव्ययता अपभाडता साधु
- 6 (E) परिसा पि युते आजपिसति गर्यानायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनती च
- 1 (A) Devānampiyo ³ Piyadasi r[ā]jā evam āha (B) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena mayā idam āñ[a]pitam
- 2 (C) sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha pamchasu vāsesu anusam-
- 3 y[ā]na[m n]iyātu etāyeva athāya imāya dhammānusastiya yathā añā-
- 4 ya pi kammāy[a] (D) [s]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā mitra-samstuta-ñātīnam bāmhaṇa-
- 5 samaņānam sādh[u d]ānam prāṇānam sādhu anārambho apa-vyayatā apa-bhāḍatā sādhu
- 6 (E) parisā pi yute āñapayisati gaņanāyam hetuto cha vyamjanato cha

of Syria (261-246 B.C.) is probably meant; see Lassen's Ind. Alt., vol. II (sec. ed.), p. 255, and Senart, IA, 20. 242.

¹ For sāmamtā, 'neighbours', and its equivalent sāmīpam, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, IA, 34. 245, and AJP, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālsī edict XIII, Q.

² D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398 f.) remarks that *chikitsā* means neither 'hospitals' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart); he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

3 opriyo Bühler.

* mitra- looks almost like mitā-; see EI, 2. 450, n. 47.

⁵ apabhimdatā Senart, apabhāmdatā Bühler.



FIRST AND SECOND ROCK-EDICTS: GIRNAR





SCALE ONE-SIXTH



THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Rājūka, and the Prādēšika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.' 6

(E) The council (of *Mahāmāiras*) ⁷ also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.⁸

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) अतिकातं अंतरं बहूनि वासमतानि विदतो एव प्राणारंभी विहिंसा च भूतानं जातीसु

2 असंप्रतिपती ब्राम्हणसमणानं असंप्रतीपती (B) त अज देवानंप्रियस प्रियदिसनी राजी

³ धंमचरणेन भेरीघीसो ऋहो धंमघोसो विमानदर्सणा च हस्तिदसणा च

¹ For yuta = Sanskrit yukta, 'an officer', which occurs in the Kautiliya, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909. 467, and 1914. 387 ff., and cf. the terms āyuktaka and viniyuktaka in the Valabhi inscriptions (Fleet's Gupta Insers., p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

² Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from rajju, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the Kautiliya, the two terms chora-rajjū (p. 60) and chora-rajjūka (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, Notes on the Arthaśāstram, p. 10 f., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

³ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with pradēshtri in the Kauţilīya, which is, however, a nomen agentis of the verb pradisati, 'to direct', while prādēsika is derived from the substantive pradēsa. Kern (JRAS, 1880. 393) translated prādēsika by 'a provincial governor'. In Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī (IV, 126) prādēsikēsvara means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauli, Z-CC; Jaugada, AA-DD) suggests that the Prādēsika of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the Mahāmātras, and that Prādēsika-mahāmātra would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

4 Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

⁵ Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, CC.

6 This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

⁷ Bühler translated parisā by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term mantri-parishad, 'the council of ministers', in the Kautilīya. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

⁸ I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words gananāyam hetuto cha vyamjanato cha. For vyamjana cf. my note on the translation of the Sārnāth pillar-edict, section I.



श्रिमाखंधानि च अञानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसियत्पा जनं (C) यारिसे बहूहि वाससतेहि

5 न भूतपुवे तारिसे अज विढते देवानंप्रियस प्रियदिसनो राजो धंमानुसस्टिया अनारं-

- 6 भो प्राणानं खिवहीसा भूतानं जातीनं संपिटपती ब्रम्हणसमणानं संपिटपती मातरि पितरि
- 7 सुसुसा थेरसुसुसा (D) एस अजे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे विति (E) वढिंगसिति चेव देवानंप्रियो
- अप्रियदिस राजा धंमचरणं इदं (म) पुना च पोना च प्रपोना च देवानंप्रियस प्रियदिसनो राजो
- 9 प्रवधियसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सवटकपा धंमिह सीलिम्ह तिस्टंतो धंमं अनुसासिसंति
- 10 (G) एस हि सेस्टे कंमे य धंमानुसासनं (E) धंमचरणे पि न भवति ऋसीलस (I) त इमन्हि अथन्हि
- 11 वधी च अहीनी च साधु (J) एताय अयाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अयस वधि युजंतु हीनि च
- 12 नो लोचेतव्या (E) बाट्सवासाभिसितेन देवानंप्रियेन प्रियट्सिना राजा इदं लेखापितं
- 1 (A) atikātam amt[a]ram bahūni vāsa-satāni vadhito eva prāņārambho vihimsā cha bhūtānam natīsu
- 2 a[s]ampratipatī brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānam asampratīpatī (B) ta² aja Devānam-priyasa Priyadasino³ rāño
- 3 dhamma-charanena [bhe]rī-ghoso aho dhamma-ghoso vimāna-darsanā cha hasti-da[sa]nā cha
- 4 agi-kh[a]mdhāni cha [a]nāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janam (C) yārise bahūhi v[āsa]-satehi
- 5 na bhūta-puve tārise aja vadhite Devānampriyasa Priyadasino rāño dhammānusastiyā anāram-
- 6 [bh]o prāṇānam avihīsā bhūtānam natīnam sampaṭipatī bramhaṇa-samaṇānam sampaṭipatī mātari pitari
- 7 [s]usrusā thaira-susrusā (D) esa añe cha bahuvidhe [dha]mma-charane va[dhi]te (E) vadhayisati cheva Devānampriyo
- 8 [Pri*]ya[da]si ⁶ rājā dhamma-[cha]ranam idam (F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā cha Devānampriyasa Priyadasino rāño

¹ The syllable pa was inserted subsequently.

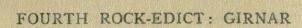
² This syllable was inserted subsequently.

³ The syllable da was inserted subsequently.

^{* -}dasaṇā Senart and Bühler.

⁵ The syllable hi was inserted subsequently.

⁶ The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (pri and pra) is invisible on my materials and is taken from the plate facing ASWI, 2. 102.





9 [pra*]vadhayisamti i idam [dha]mma-charanam āva savaṭa-kapā ² dhammamhi sīlamhi tisṭamto [dha]mmam anusāsisamti i

(G) [e]sa hi seste kamme ya dhammanusasanam (H) dhamma-charane pi na

[bha]vati asīlasa (I) [ta] imamhi athamhi

11 [va]dhī cha ahīnī cha sādhu (J) e[t]āya athāya ida[m] lekhāpitam imasa atha[sa] v[a]dhi yujamtu hīni cha ch[a]

12 [no]⁵ lochetavyā (K) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena Devān[a]mpriyena Priyadasinā rāñ[ā] idam lekhāpitam

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Brāhmanas and Śramanas.
- (B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.
- (C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya

² samvata- Bühler.

10

³ Between thā and ya the rock shows a vacant space which may be due either to a natural fissure or to an erasure.

4 There is a vacant space between hī and ni.

⁵ Instead of no the plate facing EI, 2. 452 shows the syllable mā, which seems, however, to be

due to retouching. Kern (IA, 5. 261 and 262) preferred to read nalochetavya.

- ⁶ For former translations of these words see my remarks in JRAS, 1911. 785 ff. I now adopt the explanation of D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 25), who says: 'The sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a public announcement, or the exhibition of a scene to the people. But since Aśōka entered on his career of righteousness, it has ceased to be a summons to fight, but invites people to come and witness certain spectacles; and as those spectacles are of such a character as to generate and develop righteousness, the drum has thus become the proclaimer of righteousness.' Cf. the Girnār edict X, A, and the third note on the translation of it.
- Po R. Bhandarkar (p. 26 f.) suggests that the aerial chariots were exhibited in order to induce people to practise morality and thereby to become qualified for such celestial abodes. The elephants (hathīni at Dhauli) he explains as representations of Buddha in the shape of a white elephant; but we may also think of the celestial elephants, which are the usual vehicles of the four Mahārājas or Lōkapālas. In the 'masses of fire' Bhandarkar finds an allusion to the fire-pit of the Khadirangāra-jātaka. But according to Childers, Pāli Dictionary, p. 18, aggikkhandha is 'used figuratively of a person of brilliancy and distinction'. To the three quotations which he gives from the commentary on the Dhammapada may he added Mahāvagga, I, 16–18, where the guardians of the four directions, with Indra and Brahmā, are stated to resemble 'great masses of fire' (mahantā aggikkhandhā). Consequently, the expression 'masses of fire' (agikhandhāni) in the fourth edict has perhaps to be taken in the sense of 'radiant beings of another world'. Thomas (JRAS, 1914, 395) would render agniskandhāh by 'bonfires'; but this meaning is precluded by the subsequent words 'and other divine figures'. In editing edict IV, Prinsep (JASB, 7, 266) quoted Mahāvamsa, XII, 34, where Buddha's sermon on the parable of aggikkhandha (Anguttaranikāya, ed. Hardy, part IV, p. 128 ff.) is referred to. With divyāni rūpāni cf. devā in the Rūpnāth edict, E. See also above, p. 2, n. 5.

¹ See note 6 on previous page.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



Priyadarsin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaņas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin will promote this practice of morality until the zeon of destruction (of the world),1 (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they 2 should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them).3

(K) This was caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin (when

he had been) anointed twelve years.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

(A) देवानंप्रियो पियदिस राजा एवं आह (B) कलागं दुकरं (C) यो आदिकरो कलाणस सी दुकरं करोति

(D) त मया वह कलाएं कर्त (E) त मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे अपचं ञ्चाव संवटकपा अनुवितसरे तथा

- 3 सी सुकतं कासित (F) यो तु एत देसं पि हापेसित सो दुकतं कासित (G) सुकरं हि पापं (म) अतिकातं अंतरं
- न भूतपुर्व धंममहामाता नाम (I) त मया चैदसवासाभिसितेन धंममहामाता कता (उ) ते सवपासंडेसु व्यापता धामधिस्टानाय
- * * * * धंमयुतस च योणकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्टिकपेतेणिकानं ये वा पि अंजे आपराता (K) अतमयेसु व

² Hereby the successors of Aśōka appear to be meant; cf. section F, above.

¹ See Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1911. 485, n. 1. Böhtlingk's Abridged Dictionary (vol. VII, addenda) quotes sainvarta-kalpa from the Mahāvyutpatti (§ 253, No. 62).

³ In the rock-edict XIII, section X, lochetu at Kālsī corresponds to rochetu (from Skt. rōchayatī) at Shāhbāzgarhī. Here, however, we find forms of the verb locheti in all versions. Probably these are pure Māgadhisms at Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā, where forms of rocheti would have to be expected. The same applies to section E of the rock-edict XIV, where [a]lochetpā at Girnār and alocheti at Shāhbāzgarhī correspond to alochayitu at Kālsī.



FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



6	· · · · · · मुखाय धमयुताल अपारगाथाय व्यापता त (b) वयलवयल
	परिविधानाय
7	· · · · · · प्रजा कताभीकारेसु वा घेरेसु वा व्यापता ते (M) पाटलियुते
	च बाहिरसु च
8	
•	धंमनिस्रितो ति व
	••••• ते धंममहामाता (०) एताय अथाय अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता
9	
10	
1	(A) D[e]vānampriyo Piyadasi rājā evam āha (B) kalāṇam dukaram (C) y[o
	ādikaro] kalāṇ[a]sa ² so dukaram karoti
2	(D) ta mayā bahu kalāṇam katam (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā cha param cha tena y[a] me [a]pacham āva samvaṭa-kapā anuvatisare tathā
3	so sukatam kāsati (F) yo tu eta desam pi hāpesati so [du]katam kāsati
9	(G) sukaram hi pāpa[m] (H) atikātam amtaram
4	na bhūta - pruvam b dhamma - mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[a]yā traidasa-
	vāsābhi[s]i[tena] dhamm[a]-mahāmātā katā (J) te sava-pāsamdesu vyāpatā
	dhāmadhisṭānāya ⁶
5	[dha]mma-yutasa cha Yona-K[a]mbo[ja]-Gamdharanam 7 Ristika-
	P[e]teṇikānath ye vā pi a[m]ñ[e ā]parātā (K) bhatamayesu va
6	[su]khā[ya dhamma] - yutānam apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te
	(L) ba[m]dhana-badhasa ⁹ paṭividhānāya
7	[p]rajā 10 katābhīkāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te (M) Pāṭalipute
	cha bāhirasu 11 cha
8	[y]e vā pi me añe ñātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayam dhamma- nisrito ti va
9	[t]e [dha]mma-mahāmātā (O) etāya 12 athāya ayam dhamma-lipī likhitā
10	·····

² ye a kalāņesa Senart and Bühler.

3 potrā Bühler.

6 Read -purvain, which is Senart's reading; -prurvain Bühler.

The other versions read dhammadhi. 7 Yona-Bühler. 8 aparātā Bühler.

9 The na of baindhana- was inserted subsequently.

11 Read bāhiresu, which is Senart's and Bühler's reading.

¹ There is a vacant space before and after the syllable ra.

⁴ The Kälst and Dhauli versions read correctly se sukatam kachhamti. As Michelson (AJP, 32, 441) suggests, the Girnār reading may be a corruption due to the influence of the next sentence.

¹⁰ $[p]raj\bar{a}$ looks exactly like $[p]\bar{a}j\bar{a}$. Cf. the r of traidasa- in line 4, and above, p. 4, n. 4.

¹² The syllable ya was inserted subsequently.





TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.
- (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
- (C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
- (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
- (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 - (F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 - (G) For sin is easily committed.
- (H) In times past (officers) called Mahāmālras of morality (Dharma-mahāmālra) did not exist before.
- (I) But Mahāmātras of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
- (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōṇas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras, the Risṭikas and Pētēṇikas, and whatever other western borderers 3 (of mine there are).
- (K) They are occupied with servants and masters * for the happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).⁵
- (L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners 6 (with money) 7..... (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i.e. incurably ill?), 8 or with the aged.

1 i.e. the Greeks, Kābulīs, and north-western Panjābīs; see ASSI, 1. 123, n. 1, and, for the Kambōjas, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 3. 353 f., and JRAS, 1911. 801 f., 1912. 255 ff., 1915. 171.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 261) identified the Ristikas with the Rishtikas of the Rāmāyaṇa. But Ristika is probably a clerical mistake for Rāstika; see my note on the translation of the Shāhbāzgaṛhī edict V. J. According to Michelson (IF, 24. 52 ff.), Petenika stands for *Paitrayaṇika. Dhauli reads Pitenika, and the two Kharōshṭhī versions read Pitinika. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R; see my note on the translation of the Kālsī version of that passage.

³ In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word apara, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20. 240. For anta see the Kālsī edict II, l. 1, and XIII, l. 6; Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāṭ, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I; and the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Later on Aparānta became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, II. 220.

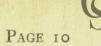
The m between bhata (Sanskrit bhrita) and aya (Sanskrit ärya) is euphonic; see Franke in GN, 1895. 533 f., and cf. Kuhn's Pāli-Grammatik, p. 63 f., and Windisch, Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1893. 240 f.

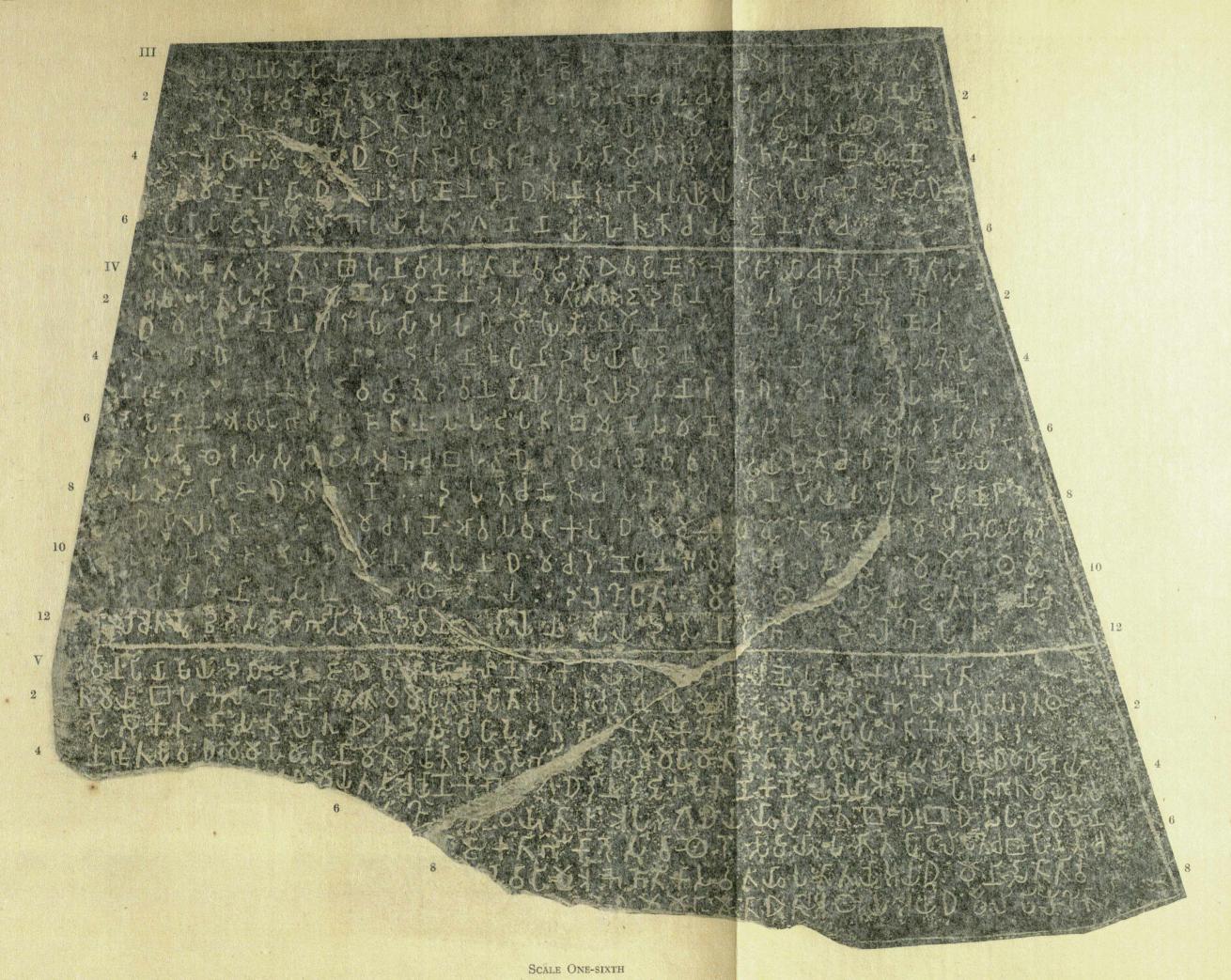
⁶ Instead of aparigodha other versions read apalibodha, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālsī. Thomas has traced the substantive paligodha, 'desire', and the participle paliguddha (= parigriddha), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915, 99 ff.

⁶ Cf. baindhana-badhānain munisānain in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict IV, L, which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

¹ Cf. hiramna-paţividhāno in the Girnār edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 840.

⁸ With katābhīkāra Senart compares abhikritvarīh, '(female demons who are) bewitchers', and abhinishkārin, 'devising (against others)', in the Atharvavēda. Bühler (EI, 2. 468) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48. 55.







FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



- (M) They are occupied everywhere, both in Pataliputra and in the outlying and whatever other relatives of mine (there are).
- (N) These Mahāmātras of morality whether one is eager for
 - (0) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- (A) टेवा '''' सि राजा एवं आह (B) अतिकातं अंतरं
- न भूतप्रव सव ' 'ल अधकंमे व पिटवेदना वा (C) त मया एवं कतं
- (D) सवे काले भंजमानस में ऋोरोधनिम्ह गमागारिम्ह वचिम्ह व
- विनीतिम्ह च उयानेस च सवच पिटवेटका स्टिता अथे मे जनस
- परिवेदेश इति (E) सर्वेष च जनस अथे करोमि (F) य च किंचि मुखती
- आजपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सावापकं वा य वा पुन महामाचेसु
- आचायिके अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निक्ती व संतो परिसायं
- आनंतरं परिवेटेतयां में सर्वच सर्वे काले (G) एवं मया आजिपतं (E) नास्ति हि से तोसो
- उस्टानिम्ह अधरांतीरणाय व (1) कतव्यमते हि मे सर्वलोकहितं
- (J) तस च पुन एस मूले उस्टानं च अथसंतीरणा च (E) नास्ति हि कंमतरं 10
- सर्वलोकहितत्या (L) य च किंचि पराक्रमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनंशं गर्छयं 11
- इध च नानि सुखापयामि परचा च स्वगं आराधयंतु त (M) एताय अधाय 12
- अयं धंमलिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिस्टेय इति तथा च मे पुचा पीता च 13 प्रयोगा च

अनुवतरं सवलोकहिताय (N) दुकरं तु इदं अजब अगेन पराक्रमेन

- (A) [Devä] [s]i rājā evam āha (B) atikrāt[a]m amtara[m]
- na bhūta-pru[v]. 2[s].[v]...[l]. atha-kamme va pativedanā vā (C) ta mayā evam katam
- 3 (D) s[a]ve kāle bhumj[a]mānasa me orodhanamhi gabhāgāramhi vachamhi va
- vinītamhi cha uyānesu cha savatra paţivedakā 4 stitā athe me [ja]nasa 4
- pativedetha iti (E) sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi (F) ya cha kimchi mukhato 5
- āñapayāmi svayam dāpakam vā srāvāpakam vā ya vā puna mahāmātresu 6
- āchāyi[ke] 5 aropitam 6 bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī v[a s]amto parisāyam

¹ nisrito = Pāli nissito and Skt. *niśritah (Senart). For yo ayam cf. my note on the translation of section L of the Kälsi version of this edict.

² Read -purva; -puva Senart, -purva Bühler. Restore save kāle.

An apparent u-mark is attached to the bottom of ti.

⁵ āchāyika Senart and Bühler.

⁶ aropitam Bühler.





- 8 ānamtaram pat[i]vedeta[v]yam me sa[r]vatra sarve kāle (G) evam mayā ānapitam (H) nāsti hi me to[s]o
- 9 ustānamhi atha-samtīraņāya va (I) katavya-mate hi me sa[rva]-loka-hitam
- 10 (J) tasa cha puna esa mule usṭānaṁ cha atha-saṁtīraṇā cha (K) nāsti hi kaṁmataraṁ
- 11 sarva-loka-hitatpā (L) ya cha kimchi parākramāmi aham kimti bhūtānam ānamnam gachheyam
- 12 idha cha nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā cha svagam ārādhayamtu ta 2 (M) etāya athāya
- 13 ayam dha[m]ma-lipī lekhāpitā kimti chiram tisteya iti tathā cha me putrā potā cha prapotrā cha
- 14 anuvataram 3 sava-loka-hitāya (N) dukaram [t]u idam anatra 4 agena parākramena

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaráin speaks thus.
- (B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.
 - (C) But I have made the following (arrangement).
- (D) Reporters are posted everywhere, (with instructions) to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks.
 - (E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people,
- (F) And if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) ⁸ a dispute arises, ⁹ or an amendment is moved, ¹⁰ in connexion with any donation or proclamation ¹¹ which I myself am ordering
- ¹ An ancient fissure of the rock, which extends from 1. 8 to 1. 11, must have existed already at the time when the inscription was incised. This would account for the spaces which were left vacant by the engraver after nāsti in 1. 8, -loka- in 1. 9, kammata° in 1. 10, and ānamnam in 1. 11.
 - 2 Read ti.
- ³ Senart and Bühler correct amwateram. Pischel (GGA, 1881, 1331) and Bühler read anwatarām, which the former considered to be an imperative like duhrām in the Atharvavēda. Cf. Johansson's Shāhbāzgarhi, 2. 89 f. The ra certainly resembles rā; but the same applies to the ra of pakarane in the Girnār edict IX, 1. 8, and of samachairam in XIII, 1. 7, where the reading rā is impossible.
 - * añata Senart and Bühler.

 ⁵ Cf. Molesworth's Maráthi Dictionary, s. v. gābhār.
- ⁶ The locative vachamhi (= vrachaspi in the two Kharōshṭhī versions) is generally rendered by 'in the latrine'. But Skt. varchas does not mean 'a latrine', but 'ordure'. As, in the rockedict XII, M, vacha or vracha probably corresponds to Skt. vraja, 'a cowpen', it may be taken here in the same sense. Establishments for cattle-breeding are kept up by Rajas and their governments even in the present time.
 - With vinīta cf. Skt. vinītaka and vainītaka; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 277.
 - 8 See above, p. 5, n. 7.
- ⁹ sainto is a nominative singular absolute. Cf. my note on the translation of the Kālsī rockedict VI, F.
- ¹⁰ Bühler (ASSI, 1. 123) rendered nijhatī by 'fraud'. This translation seems to be due to an oversight; it would suit the former misreading nikatī, but not the actual reading nijhatī. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1019 f.) has shown that the Sanskrit equivalent of this word would be *nidhyapti, 'inducing to meditate', i.e. in the present case, 'moving a repeated consideration'.

11 Cf. the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, K and M.



SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the Mahāmātras, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

- (G) Thus I have ordered.
- (H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.2
- (I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.
- (J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.
- (K) For no duty is more important 3 than (promoting) the welfare of all men.
- (L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).
- (M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz.) that it may last long, and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may conform to this for the welfare of all men.
 - (N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंषियो पियदसि राजा सर्वेत इछित सर्वे पासंडा वसेयु (B) सर्वे ते सयमं च
- 2 भावसुधिं च इङ्गति (C) जनी तु उचावचछंदी उचावचरागी (D) ते सर्वे व कासंति एकदेसं व कसंति
- (E) विपुले तु पि दाने यस नास्ति सयमे भावसुधिता व कतंत्रता व दढभितता च निचा बाढं
- 1 (A) Devănampiyo Piyadasi răjā sarvata ichhati save pāsamdā vaseyu (B) save te sayamam cha
- 2 bhāva-sudhim cha ichhati (C) jano tu uchāvacha-chhamdo uchāvacha-rāgo (D) te sarvam va kāsamti eka-desam va kasamti i
- 3 (E) vip[ul]e tu pi dāne yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā va katamnātā va dadha-bhati[t]ā cha nichā bādham
- ¹ K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) quotes the Kautiliya, p. 29, l. 12: आत्विक कार्च मिलियों कार्च मिलियों कार्च प्राप्त 'in the case of an emergent matter the ministers and the council of ministers shall be called and told'.
 - ² With atha-samurana cf. tilita-damda in the pillar-edict IV, L.
 - ³ I adopt Bühler's explanation of kammataram as a comparative of karman.
- Franke (GN, 1895. 537) has shown that both in the Aśōka inscriptions and in literary Pāli kimti means 'that, in order that'. Cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, B, and the rock-edict XIV, D, where kimti at Girnār, Dhauli, and Jaugada corresponds to yena at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.
- ⁵ The form nāni occurs again in the pillar-edict V, C, and in the Queen's edict, 1. 4; nā in the Kālsī edict XII, C. The pronoun na may be derived from Skt. ēna, and sha, which corresponds to it in the two Kharōshṭhī versions, from ēsha.





TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dövänämpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
 - (B) (For) all these desire both self-control and purity of mind.
 - (C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.
- (D) Either they will fulfil the whole, or they will fulfil (only) a portion (of their duties).
- (E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.¹

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिकातं श्रंतरं राजानो विहारयातां जयासु (B) एत मगव्या अञानि च एतारिसनि
- 2 अभीरमकानि अहुंसु (O) सो देवानंप्रियो पियदिस राजा दसवर्साभिसिती संतो अथाय संवीधिं
- 3 (D) तेनेसा धंमयाता (E) एतयं होति वाम्हणसमणानं दसणे च दाने च थैरानं दसणे च
- 4 हिरंखपिटिविधानी च जानपदस च जनस दस्यनं धंमानुसस्टी च धमपिरपुछा च
- 5 तदीपया (म) एसा भुय रित भवति देवानंपियस प्रियद्सिनो राजो भागे ऋंजे
- 1 (A) atikātam amtaram rājāno vihāra-yātām nayāsu (B) eta magavyā anāni cha etārisani²
- 2 abhīramakāni ahumsu (C) so Devānampriyo ³ Piyadasi rājā dasa-varsābhisito ⁴ samto ayāya Sambodhim
- 3 (D) tenesā dhamma-yātā (E) etayam hoti bāmhaņa-samanānam dasaņe cha dāne cha thairānam dasaņe ch[a]
- 4 hiramņa-paṭividhāno cha jānapadasa cha janasa 5 daspanam 6 dhamanus[a]sṭī cha dhama-paripuchhā cha
- 5 tadopayā (F) esā bhuya rati bhavati Devānampiyasa Priyadasino rāño bhā[g]e amñe

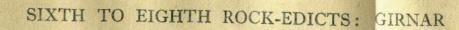
TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past kings used to set out on pleasure-tours.7
- (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
- ¹ The translation of this section follows Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 844. He identifies nichā with the Vēdic adverb nīchā. The variant nīche at Dhauli and Jaugada may correspond to Skt. nīchaih or nīchaḥ.
 - ² Read °sāni.

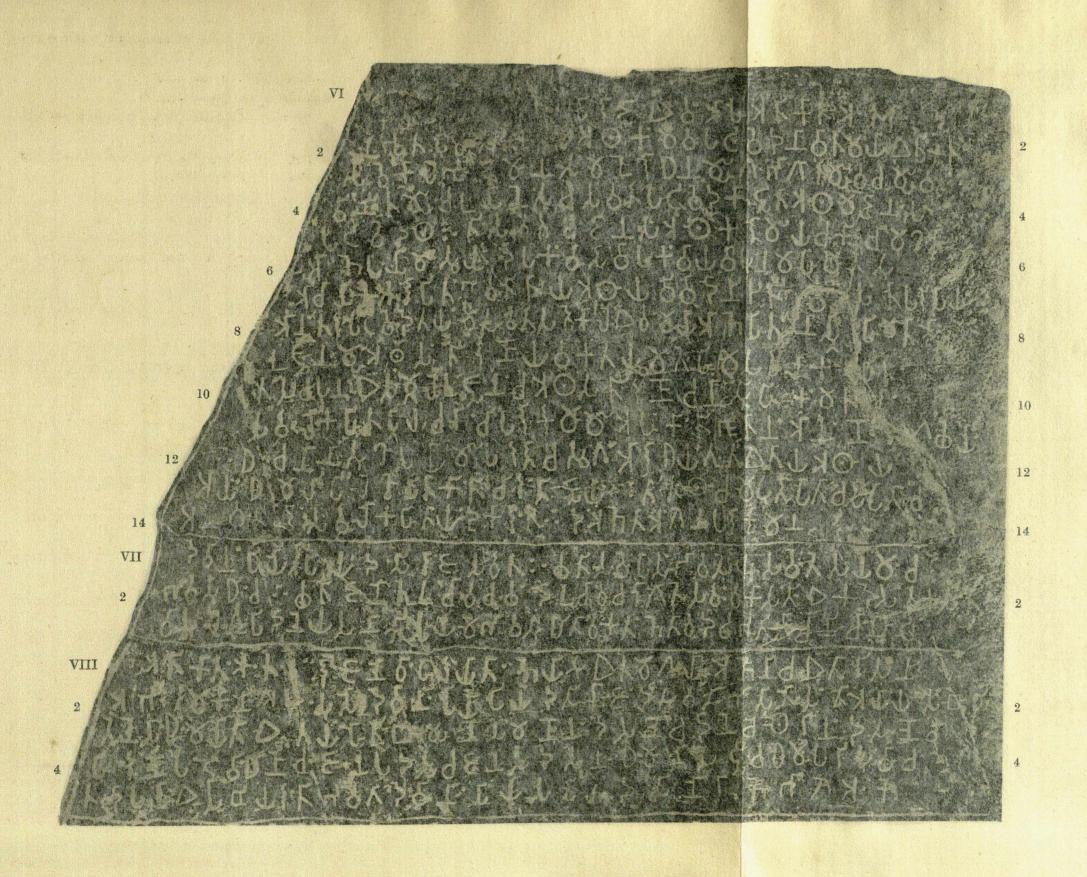
- 3 °piyo Bühler.
- * -vasā° Senart and Bühler.

- ⁵ jānasa Bühler.
- 6 Read darsanam, which is Senart's reading; dasanam Bühler.
- ⁷ Michelson (JAOS, 31. 245) explains nayāsu = *nyayāsuḥ in the sense of nirayāsuḥ. See also Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 488, n. 2.

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SCALE ONE-SIXTH

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



(C) But when king Dëvanampriya Priyadarsin had been anointed ten years, he went to Sambödhi.1

(D) Therefore these tours of morality (were undertaken).2

(E) On these (tours) the following stakes place, (viz.) visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period 6 (of the reign) of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin

becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.7

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (△) देवानंपियो प्रियदिस राजा एव आह (B) अस्ति जनो उचावचं मंगलं करोते आवाधेसु वा

शावाहवीवाहेसु वा पुनलाभेसु वा प्रवासंग्हि वा एतम्ही च अनिम्ह च जनो उचावचं मंगलं करोते

3 (C) एत तु महिडायो बहुकं च बहुविधं च छुदं च निरधं च मंगलं करोते (D) त कतव्यमेव तु मगलं (E) अपफलं तु खी

रतिरसं मंगलं (F) अयं तु महाफले मंगले य धंममंगले (G) ततेत दासभतकिम्ह सम्यप्रतिपती गुरूनं अपचिति साध

5 पाणेमु संयमो साधु वम्हणसमणानं साधु दांनं एत च अञ च एतारिसं धंममंगलं नाम (B) त वतव्यं पिता व

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 160) suggests that this word may refer to the sacred spot (at Bödh-Gayä, south of Paṭnā) on which the Buddha attained to perfect knowledge. Aśōka's visit to the bödhi-tree is described in the Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell and Neil), p. 393. His visit to the Buddha's birth-place is recorded by himself on the Rummindēī pillar.

² The singular esā dhammayātā seems to be used in the sense of the plural, just as vihāra-

yātām in section A.

³ Bühler (EI, 2. 457, n. 95) explained etayam by eta iyam. As ayam is used for the neuter idam in the Girnār edict IX, F, and XII, N, it may as well stand for eta ayam; cf. Michelson in JAOS, 31. 238.

4 Cf. above, p. 10, n. 7.

⁶ With tadopaya Senart compares the Pāli words tadūpiya and opāyika. Franke (VOJ, 9. 345) connects it with opaga in the rock-edict II, B, and in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, R. Previous translators (except Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 845) have construed this word with the next section.

6 Hitherto the two words bhāge amne and bhāge amne at Kālsī and Dhauli have been taken as locatives = Pāli apara-bhāge. As Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990) remarks, this is impossible, because

in the eastern dialect the two locatives would end in -asi.

The word bhuya (= bhuye in the remaining versions) is perhaps an adverb, as bhuye in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, KK and NN. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 846) takes bhuya-rati to be a Karmadhāraya compound, which he connects with esā, and bhāge ainñe to be locatives. But esā need not be a nom. sing. fem., but may be a nom. sing. masc., as in the Girnār edict XIII, I, and may as such be connected with bhāge ainñe, as [e]se at Kālsī and eshe in the two Kharōshṭhī versions.



पुतेन वा भाचा वा स्वामिकेन वा इदं साधु इदं कतव्य मंगलं आव तस अयस निस्टानाय (I) अस्ति च पि वृतं

साधु दन इति (ग) न तु एतारिसं अस्ता दानं व अनगहो व यारिसं धंमदानं व धमन्गहो व (K) त तु स्रो मिनेन व सुहृदयेन वा

जितकेन व सहायन व ओवादितव्यं तम्हि तम्हि पकरणे इदं कवं इदं साध इति इमिना सन

- स्वगं आराधेत इति (L) कि च इमिना कतव्यतरं यथा स्वगारधी
- (A) Devānampiyo Priyadasi rājā eva i āha (B) asti jano uchāvacham mamgalam karote äbädhesu vä
- āvāha-vīvāhesu vā putra-lābhesu vā pravāsammhi vā etamhī cha añamhi cha jano uchāvacham mamgalam karote
- (C) eta tu mahidayo bahukam cha bahuvidham cha chhudam cha nirath[am] cha mamgalam karote (D) ta katavyameva tu magalam 2 (E) apa-phalam tu kho
- etarisam 3 mamgalam (F) ayam tu mah[a]-phale mamgale ya dhamma-mamgale (G) ta[te]ta dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-pratipatī gurūnam apachiti sādhu
- pāņesu sayamo sādhu bamhaņa-samaņānam sādhu dānam et[a] cha añ[a] cha etārisam dhamma-mamgalam nāma (H) ta vatavyam pitā va
- putena vā bhātrā vā svāmikena vā idam sādhu idam katavya 5 mamgalam āva tasa athasa nistānāya (I) asti cha pi vutam
- sādhu dana iti (J) na tu etārisam astā dānam va ana [ga]ho va yārisam dhammadānam va dhamanugaho va (K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [v]ā
- ñatikena 10 va sahāyana 11 va ovāditavyam tamhi tamhi pakaraņe 12 [i]dam kacham idam sādha 13 iti iminā sak[a] 14
- svagam ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataram yathā svagāradhī 15

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.
- (B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, or at the marriage of a son or a daughter,16 or at the birth of a son, or when setting out on a journey; on these and other (occasions) men are practising various ceremonies.
- (C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

¹ evam Bühler.

^{*} Read maingalain, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler. 3 Read etārisain.

^{*} tata Senart and Bühler; but the te can be clearly distinguished on the back of the estampage, and is supported by the other versions.

⁵ katayvam Bühler.

⁶ Read danam; danam Bühler.

⁷ Read asti, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁹ dhammānugaho Bühler.

¹⁰ Read natio.

⁸ Read anugaho. 11 Read 'yena.

¹² The syllable ra looks almost like ra.

¹⁴ sakam Bühler. 13 Read sādhu.

^{15 °}radhi Bühler.

¹⁶ For avaha and vivaha cf. Fataka, Translation, vol. V, p. 145, n. 1.

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NINTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



- (D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.
- (E) But ceremonies like these bear little fruit indeed.
- (F) But the following practice bears much fruit, viz. the practice of morality.
- (G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brähmanas and Śramanas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.
- (H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'
 - (I) And it has been said also: 'Gifts are meritorious.'
- (J) But there is no such gift or benefit as the gift of morality or the benefit of morality.2
- (K) Therefore a friend, or a well-wisher, or a relative, or a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This ought to be done; this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'
 - (L) And what is more desirable than this,3 viz. the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियों प्रियद्सि राजा यसो व कीति व न महाणावहा मजते अजत तदात्पनो दिघाय च में जनो
- 2 धंमसुसुंसा सुसुसता धंमवृतं च अनुविधियतां (B) एतकाय देवानंपियो पियदिस राजा यसो व किति व इस्रति
- उ (C) यं तु निनिच परिकामते देवानं प्रियदिस राजा त सवं पार्विकाय किंति सकले अपपरिस्रवे अस (D) एस तु परिस्रवे य अपुंजं
- 4 (E) दुकरं तु खो एतं छुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अजब अगेन पराक्रमेन सवं परिचिजित्पा (F) एत तु खो उसटेन दुकरं
- 1 (A) Devānampiyo ¹ Priyadasi rājā ¹ yasø va kīti va na mahāthāvah[ā] mañate ² añata tadātpano ² dighāya cha me [ja]no
- 2 dhamma-susru[m]sā 8 susrusatā 9 dhamma-vutam cha anuvidhiyatām (B) etakāya Devānampiyo Piyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va i[chha]ti

² Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 57 f.) has traced the two terms dhamma-dāna and dhammānuggaha in the Itivuttaka.

4 °priyo Bühler.

3628

6 mamñate Bühler.

¹ The word sādhu after apachiti, sayamo, and -samaṇānam is missing in the other versions. It seems to have crept into the Girnār text, because the person who drafted the latter had in his mind passages like the rock-edict III, D.

⁸ A number of instances in which a comparative is construed with the instrumental (instead of the ablative) have been collected by Pischel, GGA, 1881, 1332.

⁵ An obliterated de is visible between the syllables si and $r\bar{a}$, and an obliterated $v\bar{a}$ between $r\bar{a}$ and $j\bar{a}$.

⁷ Read, with Kern (Faartelling, p. 87), tadatpane.

⁸ -susumsā Senart, -susrusā Bühler.





3 (C) ya[m] tu kich[i] parik[a]mate Devānam Priyadasi rājā ta savam pāratrikāya kimti sakale a[pa]-parisrave asa (D) esa tu parisave pa apumñam

4 (E) dukaram tu kho etam chhudakena va janena usatena va añatra agena parāk[r]amena savam parichajitpā (F) et[a] t[u] kho usatena dukaram

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame of conveys much advantage, except (on account of his aim that) in the present time, and in the distant (future), men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king Devanampriya Priyadarsin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).10

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult 11 to accomplish for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) देविनंप्रियो पियदिस राजा एवं आह (B) नास्ति एतारिसं दानं यारिसं धंमदानं धंमसंस्तवो वा धंमसंविभागो वा धंमसंवधो व

2 (C) तत इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्यप्रतिपती मातिरि पितरा साधु सुसुसा मित-सस्तुतजातिकानं वाम्हणसमणानं साधु दानं

अप्राणानं अनारंभी साधु (D) एत वत्रवां पिता व पुनेन व भाता व मितसस्तुत-जातिकेन व आव पटीवेसियेहि इद साधु इद कत्रवां

4 (E) सो तथा कर इलोकचस आरधी होति परत च अंनंतं पुड्अं भवति तेन धंमदानेन

appa- (probably a misprint) Bühler.
 paräkamena Senart and Bühler.

7 i.e., as shown by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 575), glory in this life and fame after death.

* Instead of tadātpano(ne) dighāya cha the Jaugada version has the synonymous expression tadatvāye āyatiye cha, which occurs also in the Kautilīya, p. 248, l. 9 (tadātvē cha āyatyām cha), and p. 240, l. 2. For numerous examples of abstracts formed with the Prākrit affix -tvana or -ttana, see Pischel's Grammatik, p. 405.

⁹ With this passage cf. the Girnār edict IX, E, F, and XI, B, and the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, P: 'And this conquest is considered the principal one by Dēvānāmpriya, viz. the conquest

by morality'.

10 I adopt Fleet's translation of the last words in JRAS, 1909. 1014, n. 4. The usual translation,
'renouncing everything', is improbable because Aśōka nowhere advocates absolute poverty, though
the recommends 'moderation in possessions' in the rock-edict III, D.

11 The Jaugada version reads dukalatale for dukarain.

¹ kimchi Bühler.

² Read parākamate; parākāmate Senart, parākamate Bühler.

³ Add °priyo. 5 parisrave Bühler.



ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



- 1 (A) Devinampriyo¹ Piyadasi rājā ev[a]m āha (B) nāsti etārisam dānam yārisam dhamma-dānam dhamma-samstavo vā dhamma-samvibhāgo [vā]² dhamma-sambadho³ va
- 2 (C) tata idam bhavati dāsa-bhatakamhi samya-p[r]atipatī mātari pitarā sādhu sus[r]usā mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānam bāmhaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[nam] sādhu dā[nam]
- 3 prāṇānam anārambho sādhu (**D**) eta vatavyam pitā va putrena va bhāt[ā] va mitasastut[a]-ñāt[i]k[e]na va āva paṭīvesiyehi ida zādhu ida ka[tav]ya[m]
- 4 (E) so t[a]thā karu ⁸ ilokachasa āradho hoti parata cha amnamtam ⁹ puiñam ¹⁰ bhavati tena dhamma-dānena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

- (B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, or acquaintance through morality, or the distribution of morality, or kinship through morality.¹¹
- (C) Herein the following are (comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.¹²
- (D) Concerning this is a father, or a son, or a brother, or a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative, (or) even (mere) neighbours, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done.'
- (E) If one is acting thus,15 the attainment 18 of (happiness) in this world is (secured), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

² va Bühler.

3 Read -sambamdho.

4 Read pitari, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

5 -samananam Senart and Bühler.

6 patio Senart and Bühler.

7 idam Bühler.

8 Read karum, as in the Girnar edict XII, F.

9 Read anamtam.

10 puinnain Senart and Bühler.

11 The two expressions dhamma-dana and dhamma-samvibhaga occur in a passage of the Itivuttaka; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48, 57 f.

12 The other versions omit the superfluous word sādhu after pitarā, -sramaṇānam, and anā-rambho; cf. above, p. 17, n. 1.

13 Cf. the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, C, I, and RR.

14 Cf. the Girnar edict IX, H and K.

15 Senart and Bühler take karum as a nominative absolute. According to Michelson (JAOS,

31, 244) it is a participle formed of a stem which is a compromise between karo- and kuru-.

16 In the Girnār version āradho seems to be used as a substantive, just as āradhi in the Girnār edict IX, L, and āladhi in the Dhauli separate edict I, S, and the Jaugada separate edict I, T. In the other versions of the rock-edict XI the wording is slightly different.

¹ Read Devānamo, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.





TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (△) देवानंपिये पियदिस राजा सवपासंडानि च पविज्ञतानि च घरस्तानि च पूजयित दानेन च विवाधाय च पूजाय पूजयित ने

(B) न तु तथा दानं व पूजा व देवानंपियो मंजते यथा किति सारवढी अस

सवपासंडानं (C) सारवढी तु बहुविधा

 (D) तस तु इदं मूलं य विचिगुती किंति आत्पपासंडपूजा व परपासंडगरहा व नो भवे अप्रकरणिह लहुका व अस

तिम्ह तिम्ह प्रकरणे (E) पूजेतया तु एव परपासंडा तेन तन प्रकरणेन (F) एवं करं

आत्पपासंडं च वढयित पर्पासंडस च उपकरोति

5 (G) तदंज्ञचा करोतो आत्पपासडं च छर्णात परपासंडस च पि अपकरोति (H) यो हि कोचि आत्पपासंडं पूजयित परपासंडं व गरहित

क सवं आत्पपासंडभितया किंति आत्यपासंडं दीपयेम इति सी च युन तथ कराती

ञ्चात्पपासंडं वाढतरं उपहनाति (I) त समवायो एव साधु

7 किंति अञ्चनंत्रस धंमं सुणारु च सुसुंसेर च (J) एवं हि देवानंपियस इहा किंति सवपासंडा बहुस्ता च असु कलाणागमा च असु

(E) ये च तच तत प्रसंना तेहि वतव्यं (L) देवानंपियो नी तथा दानं व पूजां व

मंजते यथा किंति सारवढी अस सर्वपासडानं (M) बहका च एताय

- श्रया व्यापता धंममहामाता च इथीम्खमहामाता च वचभूमीका च अञे च निकाया (N) अयं च एतस फल य आत्मपासंडवढी च होति धंमस च दीपना
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyad[a]si rājā sava-pāsamdāni cha [pa]vajitāni cha gharastāni cha pūjayati d[ā]nena cha vivādhāya 1 [cha] pūjāya pūjayati ne

2 (B) na tu tathā dānam va pū[jā] va D[e]vānampiyo mamnate yathā kiti sāra-vaḍhī asa sa[va-pā]samḍānam (C) sār[a]-vaḍhī tu bahuvidhā

3 (D) tasa ² tu idam mūlam ya vachi-gutī kimti ātpa-pāsamda-pūjā va para-pāsamda-garahā ³ va no bhave aprakaraṇamhi ⁴ lahukā va asa

tamhi tamhi prakarane (E) pūjetayā tu eva para-pāsamdā tena tana prakaranena (F) evam karum ātpa-pāsamdam cha vadhayati para-pāsamdasa cha upakaroti

5 (G) tad-amñathā karoto ātpa-pāsaḍam ⁶ cha chhanati para-pāsaṁḍasa cha pi apakaroti (H) yo hi kochi ātpa-pāsaṁḍam pūjayati para-pāsaṁḍam v[a]⁷ garahati

¹ Read vividhāya, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

3 The syllable sam of -pasamaa- was inserted subsequently.

² The writer had originally written tasa tasa, but he scored out the first sa and the second ta.

⁴ The syllable pra looks almost like ha; the horizontal stroke attached to pa is probably intended for r. Cf. abhipretain near the end of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

⁵ Read tena.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



savam ātpa-pāsamda-bhatiyā i kimti ātpa-pāsamdam dīpayema iti so cha puna tatha karāto i ātpa-pāsamda[m] bādhataram upahanāti (I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu

7 kimti [a]ñamamñasa 3 dhammam sruṇāru 4 cha susumsera 6 cha (J) evam hi D[e]vānampiyasa ichhā kimti 6 sava-pāsamdā bahu-srutā cha asu kal[ā]ṇāgamā cha [a]su

(K) ye cha tatra tata 7 prasamnā tehi vatavyam (L) Devānampiyo no tathā dānam va pūjām 8 va mamnate yathā kimti sāra-vadhī asa sarva-pāsadānam (M)

bahakā o cha etāya

9 athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha ithījhakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmīkā cha añe cha nikāyā (N) ayam cha etasa phala ya ātpa-pāsamda-vadhī cha hoti dhammasa cha dīp[a]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects: 10 both ascetics and householders; both with gifts and with honours of various kinds he is honouring them.

(B) But Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But a promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech,¹¹ (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is both promoting his own sect and benefiting other sects.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and

wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) 12 out of devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore concord alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and

obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāmpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be full of learning, and should be pure in doctrine.

¹ -pāsada- Bühler. ² Read karoto. ³ maña° Senart, amña° Bühler.

5 susumserā Senart, sususera Bühler.

⁶ The syllable ti was inserted subsequently, ⁷ tate Bühler.

8 pūjā Senart and Bühler.
9 Read bahukā.

¹¹ Instead of vachi-gutī the other versions read vacha-gutī. With vachi cf. the Ardhamāgadhī from vaī in Pischel's Grammatik, § 413.

¹² The readings shave at Kālsī and savre in the two Kharōshṭhī versions show that savam at Girnār is the nom. sing. neut.; see Franke in KZ, 34. 422.

^{*} Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1336) proposed to read sruneru. But the form srunaru is probably an imperative; see Introduction, chapter VI.

¹⁰ The cha after sava-pāsaindāni is superfluous; see Bühler, EI, 1. 19, n. 42. It is missing in the other versions.



- (K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects) ought to be spoken to 1 (as follows).
- (L) Devanampriva does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.
- (M) And many (officers)² are occupied for this purpose,³ (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women,⁴ the inspectors of cowpens,⁵ and other classes (of officials).⁶
- (N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

1 (A) ''' जो कलिंगा वज '' वढे सा	वस्य हिस्स वहा न्य वा न्य व
हतं बहुतावतकं मत (C) तता पछा अधुना लधेसु कालिंगेसु त	
2 '''' सयो देवानं प्रियस वज '''' व	
अपवाही व जनस त वाढं वेदनमत च गुरुमत च देवानंधि	
3 '''' वाम्हणा व समणा व अञ्चे ''' स्	गा माचि पितरि
सुसुंसा गुरुसुसुंसा मिनसंस्ततसहायजातिकेसु दासभ ' ' ' '	
4 '''' अभिरतानं व विनिखमण (H) येसं वा प	• • • • • • • • •
हायञातिका व्यसनं प्रापुणित तत सी पि तेस उपघाती हा	ति (1) पटीभागी
चेसा सव ' ' '	
5 ' ' ' ' ' ' स्ति इमे निकाया अञच योनेसु ' ' ' ' '	म्हि यच नास्ति
मानुसानं एकतरिन्ह पासंडिन्ह न नाम प्रसादो (K) यावतवं	
6 सभागी व गहमती देवानं न	य सना छमितने
(M) या च पि ऋटवियो देवानंपियस विजिते पाति	
ग चते तेसं देवानंपियस सवभू।	तानां अछतिं च
सयमं च समचैरं च मादव च	

¹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 586) noted other instances of the dative plural in -chi at Jaugada (-sama-nehi, III, l. 3, and mahāmātehi, VI, l. 3), and at Kālsī (mahāmatehi, VI, end of l. 18). See also Mānsehrā, VI, l. 28, and XII, l. 7, and ājīvikehi in the second and third Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

² As pointed out by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 849), the two words bahukā cha, which previous translators had connected with section L, are in reality the first words of section M.

³ For the dative athā (= athāya), see the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, W, and E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 67.

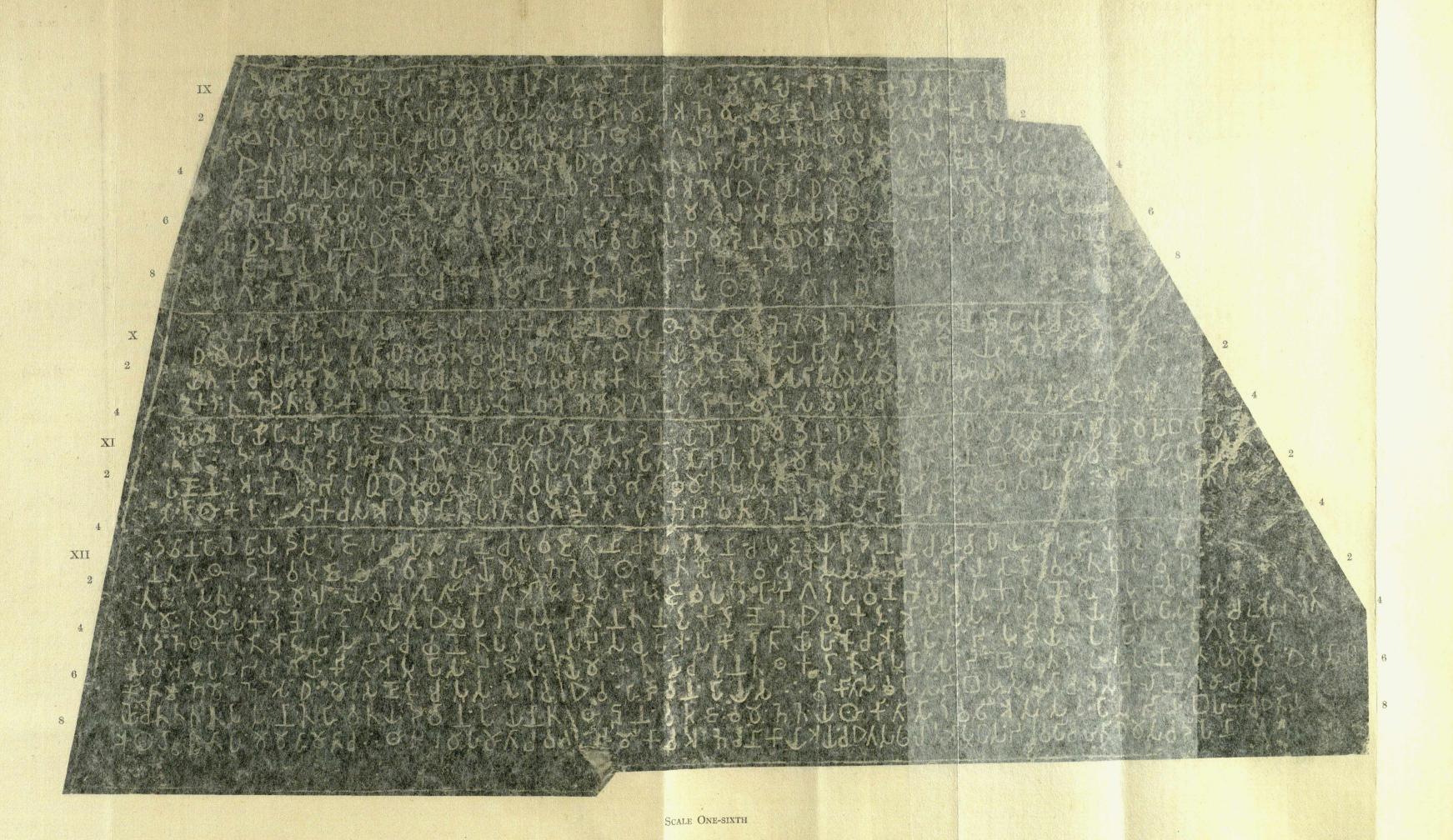
4 With ithijhakha cf. ganikādhyaksha, 'the overseer of courtesans', in the Kauțiliya, II, 27.

⁵ Bühler (EI, 2. 470, n. 18) suggested that vacha (= vracha at Mänsehrä) may be a Prākṛit form of vraja, 'a cowpen', and compared gavādhyaksha, 'the overseer of cows', in the $K\bar{a}mas\bar{u}tra$, p. 290, l. 1. Cf. also $g\bar{o}dhyaksha$ in the Kautiliya, II, 29. For the hardening of j in vracha cf. vrachamti and v[r]acheyam (from Skt. vrajati) at Shāhbāzgaṛhī, XIII, S, and VI, L.

⁶ The Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, Z, mentions officers whose special duty it was to attend

to Buddhists, Brāhmaņas, Ajīvikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.







13 sakam Bühler.

16 Read vijite.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



8	• • • • • • लधी • • • निप्रयस इच सर्वसु च • • • • वीनराज
	परं च तेन चत्पारी राजानी तुरमायी च अंते किन च मगा च
9	
	देवानंपियस धंमानुसस्टिं अनुवतरे (B) यत पि दृति
10	• • • • • नं धमानुसस्टिं च धमं अनुविधियरे • • • • विजयो
	सवणा पुन विजयो पीतिरसो सा (ए) लधा सा पीती होति धंमवीजयिह
11	
	मा विजेतव्यं मंजा सरसके एव विजये छाति च
12	ं ' ' ' ' ' किकी च पारलोकिको ' ' ' ' इलोकिका च
	पारलोकिका च
1	(A) fio Kalimgā [v . j .] [v . dh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātram
	tatrā hatam bahu-tāvatakam mata 1 (C) tatā pachhā adh[u]nā 2 ladhesu
	Kalimgesu ti[v]o dhammaväyo
2	apavāho va janasa ta bādham vedana-mata cha g[u]r[u]-mata cha
	Devā[nampi][sa]
3	bāmhaṇā va samaṇā va añe [s]ā mātr[i] pitari susumsā
	· guru-susumsā 6 mita-samstata-sahāya-ñātike[su] 7 dāsa-[bha]
4	nātikā vyasanam prāpuņati tata so pi tesa [u]paghāto hāti 10 (I) paṭībhā[g]o
	chesā s[ava]
5	
	mānusānam 12 ekataramhi pāsamdamhi na nāma prasā[d]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o
a	j[ano ta]d[ā]
	chhamitave (M) yā cha pi aṭaviyo D[e]vānampiya[sa] 14 pijite 15 pāti 16
1	
	¹ matam Bühler. ² adhanā Bühler. ³ tam Senart and Bühler.
	* -matain Bühler.
	 mātā- Senart and Bühler; the horizontal stroke on the right of t seems to be intended for r. -susūsā Bühler.
	Read -sainstuta-, which is Bühler's reading.
	8 tatā Senart, tatra Bühler. 9 tesam Senart and Bühler.
	10 Read hoti, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
	11 yo nesa Senart; Mānsehrā reads Yoneshu quite distinctly. 12 manu Bühler.

14 Two old fissures of the rock, the first after pi and the second after sa, run on to the next line, where they divide the word samachairam into three parts; *priyasa Bühler.

16 Read hoti.





7 sava-bhütänäm 1
achhatim 2 cha sayamam cha samachairam 3 ch[a] mādava 4 cha
cs 7 m c 7image idle Factorin Tab 7
[Yo]na-rāja 5 param cha tena chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo cha [A]mt[ek]ina 6
cha Magā cha
9 idha rāja-vi[sa]yamhi [Y]o[na]-Kambo mdhra-
Pārimdesu z savata Devānampiyasa dhammānus[a]stim anuv[a]tare (S) yata
pi dūti 8
10 [na]m dhamānusastim cha dhamam anuvidhiyare
[v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo pīti-raso sā 10 (U) ladhā sā pītī hoti dhamma-
vījayamhi
11 m[p]riyo (X) etā[ya athā]ya ayam dhamma-[l]
[va]m vijayam mā vijetavyam mamnā 11 sarasake eva vijaye chhāti 12 cha
12 kik[o] ch[a pā]r[alo]ki[ko] ilokikā cha pāralokikā 13 cha
TRANSLATION
Al Walinday
(A) the Kalingas
(B) one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain
there, (and) many times as many those who died.
(C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kalingas has been taken, a zealous
study of morality 14
(D) [the repentance] of Dövänämpriya
(E) slaughter, death, and deportation of people, this is considered
(E) Slaughter, death, and deportation of people,
very painful and deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya.
(G) Brähmanas or Śramanas, [or] other obedience to
mother (and) to father, obedience to elders to friends, acquaintances,
companions, and relatives, [to] slaves or deportation of (their)
beloved ones.
(H) [companions] and relatives are then incurring misfortune,
(H) [Companions] and recovers
this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons).
(I) This is shared [by] all
1 -bhūtānam Bühler.
² An old fissure of the rock, between chha and tim, runs on to the two next lines of the edict.
³ samacheram Senart, samacheram Bühler.
* mādavam Bühler. * -rājā Bühler.
6 Anitakāna Senart, Anitekinā Bühler.
The apparent e-stroke attached to dha is probably meant for r; indha P[i]rindesu Bühler.
8 Read dūtā. 9 dhama Senart; anuv[i]dh[ī]yare Bühler.
10 so Bühler. 11 mañā Bühler.
¹² chhāti [m] Bühler. 13 Between pāra and lo a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the writer.
Between para and to a rough portion of the rock was left blank by the

14 Instead of dhainmavāyo Shāhbāzgarhī seems to read dhrama-silana, 'the practice, or study, of morality'. Hence Senart is probably correct in explaining dhainmavāyo by dharmāvāya.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- GL
- (J) these classes except among the Yonas1... where men are not indeed attached to some sect.2 (K) As many people as at that time part is considered deplorable by Devanam priya]. (L) what can be forgiven. (M) And even the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dövänäm-(N) They are [told] of Dövänämpriya (O) towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, impartiality, and kindness. (Q) has been won by [Dēvā]nāmpriya here and among all the Yona king,3 and beyond him four kings, (viz.) Turamāya, Antekina, (R) here in the king's territory, [among] the Yonas and Kambo[jas] among the [A]ndhras and Pārindas,—everywhere (people) are conforming to Dēvānāmpriya's instruction in morality. (S) Even where the envoys and the instruction in morality, are conforming to morality (T) this conquest,—a conquest (won) in every respect (and) repeatedly,4—causes the feeling of satisfaction. (U) This satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.
 - (W)[Děvānā]mpriya.
- (X) For the following purpose this [rescript] on morality should not think that a [fresh] conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them, mercy
 - (Y) in the other world.
 - (AA) both in this world and in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अयं धंमलिपी देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदिसना राजा लेखापिता अस्ति एव
- 2 संखितेन अस्ति मरमेन अस्ति विस्तान (B) न च सर्वे सर्वेत घटितं
- 3 (C) महालके हि विजितं वहु च लिखितं लिखापियसं चेव (D) शक्ति च एत कं
- 4 पुन पुन वृतं तस तस अयस माधूरताय किंति जनी तथा पटिपजेथ
- 5 (E) तच एकदा असमातं लिखितं अस देसं व सद्याय कार्णं व
- 6 अलोचेत्पा लिपिकरापरधेन व

² As remarked by Senart, the last negation of this sentence (na) is redundant.

³ For the proper names mentioned in this passage see my notes on the translation of the Kālsī version.

4 Cf. the Kālsī version, Q.

¹ i. e. the Greeks.

⁵ Bühler divided sarasake into sara-sake, which he translated by 'possible by arrows'. The various readings of Kālsī (shayakashi) and Shāhbāzgarhī (spa[kaspi]) induce me to consider it as a Bahuvrīhi of sva+rasa.



1 (A) ayam dhamma-lipī Devānampriyena Priyadasinā r[ā]ñā l[e]khāpitā asti eva

2 samkhit[e]na asti majhamena asti vistatana 1 (B) na cha sarvam [sa]rvata ghatitam

3 (C) mahālake hi vijitam bahu cha likhitam likhāpayisam cheva (D) asti cha eta kam

4 puna puna vutam tasa tasa athasa 2 mādhūratāya kimti jano tathā paṭipajetha

5 (E) tatra ekadā asamāt[a]m likhita[m] asa desam va sachhāya [kā]raṇam va

6 [a]lochetpā lipikarāparadhena va

TRANSLATION

- (A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king Dêvānāmpriya Priyadaráin either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.
 - (B) And 3 the whole was not suitable everywhere.
- (C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.
- (D) And some of this 4 has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) 5 in order that men should act accordingly.
- (E) In some instances (some) of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,6 or because (my) motive was not liked,7 or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, LEFT SIDE

									तेष ''''
2	•			•	٠	٠	٠	•	पिपा : : : : : :
1			,	•	•				t[esha] *
2				4					[p]i[p]ā •

BELOW THE THIRTEENTH GIRNAR ROCK-EDICT, RIGHT SIDE

..... र्वस्वेती हिस्त सर्वलोकसुखाहरी नाम

...... rva-sveto 10 hasti sarva-loka-sukhāharo nāma

² The syllable sa was inserted subsequently.

The other versions read 'for' instead of 'and'. The Girnār reading would suit Senart's translation of ghatitain by 'put together'.

* The other versions suggest that eta kam must not be joined into one word, but corresponds to atra kimchit. Cf. also ata k[i]chhi in the Kālsī version, E.

⁵ The particle cha is inserted at Dhauli and Jaugada.

6 Thus the two separate edicts were substituted at Dhauli and Jaugada for the rock-edicts XI to XIII. Bühler considered sachhāya = sainkhyēyam, and connected it with kāraṇam; see ZDMG, 40. 142, and 48. 59 f. It seems more natural to take it as a gerund = sainkśāya or sainkhyāya.

7 Senart translates: 'perhaps that the sense has been misunderstood'. I take locheti = Skt.

rōchayati; see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁸ This word is perhaps a portion of the well-known Buddhist formula hētum tēshām Tathāgatō hy-avadat \ tēshām cha &c.

Bühler (VOJ, 8. 320) suggested that this line may have contained the name of the writer. I feel tempted to conjecture lipi[karena*], which is the last word of the three Mysore edicts.

10 Restore sarva-.

¹ Read vistatena.









SCALE ONE-SIXTH



BELOW THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR



TRANSLATION

..... the entirely white 1 elephant 2 bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

II. THE KALSI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

A .- East Face of Kalsī Rock.

1 (A) इयं धंमलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदिसना लेखिना (B) हिदा नो किछि जिवे आलिभेतु पजोहितविये

2 (c) नो पि चा समाजे करिवये (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा दखित (E) अधि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने

उ (F) पुले महानसिस देवानंपियसा पियदिसिसा लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पातसहसानि अलंभियिसु सुपठाये (G) से इदानि यदा इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता तदा तिंनि येवा पानानि अलिभियंति

4 दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चू मिगे नो घुवे (E) एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि नो अलाभियसंति

1 (A) iyam dhamma-lipi Devānampiyenā Piyadas[i]nā [lekhit]ā (B) [h]idā no³ kichhi jive ālabhitu pajohitaviye

2 (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahuk[ā] hi dosā samājasā Devān[aṁ]piye Pi[ya]dasī lājā dakhati (E) athi pi ch[ā e]katiyā samājā sādh[u]-matā Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasis[ā] lājine

3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasi Devānampiyasā Piyadasisā lājin[e]⁶ anudivasam bahuni pāta-sahasāni alambhiyisu supathāy[e] (G) se i[d]āni ya[dā] iyam dhamma-lipi lekhitā tadā timni yevā pānāni alabhi[yam]ti s

4 duve majūl[ā] 10 eke mige se pi [chū] 11 mige no dhruve 12 (H) e[t]āni pi ch[u] 13 tini pānā[n]i no alābhi[y]isa[m]ti 14

¹ Cf. sabbaseto in Childers's Pāli Dictionary, s. v. sabbo.

³ nā Bühler.

4 sa[m]āja Bühler.

⁵ There is a fissure in the rock here.

6 lajine Bühler.

7 sata- Senart, pāna- Bühler; read pāna-sata-.

8 ālabhi° Bühler.

9 alābhi° Senart, ālabhi° Bühler.

² As stated by Kern (Faartelling, p. 44), Senart (Inscriptions, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), the Girnār rock must have borne, like the Kālsī and Dhauli rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgarh to Girnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

¹⁰ majali Senart, majulā Bühler.

¹¹ ye Senart, cha Bühler.
13 cha Bühler.

¹² dhave Senart, dhuve Bühler.

¹⁴ ālābhi° Senart, ālabhi° Bühler.





TRANSLATION

- (A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin.
 - (B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.
 - (C) And also no festival meeting must be held.
 - (D) For king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.
- (E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin:
- (F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dévanampriya Priyadarsin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.
- (G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.
 - (H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

4 (A) सवता विजितिस देवानंपियसा पियद्सिसा लाजिने ये च छांता छाषा चोडा पंडिया सातियपुतो केललपुतो तंबपंति

- अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो सवता देवानंपियसा पियदिससा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा चा पसुचिकिसा चा (B) ओसधीनि मनुसोपगानि चा पसोपगानि चा अतता निष
- 6 सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (c) एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा अतता निष सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मगेमु लुखानि लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पिटिभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं
- 4 (A) sav[a]tā vijitasi Devānampiyas[ā] Piyadasis[ā] lājine ye cha amtā [a]thā Choḍā Pam[ḍi]yā Sātiyaputo Ke[lala]puto Tamba[pa]mni
- 5 Amtiyoge [n]āma Yona-lājā ye chā amne tas[ā A]mtiyogasā sā[ma]mtā lā[j]āno [sa]vatā Devānampiyasā Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā kaṭā manusa-chikisā chā pasu-chikisā chā (B) osadhīn[i] manusopagāni chā pasopagāni chā a[ta]tā n[a]th[i]

6 [sa]vatā [h]ālāpitā chā lo[p]āpit[ā] chā (C) [e]vamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā a[ta]t[ā] nathi savatā hālāp[i]tā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni³ lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munis[ā]naṁ

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Sātiyaputa, the

¹ osadhāni Senart and Bühler.

³ There is a fissure in the rock here.

² cha Senart and Bühler.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

SL

Kėlalaputa,¹ Tāmraparnī, the Yōna king named Antiyoga, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoga,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle,

everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of

cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

6 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाजा हेवं आहा

(B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं ज्ञानपियते (C) सवता विजितिस मम युता लजूके पारेसिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु छनुसंयानं निखमंतु एताये वा छठाये इमाय धंमनुसिषया यथा छंनाये पि कंमाये (D) साधु

श्रमातिपतिमु सुमुसा मितसंयुतनातिकानं चा बंभनसमनानं चा साधु दाने पानानं अनालंभे साधु अपवियाता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च युतानि गननिस अनपयिसंति हेत्वता चा वियंजनते चा

6 (A) De[vā]nampiye Piyadasi lājā h[e]vam āhā

7 (B) du[v]ādasa-v[a]sābhisitena me iyam ānapayite (C) savatā vijitasi [mama] yutā laj[ū]k[e] ² pādesike pa[m]cha[s]u pamchasu vasesu [a]nusa[m]yānam nikham[am]tu etāye vā a[th]āye imāya ⁴ dhammanusathiyā yathā am[nāye] pi kammāye (D) sādhu

8 māta-pitisu sususā mita-samthuta-nātikyān[am] chā bambhana-sama[nā]nam [chā] sādhu d[ā]ne pānānam anālambh[e] sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā [a]pa-[bha]m[da]t[ā] sādhu (E) palisā pi cha yutāni [ga]nanasi anap[a]yisamti hetuvatā chā

viyamjanat[e] chā 6

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Lajūka, (and) the Prādēsika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

² lajaki Senart, lajuke Bühler.

3 anusiyanam Senart, anus[a]yanam Bühler.

4 athāye imāy[e] Bühler.

6 cha Senart and Bühler.

¹ As the Kālsī dialect replaces r by l, this form is the correct equivalent of $K\bar{e}ralaputra$ at Mānsehrā.

The other versions read "yatā or "yata. There is a fissure in the rock here.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the councils (of Mahāmātras) also shall order the Yuktas 1 to register

(these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons 2 and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

9 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि विधिते वा पानालंभे विहिसा चा भुतानं नातिना असंपिटपित समनबंभनानं असंपिटपित (B) से अजा देवानंपियसा पियदिसने लाजिने धंमचलनेना भेलिघोसे अही धंमघोसे विमनदसना

10 हिंचिनि अगिकंधानि श्रंनानि चा दिव्यानि लुपानि दसयितु जनस (c) श्रादिसा बहुहि वससतेहि ना हुतपुलुवे तादिसे अजा विदते देवानंपियसा पियदिसने लाजिने धंमनुस्थिये श्रनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भुतानं नातिनं

- 11 संपिटपित वंभनसमनानं संपिटपित मातापितिसु सुसुसा (D) एसे चा छांने चा बहुविधे धंमचलने विधिते (E) विधियसित चेवा देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज इमं धंमचलनं (F) पुता च कं नताले चा पनातिक्या चा देवानंपियसा पियदिसने लाजिने
- 12 पवढियसंति चेव धंमचलनं इमं आवकपं धंमिस सीलिस चा चिठितु धंमं अनुसासिसंति (G) एसे हि सेठे कंमं छां धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचलने पि चा नो होति असिलसा (I) से इमसा अयसा विध अहिनि चा साधु (J) एताये अथाये इयं लिखिते
- 13 इमसा अथसा विध युजंतु हिनि च मा ऋलोचियमु (E) दुवाडसवर्शाभिसितेना देवानंपियेना पियदिशना लाजिना लेखिता
- 9 (A) atika[m]tam a[m]ta[la]m bahuni vasa-satāni v[adh]it[e] vā pā[nā]lambhe vi[h]isā chā bhutānam nātinā asam[pa]ṭip[a]ti samana-b[am]bhanānam asampaṭipati (B) s[e] ajā Devānampiyasā Piyadasine lājine dhamm[a]-chal[an]enā bheli-ghose aho dhamma-ghose vimana-dasan[ā]

10 [ha]thini agi-kamdh[ā]ni amnāni chā 4 divyāni lupāni dasayitu jana[sa] (C) [ā]disā 5 ba[h]u[hi v]asa-[sa]tehi nā huta-puluve tādise ajā vadhite Devānampiyasā Piyadasine [l]ājine dhammanusathiye a[n]ālambhe pānānam avihisā bhutānam

nāti[nam]6

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 108) explained hetuvatā by hētumatā vākyēna, i.e. 'by a syllogism'.

The other versions read hetuto or hetute.

¹ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 993 ff.) has been the first to remark that in the eastern dialect the accusative plural of masculines ends in -āni. Cf. yutāni in E with yutā in C, and Kaligyāni in XIII, D, with Kaligyā in A; also XII, A, and pulisāni in the pillar-edict IV, G.

³ nātinam Bühler. ⁴ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁵ ādisam Senart, ādis[e] Bühler. ⁶ nātisam Senart, nāti[su] Bühler.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

sampațipati bambha[na-sa]manānam sampațipati mātā-pitisu sususā (D) ese1 chā amne chā ba[h]uvidhe dhamma-chalane vadh[i]te (E) vadhiyisati chevā Devānampiy[e] Piyadasi lāja 2 ima[m] dha[m]ma-chalanam (F) putā cha kam natāle chā panātikyā ch[ā] Devānampiyasā Piyadasine lājine

[pa]v[a]dhayisamt[i ch]ev[a] dhamma-chalanam i[mam] āva-kapa[m] dhammasi s[ī]lasi 4 chā chithit[u] dhammam anusāsisamti (G) ese hi sethe kamm[am] am dhammānusāsanam (H) dhamma-chalane pi chā no hoti asilasā (I) se im[a]s[ā

a]thasā v[a]dhi ahini chā sādhu (J) etāye [a]thāye iyam likhite

imas[ā] a[tha]s[ā] vadhi yujamtu hini ch[a] mā alochayisu (K) duv[ā]das[a]vas[ā]bhisitenā Dev[ā]namp[i]yen[ā] Piyadasinā lājinā lekhitā 5

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramanas and Brāhmanas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and

other divine figures.

- (C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) obedience to mother and father.
 - (D) Both in this and in many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.
- (E) And king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality.
- (F) And the sons,6 grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Dövänämpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve 7 the neglect (of it).

(K) (This rescript) was caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

4 sīlasī Senart, silasi Bühler. 5 lekhitam Bühler.

⁷ See above, p. 8, n. 3. Here, and in three other versions, the augment a- is retained after the particle mā, while Shāhbāzgarhī has lo[ch]e[sh]u in accordance with Sanskrit grammar.

³ There is a fissure in the rock here. 1 esha Bühler. ² lājā Bühler.

⁶ The two syllables cha kain seem to have the same meaning as the simple cha. They occur twice again at Kālsī (XI, E, and XIII, Z), once at Shāhbāzgarhī (IV, F), three times at Mānsehrā, and once at Brahmagiri (l. 11). Cf. kam after nú, sú, hí in the Rigvēda.







FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

13 (A) देवानंपिये पियद्सि लाजा छहा (B) कयाने दुकले। (C) ए छादिकले कयानसा से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया बहु कयाने कटे (E) ता ममा पुता चा नताले चा

14 पलं चा तेहि ये अपितये मे आवकपं तथा अनुविटसंति से मुकटं कर्छति (F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हायियसित से दुकटं कर्छित (G) पापे हि नामा मुपदालये (H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धंममहामता नामा (I) तेदस-वसाभिसितेना ममया धंममहामाता कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु वियापटा

15 धंमाधिषानाये चा धंमवित्या हिट्सुखाये वा धंमयुतसा योनकंबोजगंधालानं ए वा पि अने छपलंता (E) भटमयेसु बंभिनभेसु छनषेसु वृधेसु हिट्सुखाये धंमयुताये छपलिबोधाये वियपटा ते (L) बंधनबधसा पिटिविधानाये छपलिबोधाये मोखाये चा एयं छनुबधा पजाव ति वा

16 कराभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापरा ते (M) हिंदा बाहिलेसु चा नगलेसु सवेसु श्रोलोधनेसु भातिनं च ने भगिनिना ए वा पि छंने नातिको सवता वियापरा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति वा दानसुयुते ति वा सवता विजितिस ममा धंमयुतिस वियापरा ते धंममहामता (O) एताये श्राये

17 इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता चिलिपितिच्या होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु

13 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā ahā (B) kayāne dukale (C) e ādikale kay[ā]nasā se dukalam kaleti (D) se mamayā bahu kayāne kat[e] (E) t[ā

ma]m[ā 2 putā] ch[ā] nat[āle chā]

14 palam [chā] tehi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapam tathā anuvaṭisa[m]ti s[e] s[u]kaṭam kachham[t]i (F) e chu het[ā] desam pi hāpa[y]i[sat]i³ s[e] dukaṭam kachhati (G) p[ā]pe hi nāmā⁴ supadālaye (H) se atikamtam amtalam no huta-puluva⁵ dham[ma]-mahāmatā⁶ nāmāⁿ (I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā mamayā dhamma-mahāmāt[ā ka]t[ā] (J) [te] sav[a]-pāsam[de]su viyā[pa]ṭā

dham[m]ādhithā[nāye ch]ā dhamma-vadhiyā hi[da]-sukhāye vā ⁸ dhamm[a]-yutas[ā]

Yona-Kamb[o]ja-Gamdhālānam e vā [pi] amne apalamtā (K) bhaṭamayesu
bambhanibhesu anathesu [v]udhesu hida-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye apalibodhāye
viyapaṭā ⁹ te (L) bamdha[na-badha]sā paṭividhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]ye

chā eyam anubadh[ā]10 pajāva ti v[ā]

16 [kaṭābhikā]le ti vā m[ah]ā[la]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]paṭā te (M) hid[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā naga[l]esu s[a]ves[u olodha]n[esu] bhā[tina]m cha ne bh[agi]ni[nā] e vā [pi] amn[e] nātikye savatā viyā[pa]ṭā (N) e iyam dhamma-nisite ti vā dāna-suyute 11

¹ Senart and Bühler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.

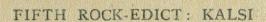
² mama Bühler. ³ °samti Bühler. ⁴ nāma Senart and Bühler.

⁵ -puluvā Senart and Bühler. ⁶ -mahāmātā Senart and Bühler.

⁷ nāma Bühler. 8 vi Senart, chā Bühler. 9 viyāpaṭā Bühler.

¹⁰ anubaindha Senart, anuba[dhain] Bühler.

^{11 -}sayute Senart, -samyute Bühler.





ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[i]jitas[i] mamā [dha]mma-yutasi viyāpaţā te dhamma-m[a]hām[a]tā [a]to v[a]ta v[a]

17 [i]yam dhamma-lipi lekhitā chi[la]-thitikyā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu 2

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks (thus).
- (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
- (C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
- (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
- (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 - (F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 - (G) For sin indeed steps fast.3
 - (H) Now, in times past (officers) called Mahāmātras of morality did not exist before.
- (I) Mahāmātras of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
- (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness 4 of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhālas, 5 and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
- (K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,⁶ with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,⁷ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).⁸
- (L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.
- (M) They are occupied everywhere, here 10 and in all the outlying towns, in the harems 11 of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

4 Here and in K the Dhauli version reads hita- instead of hida-.

⁷ The reading dhamma-yutāye seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Girnār version, dhamma-yutānam.

⁸ According to Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, *palibodha* means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Girnār (*parigodha*), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.

⁹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 269) took eyam anubadhā = Skt. ētam anubadham in the sense of ētad-artham. But eyam may stand for e ayam (cf. e iyam in section N = yo ayam at Girnār), and anubadhā for the ablative anubadhāt, 'in succession, respectively'.

10 Instead of 'here' the Girnār version reads 'both in Pāṭaliputra'.

^{1 °}mātā Senart and Bühler.

² anuvatamtu Senart and Bühler.

³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 267) explained supadālaye (for which Mānsehrā reads supadarave) by supradāryam. Girnār and Shāhbāzgarhī read instead of it sukaram, 'easily committed'. Perhaps padālaya is formed from pada, 'a step', as mahālaka (l. 16) = Prākrit mahālaya from mahat,

⁵ Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.

⁶ i.e. Vaiśyas; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 269. The readings of the Dhauli and Mānsehrā versions, *ibhiya* and *ibhya*, show that *ibha* at Kālsī and Shāhbāzgaṭhī is meant for *ibbha*. The same follows from the Fātaka, No. 544, where, as noted by Bühler (VOJ, 12. 76), the compound brāhman-ibbhā occurs several times.

¹¹ The Dhauli version inserts 'of myself'.

(N) These Mahāmātras of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality 2 or properly devoted to charity.3

(0) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants 4 may conform

to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नी हुतपुलुवे सवं कलं अठकंमे वा परिवेदना वा (c) से ममया हेवं करे (D) सवं कालं श्रदमानमा मे

ज्ञोलीधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता परिवेदका अठं जनसा * · · · वेदेतु मे (E) सवता चा जनसा अठं कछामि हकं (F) यं पि चा विक्रि मुखते आनपयामि हकं दापकं वा सावकं वा ये वा पुना

महामतेहि

अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तायेठाये विवादे निम्नति वा संतं पलिसाये अनंतिलयेना परि ' ' ' विये मे सवता सवं कालं (G) हेवं आनपियते ममया (H) निथ हि मे दोसे उठानसा अठसंतिलनाये चा (I) कटवियमुते हि मे सवलोकहिते (उ) तसा चा पुना एसे मुले उठाने

अउसंतिलना चा (K) निष हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेना (L) यं च किछि पलक्मामि हकं किति भुतानं अनिनयं येहं हिर च कानि मुखायामि पलत चा स्वगं जालाधियत (M) से एतायेठाये इयं धमलिपि लेखिता चिल-

ठितिक्या होत् तथा च मे पुतदाले पलकमात् सवलीकहिताये

(N) दुकले चु इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना

(A) Dev[ā]nampi[y]e Piyadas[i] lājā hevam āhā (B) atikamtam amtalam no huta-puluv[e] sav[a]m kalam 5 atha-k[am]me [v]ā [pat]i[veda]nā vā (C) s[e]

ma[may]ā hevam kate (D) s[a]vam kālam adamānas[ā] 6 me

olodhanasi gabhāgālas[i] va[chas]i vin[itasi u]y[ānasi sava]t[ā paṭive]dakā aṭha[m] 18 janasā.... vedetu [m]e (E) sa[va]tā [ch]ā s ja[nas]ā atham kachhāmi hakam (F) yarn pi ch[ā k]i[chhi m]u[kha]t[e ānapayā]mi [ha]kam dā[pakam] v[ā sāvakamī] vā ye vā punā mahāmat[e]hi 9

² Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.

9 °mātehi Bühler. 8 Senart and Bühler omit chā.

¹ The Dhauli version reads 'on the whole earth'.

³ In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of dana-suyute the Mansehra version reads dana-samyute, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the Dharma-Mahāmātras; see the with gifts'. The distribution of the distribut 4 See Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 841 f.

⁷ Restore pativedeintu, which is Bühler's reading.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI



a[tiyāyike ālopite¹ h]o[t]i tā[yeth]ā[ye] vivāde n[i]jhati v[ā] samtam palis[ā]ye anam[ta]l[i]yenā pat[i]..... viye² me sav[a]t[ā] savam kālam (G) hevam ānapayite m[a]mayā (H) nathi hi me dose³ uṭhān[a]sā aṭha-samtil[a]nāye chā (I) kat[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hi[te] (J) t[asā ch]ā⁴ [p]u[n]ā es[e] mule uṭh[āne]

20 [a]tha-samtilanā chā (K) [na]thi hi kam[ma]talā sava-lo[ka]-hitenā (L) yam cha kichhi palakamāmi hakam kiti bhutānam [a]naniyam ye[ham hi]da cha [kā]ni sukhāyāmi palata chā svagam ālādhayitu (M) s[e] etā[y]ethāye iyam dhama-lipi lekhitā chila-thitikyā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitā[ye]

21 (N) dukale ch[u] iyam anat[ā] agenā palakam[e]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānampriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty 10 (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.11

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them 12 happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

¹ °pitam Bühler. ² Restore pativedetaviye.

³ Jaugada reads tose; Bühler adds va. ⁴ Bühler omits chā. ⁵ kichi Bühler.

7 cha Senart and Bühler.

Read ālādhayamtu.
 amnata Senart, anata Bühler.

⁹ The form samtam corresponds to samto at Girnār, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kālsī edict VIII, C, and as kalamtam in XII, H; see also kala[mta], XI, E, and kalata, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, X.

10 muta for mata occurs also in the Kālsī edict XIII, E (vedaniya-mute gulu-mute chā). The change of a to u is due to the preceding labial, as in uchāvucha (Kālsī, VII, C, and IX, B) for

uchāvacha (Girnār).

11 For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3.

12 As kāni corresponds to nāni at Girnār, and to sha or she in the two Kharōshthī versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, H and M; V, C; VI, C; and VII, H. The singular kam occurs in the Jaugada separate edict I C, and II, C.

SL

(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives 1 may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 21 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाजा सवता इछित सवपासंड वसेवु (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इछिति (C) जने चु उचावुचाछिदे उचावुचलागे (D) ते सवं एकदेसं पि कछिति (E) विपुले पि चु दाने असा निष
- 22 सयमे भावसुधि किटनाता दिढभतिता चा निचे बाढं
- 21 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā [savat]ā [i]chhati sava-[pāsa]mda vas[e]vu (B) [sa]ve hi te sayama[m] bhāva-sudhi chā ichhamti (C) jane [ch]u uchāvuchā-chh[a]mde uchāvucha-lā[g]e (D) te savam eka-des[a]m pi k[a]chham[t]i (E) vipule pi chu dān[e] 2 asā nathi

22 sayame bhā[va]-sudh[i] kiṭanāt[ā 3 d]iḍha-bhatitā chā ni[che] bāḍham

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
- (B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
- (C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.
- (D) They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).
- (E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 22 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) हिदा मिगविया अंनानि चा हेडिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिषा संवोधि
- 23 (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) हेता इयं होति समनबंभनानं दसने चा दाने च वुधानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने चा जानपदमा जनसा दसने धंमनुसिथ चा धम-पिलपुद्धा चा ततोपया (F) एसे भुये लाति होति देवानंपियसा पियदिससा लाजिने भागे अंने
- 22 (A) atikamtam a[m]talam Devānampiyā [vihāla-yātam nāma] nikhamisu (B) hidā migaviyā amnāni chā hedisānā abhilāmān[i] husu (C) Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā das[a]-vasābhisite samtam nikhamithā Sambodhi
- 23 (D) tenatā dhamma-yātā (E) [h]etā iyam hoti samana-bambhanānam dasane chā

¹ The other versions render it probable that -dāle is a clerical mistake for -natāle, 'grandsons'.

² dān[am] Bühler. ³ Read ^onatā.

⁴ Read °sāni, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁵ °mithā Senart and Bühler.



EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI



dāne cha vudh[ā]nam dasa[n]e ch[a] hilamna-paṭi[v]idhāne chā [jā]napadasā [ja]n[a]sā das[a]ne dhammanusathi chā dhama-palipuchhā chā¹ tatopa[yā] (F) [e]se bh[u]ye lāti² hoṭi Devānampiyasā Piyadas[i]sā lājine bh[ā]g[e] amne

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past the Dēvānāmpriyas a used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

(C) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years,4 he went out to Sambödhi.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.5

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin

becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 24 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाजा आहा (B) जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आवाधिस अवाहिस विवाहिस पजोपदाने पवासिस एताये अंनाये चा एदिसाये जने वहु मगलं कलेति (C) हेत चु अवकजनियो वहु चा बहुविधं चा खुदा चा निलिधिया चा मगलं कलंति
- 25 (D) से कटिंव चेव खो मंगले (E) छपफले चु खो एसे (F) इयं चु खो महाफले ये धंममगले (G) हेता इयं दासभटकिंस सम्यापिटपित गुलुना छपचिति पानानं संयमे समनवंभनानं दाने एसे छंने चा हेडिसे। धंममगले नामा (E) से वतिवये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि मित-संयुतेना छव पटिवेसियेना पि
- 26 इयं साधु इयं कटिवये मगले आव तसा अधसा निवृतिया इमं कछामि ति (I) ए हि इतले मगले संसियक्ये से (I) सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना नो (E) हिदलोकिके चेव से (L) इयं पुना धंममगले अकालिक्ये (M) हंचे पि तं अठं नो निटेति हिद अठं पलत अनंतं पुना पवसति (N) हंचे पुन तं अठं निवतेति हिदा ततो उभयेसं
- 27 लधे होति हिंद चा से अठे पलत चा अनंतं पुना पसवित तेना धंममगलेना

¹ cha Bühler.

² Read lati.

³ Instead of this title of Aśōka's predecessors the Girnār and Dhauli versions have the word 'kings'.

⁴ For the form saintain see above, p. 35, n. 9.

⁶ viz. 'in my territory'; cf. above, p. 2, n. 3. The Girnar version reads tenesa, but Shāh-bāzgarhī and Mānsehrā read tenada, which seems to stand for tenatra. Therefore Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 426) was probably right in explaining tenata at Kālsī and Dhauli by tena atā.



(A) Devānampiye Piy[a]da[s]i lā[jā] āhā (B) jan[e] uch[āv]ucham mamgalam ka[l]eti ābādhasi av[āha]si vivāhasi pajopadāne¹ pavāsasi e[tā]ye amnāye chā edisāye jane bahu magala[m] k[a]leti (C) heta [ch]u abaka-jani[yo] bahu chā bahuvidham chā khudā [ch]ā nilathiyā 2 chā magalam ka[la]mti

(D) se katavi 3 cheva kho mamgale (E) apa-phale [ch]u 4 kho [e]s[e] (F) [i]vam chu 25 kho mah[a]-ph[a]le ye dhamma-magale (G) he[ta] iyam dasa-bhatakasi s[a]myapațip[a]ti 6 gulună apachiti [p]ā[n]ān[am] samyame 6 s[a]man[a]-bambhanānam dane ese amne cha hedise 17 dhamma-magale nama (H) se vata[v]ive pitinā pi putena pi bh[a]tinā pi suvāmiken[a] pi mita-samthuten[a] ava 9 pativesiyenā [p]i

iyam sādhu iyam kataviye [ma]g[a]le āva [ta]sā athasā ni[v]utiyā imam kachhāmi ti10 (I) e hi i[ta]le11 magale sa[m]sayikye se12 (J) siyā va tam atham nivatey[a] siyā punā no (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se 13 (L) iyam punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e] (M) hamche pi tam atham 14 no nițeti 15 hida atham 16 palata anamtam punā pavasati 17 (N) hamche puna 18 tam atham nivateti hidā 19 tato ubhaye[sa]m

ladhe hoti hida chā se athe palata 20 chā anamtam punā 21 pasavati tenā dhammamagalen[ā]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,22 (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives 23 are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaņas and Brāhmaņas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: - 'This is meritorious. This

3 Read kataviye. 4 vu Bühler. ⁵ -patipāti Bühler. 6 sāyamme Senart, sayame Bühler.

7 Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Bühler read tain.

8 °ken[ā] Bühler. 9 āva Bühler. 10 ka[tha]miti Bühler.

12 Bühler adds [hoti]. 11 ivale Bühler. 13 cha vase Senart and Bühler.

14 atham Bühler. 15 Read, as at Mānsehrā, nivaţeti. 16 Read (with Shāhbāzgarhi) atha. ¹⁷ Read pumnam pasavati.
¹⁸ sukā Senart, punā Bühler.
²⁰ °tā Senart and Bühler.
²¹ Read pumnam, which is 19 hida Senart and Bühler.

21 Read punnam, which is Bühler's reading.

²² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 431 f.) derived the locative upadāye from a supposed Skt. feminine *utpad. Shāhbāzgarhī reads upadane, which either corresponds to Skt. utpādanē, or is a mistake for the Mänsehrä reading, upadaye.

²³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 433) proposed translating 'nurses and mothers'. Cf. ambika-mādukehim in the Mrichchhakatika, act VIII, verse 19.

¹ This word cannot be correct, because in the Kālsī dialect the locative of upadāna would end in -asi. Read therefore (with Dhauli and Jaugada) °dāye, which is the actual reading of Senart and ² nilathiyam Senart, nilathiyam Bühler. Bühler.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI



practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): 1 I shall observe this'.

- (I) For other 2 ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).
- (J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).
- (K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.
- (L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.
- (M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).³
- (N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain 4 of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 27 (A) देवानंपिये पियद्षा लजा यथो वा किति वा नो महधावा मनित छनता यं पि यसो वा किति वा इछति तदलाये छायतिये चा जने धंमसुसुषा सुसुषातु मे ति धंमवतं वा छनुविधियंतु ति (B) धतकाये देवानंपिये पियद्सि
- 28 लाजा यथो वा किति वा इछ (c) छां चा किछि लकमित देवनंपिये पियदिष लजा त षव पालंतिकाये वा किति सकले छापपलाषवे षियाति ति (D) एषे चु पिलसवे ए छापुने (E) दुंकले चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेना उषुटेन वा छानत छागेना पलकमेना षवं पिलितिदितु (F) हेत चु खो
- 29 उषरेन वा दुकले
- 27 (A) Devā[nam]piye Piy[a]dashā lajā y[a]sho vā kiti vā no [ma]hathāvā manati an[a]tā [ya]m pi yaso vā ki[t]i vā ichh[at]i tadatvāye ayatiye chā jane dhamma-susushā susushātu me ti dhamma-vatam vā anuvi[dh]iya[m]tu ti (B) dhata[k]āye Devāna[m]piye Piyadasi
- 28 lājā yasho vā kiti vā ichha 10 (C) am ch[ā] kichhi lakamati 11 Devanampiye 12 Piyadashi lajā ta [sha]va 13 pālamtikyāye 14 vā kiti sakale apa-p[a]lāshave 16 shiyāti ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune 16 (E) dukale chu kho eshe khudakena vā vagenā 17 ushuṭena vā ana[ta] agen[ā pa]lakamenā shava[m] palitiditu (F) [h]e[ta chu] kho
- 29 [u]shate[na] vā dukale

² z[ta]le is the regular equivalent of [i]tare at Mānsehrā. Shāhbāzgarhī reads however etake.

The words palata anaintain puinnain pasavati occur again in N, and in the Kālsī edict XI, E. In these two cases pasavati is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to bhavati in the Girnār version. Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 580) was therefore right in explaining it by pasavvati=Sanskrit prasāvyatē.

4 Cf. above, p. 19, n. 16.

5 Read Piyadashi.

6 lāja Senart, lājā Bühler.

⁷ The Girnār version reads mahāthāvah[ā].

8 °yāta Senart, °yatu Bühler.

9 Read etakāye, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

Read ichhati.
Read palakamati.
Devänam° Senart and Bühler.

13 savam Senart, shavam Bühler. 14 pāliti° Senart, pālati° Bühler. 15 Read -palishave.

16 The syllable ne was entered subsequently; apuinne Senart and Bühler.

17 vagena Senart and Bühler.

From this word to the end of the edict the Kālsī version differs completely from the Girnār one. Dhauli and Jaugada agree with Girnār, but the two Kharōshṭhī versions with Kālsī.



GL

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.
- (B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.
- (C) And whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.¹
 - (D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person 2 or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

29 (A) देवानंपिये पियद्धि लाजा हेवं हा (B) निष्य हेडिषे दाने छदिष धंमदाने। धमषिमगे। धंमषंबधे। (C) तत एवे दाषभटकषि। षम्यापिटपिति माता-पितिषु। षुषुषा। मितषंषुतनातिक्यानं समनावंभनाना दाने

30 पानानं अनालंभे (D) एवे वतिवये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि षवामिक्येन पि मितशंशुताना अवा पिटवेषियेना इयं षाधु इयं कटिवये (E) शे तथा कलंत हिदलोकिक्ये च कं आलधे होति पलत चा अनत पुना पश्वित तेना धंमदानेना

29 (A) Devānamp[i]ye Piyadashi [1]ājā hevam hā ³ (B) nathi h[e]dishe dāne adisha ⁴ dha[m]ma-dāne ı dhama-shav[i]bhage ⁵ ı dhamma-shambadh[e] ı (C) ta[ta] eshe dāsha-bhaṭakashi ı shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu ı shushushā ı mita-shamthuta-nātikyānam samanā-[ba]mbhanānā ⁶ [dā]ne

pānānam anāl[am]bhe (D) eshe vatav[i]ye pi[t]inā pi pute[na] pi bhā[t]inā pi sh[a]vām[i]kyena pi mita-śamthutānā vavā p[a]tiveshiyen[ā] vi iyam shādhu ii iyam kaṭaviye (E) [ś]e tathā kala[mta] hidalokikye cha kam āladhe hoti palata ch[ā] 2 anata 2 punā 4 paśavati tenā dhamma-dānenā

¹ The form shiyāti occurs again in the Kālsī edict XII, B, where it is spelt śiyāti. Cf. also siyati in the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XII, L, and in the Mānsehrā edict X, C.

² In Sanskrit the word varga means 'a class'; but here and in the two Kharōshṭhī versions it corresponds to jana, 'a person', at Girnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhauli (K) reads jane, and Jaugada (L) [va]ge. See also hedisameva vagam, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhauli.

³ Read *āhā*. ⁴ yādisam Senart, [ā]disham Bühler.

⁵ dhamma-shamvibhage Bühler. ⁶ samana- and ^enānam Bühler.

pute Senart and Bühler; the syllable na seems to be entered below the line.
 Read shuvāmi.
 The ta of mita- stands below the line; read "tenā.

10 pativesi° Bühler.

11 sādhu Bühler.

12 cha Senart and Bühler. 13 amnatam Senart, anamta Bühler.

14 pumnā Bühler; read anamtam pumnam.



ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

SL

TRANSLATION

(A) King Děvānāmpriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, the distribution of morality, (and)

kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramanas and Brāhmanas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say:—'This is meritorious.

This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, 1 (happiness) in this world is attained, 2 and endless merit is produced 3 in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

30 (A) देवानापिये पियदिष

- 31 लाजा बाबापाबंडानि पवजितानि गह्यानि वा पुजेति दानेन विविधये च ।
 पुजाये (B) नो चु तथा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानंपिये मनित अथा कित
 शालाविं शियाति शवपाशंडान (C) शालाविं ना बहुविधा (D) तश चु
 इनं मुले ख वचगुति किति ति खतपशंड वा पुजा वा पलपाशंडगलहा व
 नो शया
- 32 अपकलनिश लहका वा शिया तिंग तिश पकलनिश (E) पुजेतिवय चु पलपाशडा तेन तेन अकालन (F) हेव कलत अतपाशडा वढं विद्यिति पलपाशड पि वा उपकलेति (G) तदा अन्य कलत अतपाशड च छनित पलपाशड पि वा अपकलेति (H) ये हि केछ अतपाशड पुनाति

33 पलपाषड वा। गलहित। षवे अतपाषंडभितया वा किति। अतपाषंड। दिपयेम षे च पुना तथा। कलंतं। बाढतले। उपहिति। अतपाषंडिष। (I) षमवाये वु षाधु किति। अंनमनषा धंमं। षुनेयु चा। षुषुषेयु चा ति। (J) हेवं हि देवानंपियषा इद्या किंति

- 34 सवपाषंड । बहबुता चा कयानागा च । हुवेयु ति । (K) ए च तत तत । पषंना । तिह वतिये । (L) देवानापिये नो तथा । दानं वा । पुजा वा । मंनति । अथा किति षालाविढ शिया । षवपाषंडतिं । (M) बहुका चा । एतायाठाये । वियापटा । धंममहामाता । इथिधियखमहामाता । वचभुमिक्या । अने वा निक्याया
- 35 (N) इयं च एतिषा। फले। यं अतपाषंडविं चा। होति धंमष चा दिपना।

¹ For the form kalamtam see above, p. 35, n. 9.

² For cha kain see above, p. 31, n. 6.

³ See above, p. 39, n. 3.



35

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI



(M) bahukā ch[ā] ı etāyāthāye ı viyāpatā ı dha[m]ma-mahāmātā ı ithidhiyakhamahāmātā į vacha-bh[u]mikyā į ane vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā]1

(N) iyam cha etishā i phale i yam ata-pāshamda-vadhi chā i hoti dhammasha 2 chā

dipanā 1

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin is honouring all sects: ascetics or householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.3

(C) This 4 promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus,5 he is promoting his own sect considerably and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is both hurting his own sect and

wronging other sects as well.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) But concord is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each

other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dovanampriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to

(as follows).

(L) Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this),

(viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the Mahāmātras of morality, the Mahāmātras controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, or other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that both the promotion of one's own sect

takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

35 (A) ग्राउवषा- । भिषित- । षा देवानंपियष पियद्षिने । लाजिने । कलिग्या विजिता। (B) दियहमिते। पानषतषहशे। ये तफा अपवृद्धे। शतषहषमिते। तत हते। बहुतावतके। वा मटे (c) ततो पछा। अधुना लध्य। कलिग्येषु। तिवे। धंमवाये

² dhamasha Bühler.

¹ nikāye Senart, nikā [yā] Bühler.

³ For śiyāti see above, p. 40, n. 1.

For the pronoun nā see above, p. 13, n. 5.

For the form kalamtam see above, p. 35, n. 9.



(A) [D]evānāpiye [P]iyadash[i]

lājā shāvā-pāsham[dān]i¹ pav[a]jitā[n]i gahathāni vā pujeti dānena vividh[aye]² cha i³ puj[ā]ye (B) n[o] ch[u] tathā dāne vā pujā vā Devāna[m]piye m[a]nati athā k[i]ta⁴ ś[ā]lā-v[a]dhi⁵ śiyāti ś[a]va-pāśadāna⁶ (C) śālā-vaḍhiⁿ nā⁶ bahuvidhā⁶ (D) taśa chu inam¹⁰ mule a va[cha]-guti kiti t[i]¹¹ ata-paśaḍa-¹² [v]ā¹³ pujā vā pala-pāśamḍa-galahā va ¹⁴ no [śa]yā¹⁵

2 ap[a]k[a]1[a]naś[i] lahakā 16 vā śiyā [ta]gi 17 taśi pakalan[a]ś[i] (E) pujetav[i]ya chu p[a]la-pā[śa]dā tena tena akālana 18 (F) heva 19 kalata ata-pāśadā 20 badham 21 vadhiyati pala-pāśada pi 22 vā upakaleti (G) tadā 23 anatha 24 kalata ata-pāśada cha chhanati pala-pāśada 25 pi vā apakaleti (H) ye [h]i kechha [a]ta-pāśada

punāti 26

- pala-pāshaḍa vā | ga[la]hati | shave ata-pāshaṁ[ḍa]-bhatiyā vā kiti | ata-pāshaṁḍa ²⁷ | [d]ipayema she cha punā tathā | kalaṁtaṁ | bāḍhatale | up[a]haṁt[i] | ata-pāshaṁḍashi | (I) shamavāye ²⁸ vu ²⁹ shādhu kiti | aṁnamanashā dhaṁmaṁ | shune[y]u chā | shushusheyu chā ti | (J) hevaṁ hi Devānaṁpiyashā ichhā kiṁti ³⁰
- 34 sava-pāshamda | baha-shutā 31 chā kayānāgā 39 cha | huveyu ti | (**K**) e [cha] 33 tata t[a]t[a] 34 | p[a]sh[am]nā 35 | te[hi va]taviye | (**L**) **Devānāpiye** no tathā | dānam vā | pujā vā | mamnat[i] | athā kiti sh[ā]lā-v[a]dhi 36 śiyā | shava-pāshamdatim 37 |

1 Read shava-; shavā pāshamdani Bühler.

² vividhaya Senart, vividhena Bühler.

³ Bühler omits this sign. ⁴ Read kiti.

5 Sāla- Senart and Bühler.

⁶ The syllable na (nam Bühler) was inserted subsequently.

⁷ śāla- Bühler.
 ⁸ The other versions read tu.
 ⁹ The syllable vi was inserted subsequently.

10 Read iyam, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

11 ta Senart and Bühler.

12 The syllable ta of ata- is entered above the line; -pāśaḍa Senart, -pāśaṅnḍe Bühler.

13 Cancel vā.

14 The words pala-pāśanda-galahā va are entered above the line; below them the words ti apaśalahā vā are struck out.

15 Read śiyā.

16 Read lahukā.

17 Read taśi, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

18 Read ākālena.

19 hevam Senart and Bühler.

20 -paśadā Bühler.

bādham Senart and Bühler.

22 pi is entered above the line.

The syllable $d\bar{a}$ is entered above the line.

24 amnathā Bühler; read tad-anatha.

²⁵ The syllable pā is entered above the line; -paśada Bühler.

26 puyāti Senart, punati Bühler; read probably pujeti.

One feels tempted to read -pāshainḍain. But the point after ḍa stands much lower than an Anusvāra, and a similar point occurs quite below the ḍa in three other cases: ata-pāśaḍa in G, sava-pāshainḍa in J, and shava-pāshainḍatin in L.

28 sama° Bühler.

29 Read chu; va Senart and Bühler.

30 kiti Bühler.

- 31 Read bahu-, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
- Read "nāgamā.
 tatā Senart and Bühler.

³³ va Senart and Bühler.
³⁵ pashanna Bühler.

36 shāla- Bühler.

37 Read danam ti.





अध्यक्ष अनुषये। देवानं पियषा। (D) वे अध्य अनुषये। देवानं = पियषा। विजिनितु। कलिंग्यानि। (E) अविजितं हि। विजिनमने। ए तता। वध वा। मलने वा। अपवहे वा। जनषा। घे बाढ। वेदनियमुते। गुलुमुते चा। देवानं पियषा। (F) इयं पि चु। तती। गलुमततले। देवानं पियषा

7 (G) य तता वषित बाभना व षम वा अने वा पागंड गिहिया वा येशु विहिता एव अगभुतिषुषुषा मातापितिषुषुषा गलुषुषा मितषंषुतषहायनातिकेषु दाशभटकिष षम्यापिटपित दिढभितता तेषं तता होति उपघाते वा वधे वा

अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने

(H) येषं वा पि षुविहितानं षिनेहे अविपहिने ए तानं मितशंयुतषहायनातिका वियषनं पापुनात तता षे पि तानमेवा उपघाते होति (I) पिटभागे चा एष षवमनुषानं गुलुमते चा देवानंपियषा (J) निष चा षे जनपदे यता निष इमे निकाया आनता योनेषु

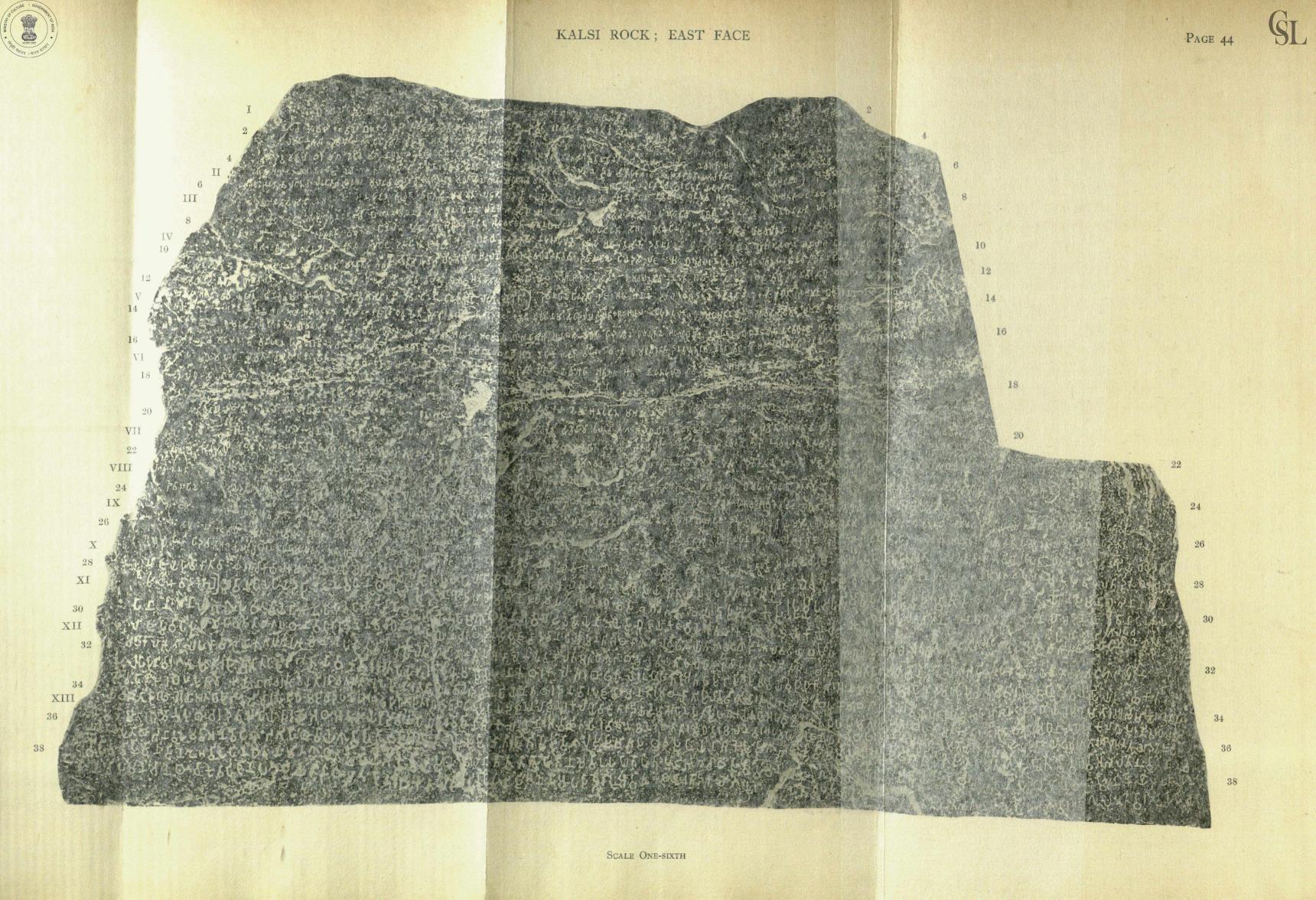
39 वंद्यने चा षमने चा निष्य चा कुवापि जनपदिष यता निष्य मनुषान। एकतलिष पि । पाषडिष । नो नाम पषादे । (K) षे अवतके जने । तदा कलिंगेषु । लिधेषु हते चा मटे चा। अपवृढे चा। ततो षते भागे वा। षहषभागे वा।

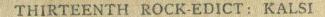
अज गुलुमते वा। देवानंपियवा

B .- South Face of Kalsī Rock.

1	
2	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
3	• • • • • • नेयु (०) इंछ • • • • • • •
4	षवभु : : : : : : षयम षमविलयं मदव ति (P) इयं वु मु : : : : : :
5	देवानंपियेषा ये धंमविजये (०) षे च पुना लधे देवानंपि " " च
6	षवेषु च अतेषु अ षषु पि योजनषतेषु अत अतियोगे नाम योनला ' पलं
	चा तेना
7	श्रंतियोगेना चतालि ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम श्रंतिकिने नाम मका ना-
8	म अलिकावुदले नाम निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंबपंनिया हेवमेवा (R) हेवमेवा
9	हिदा लाजविशविष योनवंबोजेषु नाभकनाभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिक्येषु
10	अध्यालदेषु षवता देवानंपियवा धंमानुषि अनुवर्तति (s) यत पि दुता
	देवानंपियसा नो यंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपिनंय धंमवुतं विधनं
12	धंमानुसिष धंमं अनुविधियंअ अनुविधियसंख चा (T) ये से लधे
	गरकें ने निर्मा विकरे पितिकमें में (ए) गधा सा होति पिति पिति

13 एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिलसे से (ण) गधा सा होति पिति पिति धंमविजय-







षि (v) लहुका वु खो सा पिति (w) पालंतिकामेवे सहफला मंनंति देवेनंपिने

(x) एताये चा अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता किति पुता पपोता मे असु

नवं विजय म विजयतिवय मनिषु षयकिष नो विजयिष खंति चा ल। ह-

दंडता चा लोचेत तमेव चा विजयं मनत् ये धंमविजये (Y) वे हिदलोकिका पललो-

किये (z) षवा च क निलित होतु उथामलित (AA) पा हि हिट्लीकिक पललोकिक्या

(A) atha-[va]shā- | bhishita- 1 | shā [De]vānampiyasha Piyadashine | lājine | Kaligyā vijitā (B) diyadha-mite 2 pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e ye [ta]phā apavudhe [1 śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite 3 1 tata hate 1 bahu-tāvatake 4 1 vā mațe (C) tat[o 6 pa]chhā 1

adhunā ladhesha 1 Kaligyeshu | tive | dhamma vāy]e

dhamma-k[a]mata i dhammanushathi cha i Devanampiyasha i (D) sh[e] athi anushaye | Devānampiya[sh]ā | vijin[i]tu 1 | Kaligyāni | (E) avijitam hi | vijinamane i e tatā i vadha 8 vā i malane vā i apavahe [vā] i jan[a]shā i [sh]e bādha į vedaniya-mute į g[u]l[u]-mut[e] chā į Devānam[pi]yashā į (F) iyam pi chu | tato | galu-matatale | D[e]vānampiyashā 9

(G) [ya] tatā 10 vashati b[ā]bhanā 11 va shama 12 vā ane vā pāśamda gih[i]thā vā 37 yeśu vihitā [e]sh[a] a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā 18 m[ā]tā-piti-shushushā 14 galu-shushā 16 mita-shamthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu dāśa-bha[ta]kash[i16 sha]m[y]ā-paṭipati didhabhatitā tesham tatā hoti [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abhilatānam vā vinikhamane

(H) yesham vā pi shuvihi[t]ānam 17 shinehe avipahine e tānam mita-śamth[u]ta-38 sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya 18 viyashanam 19 pāpunāta 20 tatā 21 she [p]i t[ā]namev[ā] 23 upaghāt[e] hoti (I) patibhāge chā esh[a] sh[a]va-manu[shāna]m gul[u]-m[a]te chā Devāna[m]piyashā (J) n[a]thi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nathi ime nikāyā

ānatā 23 Yoneshu] 24

bamhmane ch[a] shamane cha nathi cha kuvapi jan[a]padashi [ya]ta n[a]thi 39 m[a]nushān[a] 25 | ekatalash[i p]i | pāshadashi | no n[ā]ma pashāde | (K) she ava[ta]ke 26 jane | t[a]dā Kali[m]geshu | 27 [ladheshu ha]te ch[ā] 28 mat[e] chā | [apavudhe chā 1] tato 29 shat[e] bhāge vā 1 shah[a]sha-bhāge vā 1 aja gulu-mate vā i Devāna[m]piyashā

9 Bühler adds 1. ⁸ vadham Bühler.

13 ag[a]bh[uta]- Bühler.

16 -shusha Bühler; read -shushushā.

16 -bha[ta]kashi Bühler.

12 Read shamanā. 14 matā- Bühler.

^{4 -}tāvaintake Bühler. 2 -m[a]te Bühler. 3 -mäte Bühler. 1 bhisita- Bühler.

⁵ tatā Senart and Bühler. 6 Read ladheshu, which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ This word may be read also vijiniti, as both an i and a u are affixed to the last consonant.

¹⁰ Read ye tatā in accordance with the Shāhbāzgarhī version, which reads ye tatra; savatā Senart and Bühler, who adds 1.

¹¹ bambhanā Senart and Bühler.

^{17 [}sha]mvihitanam Bühler.

¹⁹ viyashane Bühler.

²¹ tata Bühler.

²⁴ yenesha Bühler. 28 cha | Bühler.

¹⁸ The syllable nā seems to be entered above the line.

²⁰ Read pāpunāti, which is Bühler's reading.

^{22 °}meva Bühler. 23 anamta Senart and Bühler.

²⁷ Bühler omits 1. 25 °shānam Bühler. 20 avatake Bühler.

²⁹ tatā Senart and Bühler.





B .- South Face of Kalsī Rock.

भारत	
1	
2	
3	[ney]u (0) ichha¹
4.	sha[va-bhu] ² [shayama shamacha]liya[m] madava ti (P) iyam vu ³ mu
5	Devānampiyeshā 4 ye dha[m]ma-vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[m-
	\mathbf{p}]i cha 5
6	shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu ⁶ at[a] Atiyoge nām[a] Yo[na-lā] ⁷ [pa]laṁ chā tenā
7	A[m]tiyogenā chatāli 4 lajāne Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Amteki[ne nā]ma Makā nā-
8	ma Alikyashudale nāma nicham Choda-Pamdiyā avam Tambapamniyā
	hevamev[ā] 8 (R) hevamevā
9	[hi]dā lā[ja]-viśavashi ⁰ Yona-Kambojeshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapamtishu ¹⁰ Bhoja- Pitinikye[sh]u
10	[Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u [sha]vatā [D]evā[na]mpi[ya]shā dhammānu[sha]thi anuvatamti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā
11	Devāna[mp]iyasā no yamti t[e] pi sutu Dev[āna]mp[i]namya 11 dh[amma]-vutam v[i]dh[a]na[m]
12	
	se [la]dhe
13	etakenā hoti savatā vi[ja]ye14 piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-
14	vijaya-
14	shi (V) lahukā v[u] ¹⁶ kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā mamnam[ti] Dev[e]nam[pi]ne ¹⁶
15	(X) etāye chā aṭhāye iyam dha[m]ma-lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā 17 me a[su]
16	nava[m] vijay[a] ma vijayataviya 18 manishu shayakashi no 19 vi[ja]yashi khamti 20 chā la l hu-21
17	damdatā [chā] lochetu tameva chā vijayam manatu ye dhamma-vijaye (Y) she hidalokikya palalo-
18	
	pa[la]lokikyā
	¹ Restore ichhati. ² Restore -bhutānain. ³ Read chu. ⁴ Read °piyashā. ⁵ Restore °piyasa hida cha.
	6 There is a fissure in the rock between yojana and shateshu.
	7 Restore -lājā. 8 hevameva Bühler. 9 [Hi]da-lājā Visa-Vaji- Bühler.
	10 Nābhaku- Senart, Nābhake Bühler.
	¹¹ °piniya Senart, °piyamya Bühler; read °piyasa.
	12 Read "yamti, which is Bühler's reading.
	18 Read "sainti, which is Bühler's reading.
	 This word is entered above the line. Read chu.
	Read pälaintikyameva mahā-phalain mainnati Devānainpiye.
	¹⁷ pāpotā Senart and Bühler. ¹⁸ vijayamtaviya Bühler.
	¹⁹ Read perhaps yo (= Prākṛit yeva), as at Shāhbāzgaṛhī.
	20 771

22 ki . ye Bühler.

²⁰ There is a fissure in the rock here.

21 Cancel the sign of punctuation and join lahu-.

⁹³ Bühler omits ka; read kain and see above, p. 31, n. 6.



THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI



TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the Kalingyas was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many

times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kalingyas has been taken, Dēvānāmpriya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of Devanampriya on account of his conquest of

(the country of) the Kalingyas.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya, that, while one is conquering 2 an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by Dēvānāmpriya.

- (G) (To) the Brāhmanas or Śramanas, or other sects or householders,3 who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay,4 obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.
- (H) Or if there are then incurring misfortune 5 the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for,6 this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.7
 - (I) This is shared by all men 8 and 9 is considered deplorable by Devanampriya.
- (J) There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramanas, do not exist, except among the Yonas; and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.10
 - (K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people

¹ For muta = mata see above, p. 35, n. 10.

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict XII, A, and the Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, Y.

⁵ pāpunāti is used in the same way in the Dhauli separate edict I, J, and the Jaugada separate edict I, K.

⁶ For this meaning of suvihita see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. vidahati.

⁷ The correct construction of this section is due to Lüders, who showed that etānam must be divided into e tanam; see SPAW, 1914. 850.

8 I.e. 'a share of this falls upon all men'; see Thomas in V. A. Smith's Asoka, sec. ed., p. 173, n. I.

The chā after gulu-mate corresponds to the preceding chā after paţibhāge. In the same way the double nathi chā in the next section co-ordinates the two sentences.

10 See above, p. 25, n. 2.

² vijinamane is a nominative singular absolute; see my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, S.

⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592 f.) took agabhuti=agrajanman, 'a member of a higher caste' or 'a Brāhmaṇa'; but the various reading in the two Kharōshṭhī versions, agrabhuṭi, suggests that the second member of the compound is Skt. bhriti.

who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time when (the country of the Kalingas was taken, (would) now be considered very deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya.

- (0) desires towards all beings self-control, impartiality, (and) kindness.
 - (P) But this by Devanampriya, viz. the conquest by morality.
- (Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by Dēvānāmpriya both [here] and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred yōjanas, where the Yōna king named Antiyoga (is ruling), and beyond this Antiyoga, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named Tulamaya, (the king) named Antekina, (the king) named Makā, (and the king) named Alikyashudala, (and) likewise towards the south, (where) the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas (are ruling), as far as Tāmraparṇī.
- (R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the Yonas and Kambojas,⁹ among the Nābhakas and Nābhapanktis,¹⁰ among the Bhojas ¹¹ and Pitinikyas,¹² among the Andhras ¹³ and Pāladas,¹⁴—everywhere (people) are conforming to Dēvānāmpriya's instruction in morality.
- (S) Even those to whom the envoys of Dēvānāmpriya do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, 15 the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of Dēvānāmpriya, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).
- (T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere, causes the feeling of satisfaction.
- (U) Firm 16 becomes this satisfaction, (viz.) the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

1 viz. 'in my territory'; see section R below, and cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

² The Shāhbazgarhī version reads Amtiyoka. For Antiochus II of Syria see above, p. 3, n. 11.

3 The Girnar version reads Turamaya, and the Shahbazgarhi one Turamaya.

- ⁴ The Shāhbāzgarhī version reads Amtikini. ⁵ The Girnār version reads Magā.
- ⁶ The two Kharōshṭhī versions read Alikasudara. The four kings are Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (276-239), Magas of Cyrene (c. 300-250), and either Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255) or, more probably, Alexander of Corinth (252-c. 244); see Lassen's Ind. Alt., vol. II, p. 255, and Beloch's Griechische Geschichte, 3. 2, 105.

7 The two Kharōshthī versions omit this word.

8 This is Senart's rendering of nicham (i. e. nīcham). Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) added that the Rigvēda uses its synonym nyak in the same sense.

9 See above, p. 10, n. 1.

10 As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138), Prākrit painti=Skt. painti.

¹¹ Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138) connected the Bhōjas with the city of Bhōjakaṭa in East Berar, which is mentioned in a Vākāṭaka grant (*Gupta Insers.*, p. 241) and in the Bharaut inscriptions (IA, 21. 240). But as, in the rock-edict V, J, the Pitinikas appear among Aśōka's western borderers, the Bhōjas, who are coupled with them here, will have to be looked for in the west as well.

12 The Pitinikyas are identical with the Pētēnikas in the Girnār edict V; see above, p. 10,

n. 2. The Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā versions read Pitinika.

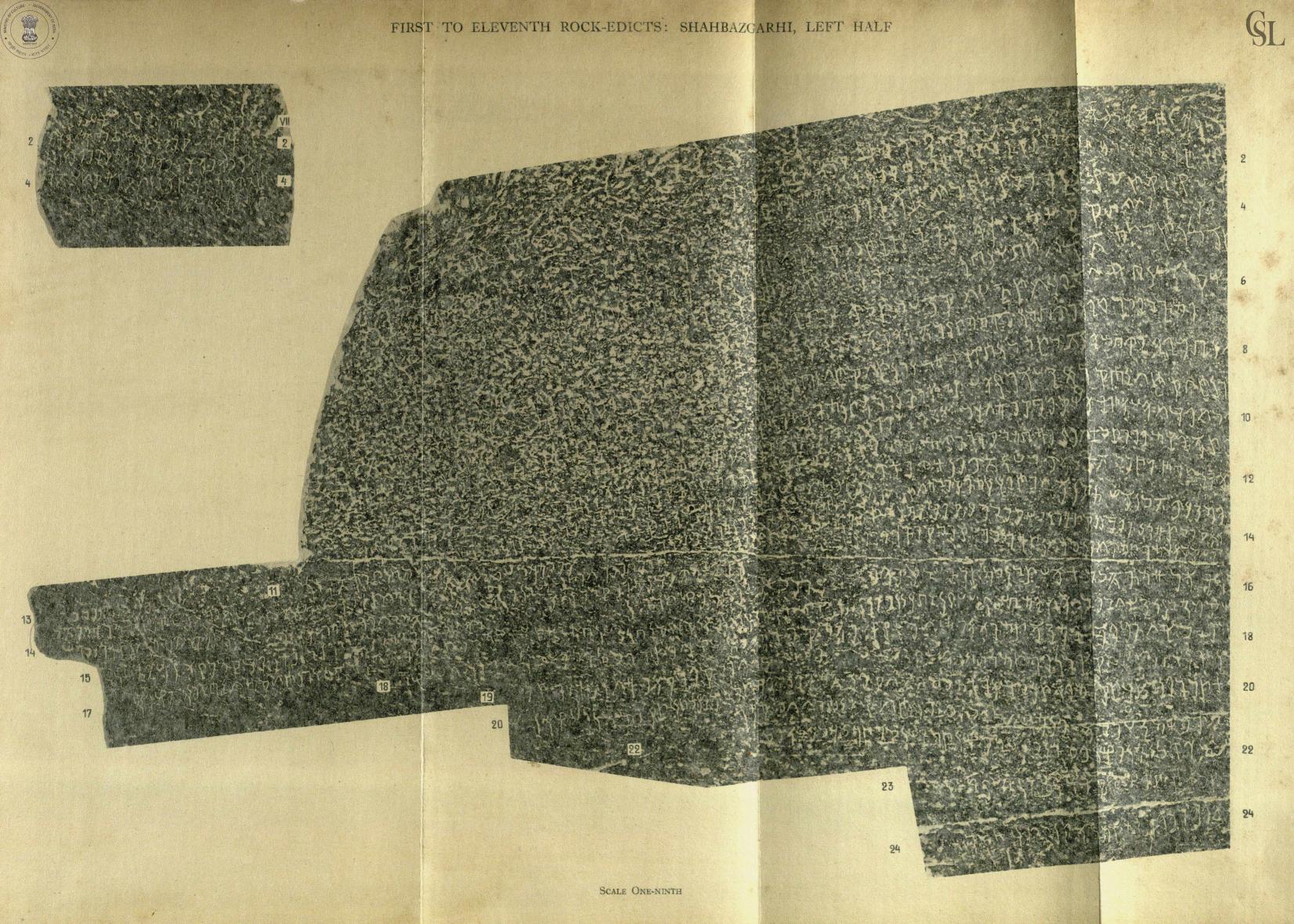
¹³ Andhra is the old name of the Telugu country and people.

14 The Girnār version seems to read *Pārinda*, and the Shāhbāzgarhī one *Palida*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138) identified this word with *Pulinda* and noted that the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned together already in the *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 18. But the variants at Girnār and Kālsī render this identification very improbable. *Pārinda* reminds us of the Sanskrit *pārīndra*, 'a lion'.

15 Cf. dhamma-vutam cha anuvidhiyatām in the Girnār edict X, A.

16 As suggested by Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138), gadhā (instead of which two other versions read

ladhā or ladha) may represent *gāddhā, from Pāli gādhati, 'to stand fast.'



OUTURE OUVERNING OF NOA

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI



(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) Dēvānāmpriya thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great

(value).1

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made; (that), if a conquest does please them, they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments; and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.*

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

19 (A) इयं धमलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदिसना लिजना लिखापिता अधि येवा सुखि-

o तेना अधि मिक्नेना अधि विषटेना (B) नी हि सवता सवे घटिते (C) महालके

हि वि-

21 जिते बहु च लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निक्यं (D) अथि चा हेता पुन पुना लिप-

22 ते तब तबा अथवा मधुलियाये येन जने तथा परिपजेया (E) वे वाया अत किछि अ-

23 समित लिखिते दिवा वा पंखेये कालनं वा अलीचियतु लिपिकलपलाधेन वा

19 (A) iyam dhama-lipi Dev[änamp]i[y]e[n]ā [P]iyadasinā 1 lajinā likhāpitā athi yevā sukhi-

tenā 6 [a]thi majhimenā athi vithaṭenā (B) no hi savatā save [gha]ṭite 7 (C) mahālake

hi vi-

20

jite bahu cha līkhite lekhāpeśāmi cheva nikyam (D) athi chā hetā puna pun[ā] * la[p]i t[e] tasha tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā (E) she shāyā *
 ata k[i]chhi a-

23 samati likhite dishā vā shamkheye 10 kālanam vā alochayitu li[p]ikalapalādhena vā

1 mahā-phala is perhaps a Karmadhāraya, while it may be a Bahuvrīhi in the rock-edict IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where mahā-apāye (Dhauli, R) or mahāpāy[e] (Jaugaḍa, S) must be a Karmadhāraya, as it forms the predicate of the feminine asanipaṭipati; the preceding word mahā-phale may be a Bahuvrīhi at Dhauli, but a Karmadhāraya at Jaugaḍa.

² shayaka may be an adjective formed of svayam, and having the same meaning as spa[ka]

(=Skt. svaka) at Shāhbāzgarhī, and as sarasaka at Girnār, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.

³ For lochetu see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁴ uyāma is synonymous with utthāna and parākrama in the rock-edicts VI and X.

⁵ °dashinā Bühler. ⁶ Girnār reads samkhitena.

⁷ The syllable te was entered subsequently.

8 punam puna Bühler.

⁹ Read shiyā, which is Bühler's reading. The syllable shā is entered above the line.

¹⁰ Read probably shamkhāya in accordance with the Girnār version (sachhāya) and the Shāh-bāzgarhī one (samkhay[a]).





TRANSLATION

- (A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.
 - (B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.
- (C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly 1 cause still (more) to be written.
- (D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.
- (E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,² or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE OF THE KALSI ROCK

गजतमे

gajatame

TRANSLATION

The best elephant.3

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A .- East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock.

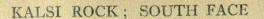
- (A) अय धमिदिपि देवनिप्रश्चस रजो लिखिपितु (B) हिंद नो किचि जिवे श्चरिमितु प्रयुहोत्तवे (C) नो पि च समज कटव (D) बहुका हि दोष समयस्पि देवणिप्रये प्रिश्चदृशि रय दखित
- 2 (E) अस्ति पि चु एकतिस्र समये समुमते देवनपिश्रस प्रिस्नद्रशिस रजो (F) पुर महनसिस देवनपिश्रस प्रिस्नद्रशिस रजो अनुदिवसो बहुनि प्रगण्णतसहसिन अरभियिसु सुपठये (G) सो इदिन यद स्रय

अमिदिपि लिखित तद चयो वी प्रण हं जंति मजुर दुवि २ सुगी १ सी पि सुगी नी भूवं (म) एत पि प्रण चयो पच न अरिभशंति

¹ Senart and Bühler consider nikyam a dialectical variant of nityam.

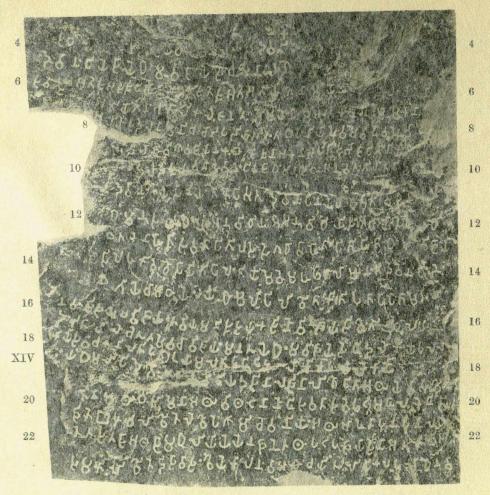
² dis is used in the sense of dēśa, unless dishā is simply a clerical mistake for the Girnār reading desam.

³ Cf. the similar labels at Girnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhauli (at the end of edict VI), and see above, p. 27, n. 2.









KALSI ROCK; NORTH FACE



SCALE ONE-SIXTH



FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI



(A) [aya]¹ dhrama-dipi Devanapriasa raño likhapitu² (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[bhitu p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[hu]ka [hi] dosha sa[maya]spi Devanapriy[e]³ Priadraśi ray[a da]khati

(E) [a]sti pi chu ekatia samaye sasu-mate Devanapiasa Priadrasisa raño (F) pura mahana[sas]i [Devana]pr[i]asa Priadrasisa raño anudivaso bahuni

pra[na]-śata-sahasani * [arabhi]yis[u] supathay[e] (G) s[o i]dani yada aya

3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo praṇa hamñamt[i] majura duv[i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[m] (H) eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhisamti

TRANSLATION

- (A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya.
 - (B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.
 - (C) And also no festival meetings must be held.
 - (D) For king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin sees much evil in festival meetings.
- (E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin.
- (F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.
- (G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two—2—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.
 - (H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- (A) सब्ब विजिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्शिस ये च छांत यथ चोड पंडिय सित्यपुची केरडपुची तंवपंशि छांतियोको नम योनरज ये च छांजे तस छांतियोक्स समंत रजनो सब्ब देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्शिस रजो दुवि २ चिकिस किट मनुश्चिकिस ' पशुचिकिस च
- 5 (B) ओषढिन मनुशोपकिन च पशोपकिन च यच यच निस्त सवच हरियत च वृत च (c) कुप च खनियत प्रतिभोगये पशुमनुशनं
- 3 (A) sav[r]atra vijite [De]va[nam]priyasa Priyadraśisa y[e] cha [a]mta yatha [Choḍa],
- 4 Pamdiya Satiyaputro Keradaputro ⁹ Tambapamni ¹⁰ Amtiyo[k]o nama Yonaraja ye cha amne tasa Amtiyokasa samamta rajano savratra Devanampriyasa Priyadrasisa rano du[vi] ² chik[i]sa [kr]i[ta] ¹¹ manusa-chikisa . pa[su-ch]ikisa [cha]
- 5 (B) [o]sha[dha]ni 12 manuśopakani cha paśopakani cha yat[r]a yatra nasti savatra harapita 13 cha vuta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]gaye paśu-manuśanam

3 dosham sama . . sa Devanapriy[o] Bühler.

¹ [a] ya[m] Bühler. ² Read probably likhapita, as at Mānsehrā.

⁴ cha ekatie Bühler. ⁶ Read sadhu-; sresta-mati Bühler. ⁶ priasa Bühler.

⁷ Devanampri° Bühler. ⁸ -[sa]has[r]ani Bühler. ⁹ Satiyaputra Keralaputra Bühler. ¹⁰ °pamni Bühler. ¹¹ ki[tra] Bühler. ¹² [oshudh]ani Bühler. ¹³ har[o]pita Bühler.





TRANSLATION

- (A) Everywhere in the dominions of Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Chōdas, the Pāṇdyas, the Satiyaputra, the Kēra aputra, Tāmraparṇi, the Yōna king named Antiyoka, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka,—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.
- (B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.
 - (C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 5 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्शि रज छहति (B) बद्यवषभिसितेन ' ' ' ' अण्पितं (C) सवच मञ्ज
- 6 विजिते युत रजुको प्रदेशिक पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतिस वो करण इमिस धंमनुशस्तिये थ अञये पि कंमये (D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मिनसंस्तुतञ्जतिकनं ब्रमणश्रमणनं ''''' प्रणनं अनरंभो सधु
- 7 अपवयत अपभंडत सधु (E) परि पि युत्ति गणनिस अणपेशंति हेतुतो च वंजनतो च
- 5 (A) Devanampriyo Priyadraśi raja ahati (B) badaya-vashabh[i]si[tena] 1 [a]napi[tam] 2 (C) savatra ma[a] 3
- 6 vijite yuta rajuko pradeśi[ka f pamcha]shu pamchashu 5 vasheshu anusamyanam nik[r]amatu etisa vo karaṇa imisa dhrammanuśastiye [tha] añaye pi krammaye (D) sadhu mata-pitushu suśrusha mitra-samst[u]ta-ñatikanam bramaṇa-[śra]maṇa[nam].....[pra]ṇanam [anaram]bho sadhu 7
- 7 apa-vayata apa-bhamdata sadhu (E) pari * [pi] yutani [ga]nanasi * anapeśamti hetuto cha vamnanato 10 cha

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks 11 (thus).

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, [the following] was ordered [by me].

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Rajuka, (and) the Prādēsika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

- With Bühler and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write badaśa. On the Wardak vase the symbols for y and ś are often confused; see Pargiter's remarks in EI, II. 203 f., and ZDMG, 73. 227.
 - ² Bühler omitted this word.

³ Bühler omitted maa.

4 pradesik[e] Bühler.

- ⁵ Read yatha; dhramanuśasti yatha Bühler.
- 6 kramaye Bühler.

- ⁷ Bühler omitted the end of this line.
- 8 Read parisha. 9 There is a vacant space between ga and na. 10 vañanato Bühler.
- Bühler wrote aha ti in two words. But the barbarous form ahati or hahati is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by evan, and where consequently ti cannot have the meaning 'thus'.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI



for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaņas and Śramaņas [is meritorious]. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of Mahāmātras) also shall order the Yuktas to register (these

rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

7 (A) अतिकतं अंतरं बहुनि वषशतिन विदितो वो प्रश्रांभी विहिस च भुतनं जतिन असंपरिपति अमणबमणनं असंपरिपति (B) सी अज देवनंप्रियस प्रियटशिस रजी

ध्रमचर्यान भेरिघोष छाहो ध्रमघोष विमननं दशनं छास्तिन जोतिकंधनि छाजनि च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयितु जनस (C) यदिशं बहुहि वषशतेहि न भुतप्रवे तदिशे अज वितते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्शिस रजी धंमनुशस्तिय अनरंभी प्रणनं अविहिस भुतनं जितनं संपरिपति बमण-

9 श्रमणन संपरिपति मतपितृषु वृदनं सुश्रुष (D) एत अञं च बहविधं धमचरणं विद्यात (E) विद्याति च यो देवनंप्रियम प्रियदिश्म रञ्जो ध्रमचरणं इमं (F) पुत्र पि च कं नतरी च प्रनतिक च देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्शिस रजी प्रविद्यांति यो धमचरणं इमं अवक्य धमे शिले च

10 तिरिति धमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एत हि सेरं क्रमं यं धमनुशशनं (H) धमचरणं पि च न भोति अशिलस (I) सो इमिस अथस विढ अहिनि च सध्

(J) एतये अठये इमं निपिस्तं इमिस अठस विढ युजंत हिनि च म लोचेषु

(K) बदयवषभिसितेन देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्शिन एज जनं हिद निपेसितं

(A) atikratam amtaram bahuni vasha-satani vadhito vo pranarambho vihisa cha bhuta[na]m ñatina asampatipati śramana-bramanana[m] a[sam]patipati 2 (B) [so aja Devana mpriyasa Priyadrasisa [raño]

dhrama-charanena bheri-ghosha aho dhrama-ghosha vimanana[m] draśanam [a|stina 3 joti-kamdhani añani cha divani rupani drasayitu janasa (C) yadisam bahuhi vasha-śatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiśe aja vadhite Devanampriyasa Priyadraśisa raño dhrammanuśa[sti]ya anarambho prana[nam] avihisa bhutanam ñatina[m] sampa[ti]pati 4 [bra]mana-

śramanana sampatipati mata-pitushu vudhana[m] suśrusha (D) e[ta] añam cha bahuvidham dhrama-charanam vadhitam (E) vadhisati cha yo Devanampriyasa Priyadrasisa raño dhrama-charanam 6 ima[m] (F) putra pi cha kam 7 nataro

¹ ñatinam Bühler.

^{*} sa[mprati] Bühler.

⁷ ku Bühler.

² [asamprati] Bühler.

⁵ śramananam Bühler.

^{3 [}ha]stino Bühler. 6 -charano Bühler.

CONTORE · GOVERNMON GO NODA

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



cha pranatika cha **Devanampriya[sa] Priyadraśisa raño** pra[va]dh[e]śamti ¹ [yo] ² dhrama-charaṇam ima[m ava]-kapa ³ dhrame śile cha

tithiti dhramam anusasisamti (G) eta h[i s]retham k[r]ama[m] yam dhraman[u]sasana[m] (H) dhrama-charana[m] pi cha na bhoti asilasa (I) so imisa athrasa vadhi ahini cha sadhu (J) etaye athaye ima[m] nipistam imisa athrasa vadhi yujamtu hini cha ma lo[ch]e[sh]u (K) badaya-vashabhisitena bevanampriyena Priyadrasina raña nanam hi[da] nipesitam i

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramanas and Brāhmanas.
- (B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.
- (C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaņas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.
 - (D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.
- (E) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by king Děvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.
- (F) And also the sons,⁸ grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.
 - (G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.
- (H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.
 - (I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.
- (J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve the neglect (of it).
- (K) (This) conception (jñāna) was caused to be written here by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

⁶ Read badaśa-, and cf. above, p. 52, n. 1.

⁷ raña [id]am . . nam dipa[pi]tam Bühler. The da of hida looks like dam, as it does frequently at Mānsehrā.

8 For cha kam see above, p. 31, n. 6. Mānsehrā has once cha kam (XI, 14) and twice cha ka

(IV, 16; XIII, 13).

¹ ra[ño vadhe]śamti Bühler. ² Bühler omitted yo. ³ -[kapam] Bühler. ⁴ tistiti Bühler.

⁹ The participles *nipistain* and *nipesitain* in J and K, which correspond to *likhite* and *lekhitā* at Kālsī, must be derived from *ni-pish*, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb نوشتن. Cf. the Russian macars 'to write'.



FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 11 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्शि रय एवं हहित (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) यो अदिकरो कलगास सी दुकरं करोति (D) सी मय वह कलं किट्रं (E) तं मझ पुत्र च नतरी च परं च तेन ये मे अपच ब्रह्मति अवक्षं तथ ये अनुविटिशंति ते मुकिटं कर्षात (F) यो चु अती ' कं पि इपेशदि सी दुक्तटं कषति (G) पपं हि सुकरं (H) स अतिकतं अतर नो भुतपुत धंममहमच नम (I) सो तोटश्वषभिसितेन
- मय धममहमच किट (J) ते सवप्रषंडेषु वपट धंमधियनये च धमविदय हिदसुखये च अमयतम योनकंबोयगंधरनं रिवकनं पितिनिकनं ये व पि ऋपरंत (K) भटमयेषु बमिणिभेषु अनथेषु बृढेषु हितमुखये धंमयुतस अपिलिगोध वपर ते
- 13 (L) बधनबध्स परिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये अयि अनुब ' ' प्रजव किटभिकरो व महलके व वियपट ते (M) इस्न बहिरेषु च नगरेषु सबेषु जोरोधनेषु अतृन च मे स्पसन च ये व पि छंत्रे जितक सवच वियपुर (N) ये अयं ध्रमनिशिते ति व ध्रमधिषने ति व दनसम्ते ति व सवत विजिते मन्न प्रमयुतिम वियपट ते धममहमन (०) एतये ऋउये ऋिय धमदिपि निपिस्त चिरिषतिक भोत् तथ च मे प्रज अनुवतत्
- 11 (A) Devanapriyo Priyadraśi raya eva[m] hahati¹ (B) ka[la]na[m] dukara[m] (C) [yo] a[dikaro kala]ņasa so du[ka]ram karoti (D) so maya bahu kalam² ki[t]ram (E) tam maa s putra cha nataro cha para[m] cha [tena y]e s me apacha vrakshamti ava-kapam tatha ye an[u]vațiśamti te s[u]kița[m] kashamti (F) yo chu ato . . kam 9 pi hapeśadi 10 so dukatam kashati (G) papam h[i] sukaram (H) sa atikratam atara no 11 bhuta-pruva dhramma-ma[ha]ma[tra] 12 nama (I) so todaśa-vashabhisitena 13
- maya dhrama-mahamatra kita 14 (J) te savra-prashamdesh[u] vapata dhrammadhithanaye 15 cha dhrama-vadhiya 16 hida-sukhaye cha dhramayutasa Yona-Kamboya-Gamdharanam 17 Rathikanam 18 Pitinikanam ye

3 ma[ha] Bühler. 4 [ya] Bühler. ¹ aha ti Bühler. ² Read kalanam.

6 tatham Bühler; but what he took for an Anusvāra is probably the horizontal bottom-line

which is frequent at Mansehra.

7 °vatisamti Bühler. 8 sukit[r]am Bühler.

9 Restore perhaps ekam; the other versions read desam or deśa.

10 [hapeśati] Bühler. 11 so atik[rain]tain aintarain na Bühler. 12 dhrama- Bühler.

13 [tidaśa] - Bühler. 14 kit[r]a Bühler. 16 -vadhiy[e] Bühler. 17 The rock has a ho 15 dhrama° Bühler. 17 The rock has a hole here.

⁵ [a]chhamti Bühler. In JA (10), 17. 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharoshthi uses a special form of chh in all those cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit ksh. In order to distinguish this sign from the real chh, I transcribe it by ksh, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.

¹⁸ Rastikanam Bühler. The th is expressed by the first of the two different forms noted by Boyer in JA (10), 17. 429, note.



va pi aparamta (K) bhatamayeshu bramanibheshu anatheshu vudheshu [hita sukhaye [dhram]ma-yutasa 1 apalig[o]dha 2 vap[a]ta te

13 (L) badhana-badhasa 3 paṭividhanay[e] apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba . . 4 prajava kiṭabhikaro va mahalake 5 va viyapaṭa 6 [t]e 7 (M) ia bahireshu cha nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratuna 8 cha me spasana 9 cha ye va pi amne natika savatra viyaputa (N) y[e] ayam 10 dh[r]ama-nisite 11 ti va dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata 12 vijite maa 13 dhramayu[ta]si 14 viyapata te dhrama-mahamatra (0) etaye athaye [a]yi 15 dhrama-dipi nipista 16 ch[i]ra-thitika bhot[u] ta[tha] 17 cha [m]e 18 p[r]aja anuvatatu

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.
- (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
- (C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
- (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
- (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who shall come 10 after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 - (F) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 - (G) For sin is easily committed.
 - (H) Now, in times past (officers) called Mahāmātras of morality did not exist before.
- (I) But Mahāmātras of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
- (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness 20 of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yonas, Kamboyas, and Gandharas, among the Rathikas, among the Pitinikas,21 and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

² °b[odhe] Bühler; read °godhaye (= °godhaya at Girnar).

9 Read spasuna; spasunam Bühler.

4 Restore anubadha; iyam a[n]uba[dh]am Bühler.

7 Bühler omitted te.

12 savatra Bühler.

- 1 [dhra]ma- Bühler.
- 3 baindhana- Bühler.
- 5 mahalaka Bühler.
- 8 bhratunam Bühler.
- 10 y[am i]yam Bühler.
- 13 ma[ha] Bühler.
- 15 ay [ain] Bühler.
- 16 dipist[a] Bühler. 17 This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.

6 vivapatra Bühler.

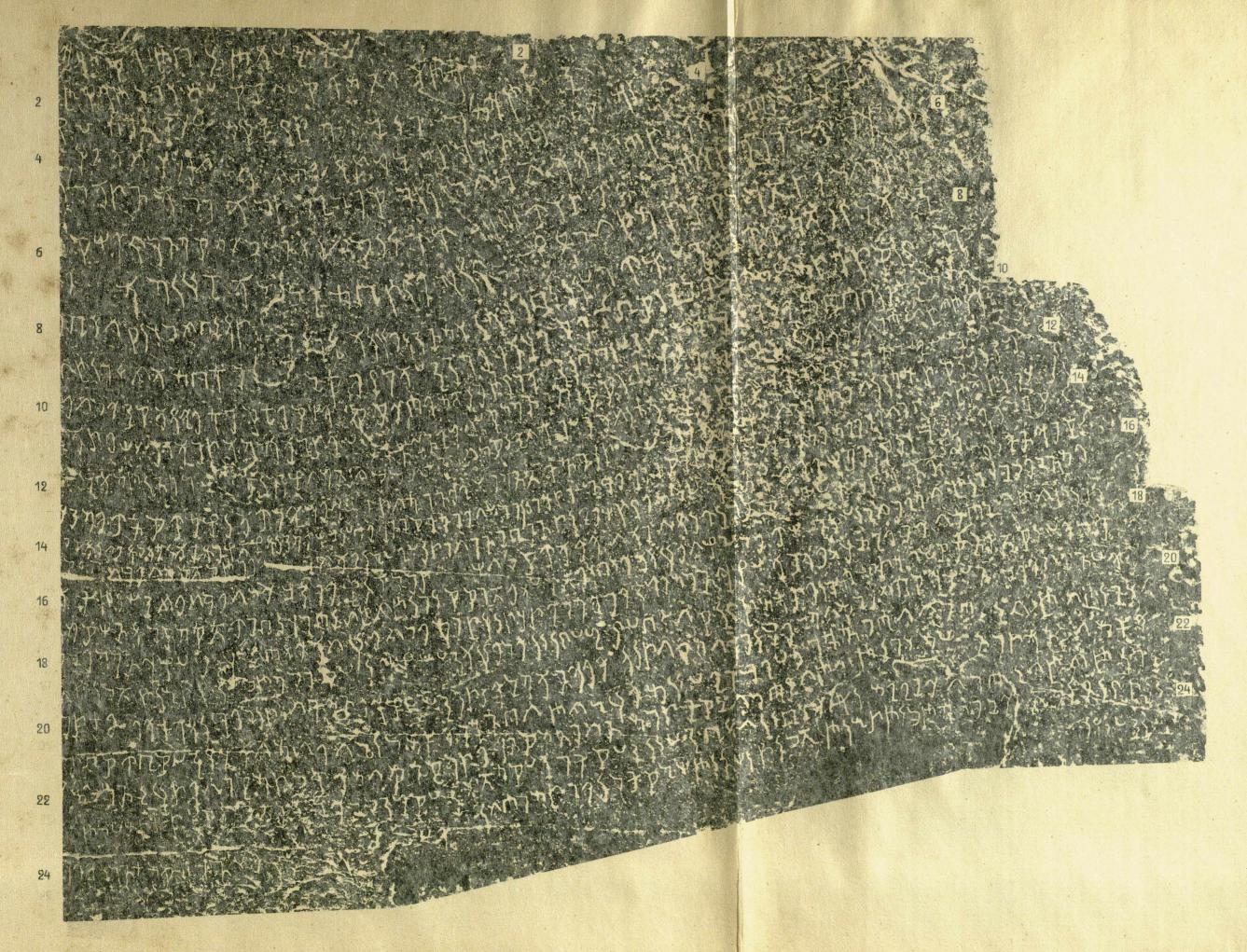
11 -niśrite Bühler. 14 There is a vacant space here.

18 Bühler omitted me.

19 vrakshati is the future of vrachati which occurs twice at Shāhbāzgarhī (VI, L, and XIII, S). 20 Cf. above, p. 33, n. 4. For Prākrit vachchai = Skt. vrajati see Hēmachandra, IV, 225.

21 For Rathika and Pitinika Girnār reads Ristika and Petenika. As Lathika at Dhauli agrees with Rathika at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, Ristika at Girnār may be a clerical mistake for Rāstika, just as parikamate for parākamate in X, l. 3, Devinam' for Devānam' in XI, l. 1, and dūti for dūtā in XIII, 1. 9. Conversely, astā is written for asti in IX, 1. 7, pitarā for pitari in XI, 1. 2, and vivādhāya for vividhāya in XII, 1. 1. The Sanskrit original of Rāstika would be Rāshtrika. The identifications of this name with Surashtra (Senart, Inscriptions de Piyadasi, vol. I, p. 126) or Lāṭa (Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces were included in Aśōka's empire; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (Early History of the Dekkan, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects Rāshtrika with Mahārāshtra, the Pāli form of which, Mahārattha, occurs in the Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa. Could the Rāshtrikas be identical with the Āraṭṭas of the Panjāb (Lassen, Ind. Alt., vol. III, p. 76) and with the Άράττιοι who are mentioned in the Periplus (§ 47) together with the Άραχώσιοι and Γανδάριοι?





SCALE ONE-NINTH

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaņas and Ibhyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).1

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is

bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(N) These Mahāmātras of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for

morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.2

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 14 (A) टेवनंप्रियो प्रियद्शि रय एव ऋहति (B) ऋतिकतं छांतर न भूतप्रवं सवं कलं अरकमं व परिवेदन व (c) तं मय एवं किरं (D) सवं कलं अश्मनस मे जोरोधनस्य यभगरस्य वचस्यि विनितस्य उयनस्य सवन पिटवेदक अंद्रं जनस परिवेदेत में (E) सवन च जनस अंद्र करोमि (F) यं पि च किचि मुखतो ऋण्पयमि अहं टपक व श्रवक व ये व पन महमचन अचिव अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे निरुति व सतं परिषये ज्ञानंतरियेन प्रटिवेटेतवी मे
- (E) सवच च अठं जनस करोमि अहं (F) यं च किचि मुखतो अएपेमि अहं टपकं व श्रवक व ये व पन महमचनं अचियकं अरोपितं भोति तये अरये विवटे संतं निजति व परिषये अनंतरियेन परिवेटेतवो से सवन सवं कलं (G) एव अरापितं मय (H) निस्त हि मे तोषो उउनिस अउसंतिरणये च (I) कटवमतं हि मे सवलोकहितं (J) तस च मूलं एच उथनं अटसंतिरण च (ह) निस्त हि क्रमतरं
- सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किचि पर्कमिम किति भूतनं अनि एयं वचेयं इस च ष सुखयमि परच च स्पयं अरधेतु (M) एतये अठये अयि धम निपिस्त विर्धितिक भोतृ तथ च मे पुच नतरी परक्रमंतु सवलोकहितये (N) दुकर त् सो इमं अञच अये परक्रमेन
- 14 (A) Devanampriyo Priyadraśi raya eva 3 ahati (B) atikratam amtara 4 na bhutapruvam sava[m] kala[m] atha-kramam va pativedana va (C) ta[m] maya eva[m] kiţa[m] (D) savram kalam asamanasa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra pativedaka atham janasa pativedetu 8

¹ paligodha is a Māgadha form of parigodha, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.

³ eva[in] Bühler. 4 amtaram Bühler.

¹ paligoana 3.
² See above, p. 34, n. 3.
⁶ atha- Bühler. ⁷ savratra patri° Bühler, 8 pat[r]i° Bühler.





me (E) savatra cha ja[na]sa aṭh[r]a karomi (F) ya[ṁ] pi cha ki[chi] mukhato aṇapayami a[haṁ] dapa[ka]¹ va śravaka² va ye³ va p[a]na mahamatrana a[cha]yika⁵ a[ro]pitaṁ bhoti taye aṭhaye viva[de]⁶ nijha[t]i va sataṁ parishaye anaṁtariyena praṭivedetavo me

(E) savatra cha aṭhaṁ janasa karomi a[haṁ] (F) yaṁ cha kichi¹o mukhato aṇapemi ahaṁ dapaka[ṁ] va śravaka va ye¹¹ va pana mahamatranaṁ achayi[k]aṁ aropita[ṁ] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[ṁ]taṁ nijati¹² va parishaye anaṁtariyena paṭivedetavo¹³ me savatra savaṁ¹⁴ kala[ṁ] (G) eva¹⁵ aṇapita[ṁ] maya (H) [na]sti hi me tosho uṭhanas[i] aṭha-sa[ṁ]tiraṇaye [cha] (I) kaṭava-mataṁ¹⁶ hi me sava-loka-hitaṁ¹ⁿ (J) ta[sa cha] mulaṁ etra uṭhanaṁ aṭha-saṁtiraṇa cha (K) na[sti] hi k[r]amatara[ṁ]

sava-loka-hite[na] 18 (L) yarn cha kichi parak[r]amami kiti bhutanam ananiyam v[r]acheyam ia cha sha sukhayami paratra cha spagram 19 aradhetu (M) etaye aṭhaye ayi dhrama 20 nipista 21 chira-thitika bhotu tatha cha me putra nataro parakramamtu sava-lo[ka-hita]ye (N) [du]kara 22 tu [kh]o imam añat[r]a 23

agre 24 parakramena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) And the root of that (consists) in this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge

¹ [da] pakam Bühler. ² śravakam Bühler. ³ yam Bühler. ⁴ °tranam Bühler, who added v[o]. ⁵ There is a fissure between a and cha.

⁶ Bühler added va. ⁷ saintain Bühler.

8 E and F (besides the last three words of the latter) were repeated by mistake.

⁹ There is a vacant space between a and tham.

10 There is a fissure between ki and chi.

¹¹ ya Bühler. ¹² Read nijhati, which is Bühler's reading.

13 patri° Bühler.
14 sav[r]am Bühler.
15 evam Bühler.
16 Piller.
17 Piller.

There is a hole between ma and tam.

17 sav[r]a- Bühler.

18 s[r]ava- Bühler.

19 spagam Bühler.

20 Read dhrama-dipi.

21 dipista Bühler.

²² [d]ukara[in] Bühler. ²³ amnatra Bühler.

24 Read agrena.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world),

and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this [rescript on] morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is indeed difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI3

1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियशि रज सवन इछति सब-

2 प्रषंड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते सयमे भवशुधि च इछंति

3 (c) जनो चु उचवुचछंदो उचवुचरगो (D) ते सबं व एकदेशं व

4 पि क्षंति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस निस्ति सयम भव-

5 शुधि किंद्रुजत द्विहभतित निचे पढं

1 (A) Devanampriyo Priyasi s raja savatra ichhati savra-

2 [p]rashamda vaseyu (B) save 4 hi te sayame 5 bhava-sudhi cha ichhamti

3 (C) jano chu uchavucha-chhamdo uchavucha-rago (D) te savram va eka-deśam va

4 pi kashamti (E) vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-

5 śudhi kitrañata dridha-bhatita i niche padham

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.
 - (B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, (and) firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A .- East Face of Shahbazgarhī Rock (continued).

17 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनंप्रिय विहर्यच नम निक्रमिषु (B) अच मुगय अजिन च एदिशनि अभिरमिन अभुवसु (C) सो देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्शि रज्ञ दशवषभिसितो सतं निक्रिम सवोधि (D) तेनद धंमयच (E) अच इयं होति अमण्डमण्नं दशने दनं वुढनं दशन हिरजप्रटिविधने च जनपदस जनस द्रशन धमनुशस्ति धमपरिपुछ च ततोपयं (F) एषे भुये रित भोति देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्शिस रजी भगो अंजि

² This edict is engraved on the left of the east face, at the top of the rock. The lines are

therefore numbered separately.

¹ sha (she at Mānsēhrā) corresponds to, and must have the same meaning as, nāni at Girnār and kāni at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa. Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 149) derived it from Skt. ēshām, and translated it by '(some) of them'.

³ Read Priyadrasi. ⁴ savre Bühler. ⁵ sayama Bühler.



(A) atikratam ataram 1 Devanampriya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya añani cha ediśani 2 abhiramani abhuvasu 3 (C) so Devanampriyo Priyadraśi raja daśa-vashabhisito satam 4 nikrami Sabodhi 6 (D) tenada 6 dhramma-yatra 7 (E) atra iyam hoti śramana-bramananim draśane danam vudhana[m] daśana 8 hiraña-p[r]atividhane 9 cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana 10 dhramanuśasti dhrama-pa[ri]p[ru]chha 11 cha tatopayam (F) eshe 12 bhuy[e ra]ti bhoti 13 Devanampriyasa Priyadraśisa raño bhago 14 amñi

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past the Dēvānāmpriyas used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).

(C) But when king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Sambödhi.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here. 15

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin

becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 18 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्शि रय एवं ग्रहित (B) जनो उचवुचं मंगलं करोति ग्रबंध श्रवहे विवहे पजुपदने प्रवसे श्रतये श्रजये च एदिशिये जनो व मंगलं करोति (C) श्रव तु स्वियक बहु च बहुविधं च प्रतिक च निरिदयं च मंगलं करोति (D) सो कटवो च व खो मंगल (E) श्रपफलं तु खो एत (F) इमं तु खो महफल ये ममंगल
- 19 (G) अब इम द्सभटकस सम्मपिटपित गरुन अपिचिति प्रण्नं संयमो श्रमण्डमण्न दन एतं अञं च ध्रममंगलं नम (H) सो वतवो पितृन पि पुनेन पि ध्रतन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिनसस्तिन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इसं सधु इसं कटवो मंगलं यव तस अठ्ठस निवृटिय निवृटस्य व पुन
- 20 इमं कवं (I) ये हि एतके मगले सश्यिके तं (J) सिय वो तं अठं निवटेयित सिय पुन नो (E) इअलोक च वो तं (L) इद पुन ध्रममगलं अकलिकं (M) यदि पुन तं अठं न निवटे इअ अथ परच अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति (N) हंचे पुन तं ठं निवटेति ततो उभयेस लधं भौति इअ च सो अठो परच च अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमंगलेन

9 -patividha[ne] Bühler.

10 drasanam Bühler.

¹ atikratnam amtaram Bühler.

² [h]edisani Bühler.

³ abhavasu Bühler.

⁴ sato Bühler.

⁵ sabodhi[m] Bühler.

⁶ tenamd[a] Bühler.

⁷ dhrama- Bühler.

⁸ drasane Bühler.

¹² esh[a] Bühler.

 ⁻pa[ri]puchha Bühler.
 hoti Bühler.

¹⁴ bhag[i] Bühler.

¹⁵ See above, p. 37, n. 5.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI



(A) Devanampriyo Priyadraśi r[a]ya evam ahati (B) jano uchavucham mamgalam karoti abadhe avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase ataye¹ añaye cha ediśiy[e]² jano ba³ mamgalam karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidham cha putika⁴ cha nirathiyam⁵ cha mamgalam karo[ti]⁵ (D) so kaṭavo cha [va]⁻ kho mamgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta⁵ (F) imam [t]u kho maha-phala ye ma-mamgala⁵

19 (G) [a]tra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati 10 garuna apachiti praṇanam sa[m]yamo 11 śamaṇa-bramaṇana 12 dana etam añam cha dhrama-mamga[lam] nama (H) [s]o vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratana 13 pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-sastutena 14 ava prativeśiyena imam sadhu [imam] 15 kaṭa[vo] mamgala[m] yava tasa aṭhrasa 16 nivuṭiya nivuṭaspi va p[u]na 17

20 imam kasham 18 (I) ye hi etake 19 magale sasayike 20 tam (J) siya vo tam atham nivateyati siya puna 21 no 22 (K) ialoka cha 23 vo tam 24 (L) ida 25 puna dhramamagalam akalikam (M) yadi puna tam atham na nivat[e] 26 ia 27 atha paratra anamtam punam prasavati (N) hamche puna tam tham 28 nivateti tato u[bha]y[e]sa 29 ladham bhoti ia 30 cha so atho paratra cha anamtam punam prasavati tena dhramamgalena 81

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child, 32 (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive 33 and

useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again'.

- ¹ Read etaye, which is Bühler's reading.

 ² Read probably edisaye, as at Mānsehrā.

 ³ Read bahu.

 ⁴ putika[m] Bühler.

 ⁵ nirathriyam Bühler.

 ⁶ ka[rotne] Bühler.

 ⁷ Bühler omitted va.

 ⁸ etam Bühler.

 ⁹ Read dhrama-; -mamgala[m] Bühler.

 ¹⁰ -pratipati Bühler.

 ¹¹ samyama Bühler.

 ¹² śramana- Bühler.

 ¹³ Read bhratuna, which is Bühler's reading.

 ¹⁴ -samstutena Bühler.

 ¹⁵ There is a vacant space here.

 ¹⁶ athasa Bühler.

 ¹⁷ pana Bühler.
- 18 ke[sha] Bühler.

 19 et[ra]ke Bühler.

 20 sa[ii]šayike Bühler.

 21 pana Bühler.

 22 Bühler omitted no.

 23 ialokach[e] Bühler.
- 24 tithe Bühler. 25 iya Bühler. 26 Read nivațeti, as at Manschra. 27 [h]ia Bühler.

28 Read tam atham; Bühler read [a]tham for tam tham.

²⁹ ubhayasa Bühler. ³⁰ iha Bühler. ³¹ Read dhrama-maingalena.

32 For pajupadane see above, p. 38, n. 22.

33 Instead of pūtika, 'foul', all other versions read kshudra, 'vulgar'.

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THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



(I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) But if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

21 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्शि रय यशो व किंद्रि व नो महठवह मजित अजब यो पि यशो किंद्रि व इइति तदलये अयितय च जने ध्रममुख्य सुख्रुषतु में ति धंमवृतं च अनुविधियतु (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्शि रय यशो किंद्रि व

22 इद्धित (C) यं तु किचि परक्रमित देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्शि रय तं सवं परिचक्रिये व किति सक्तले अपरिस्रवे सियति (D) एषे तु परिस्रवे यं अपुत्रं (E) दुकरे तु खो एषे खुद्रकेन वयेन उसटेन व अजब अयेन परक्रमेन सवं परितिजितु (F) अच चु उसटे ' ' ' ' '

21 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raya yaśo va kitri va no mahathavaha mañati añatra yo pi yaśo kitri va ichhati tadatvaye ² ayatiya cha jane dhrama-suśrasha ³ suśrushatu me ti dhrama-vutam cha anuvi[dhi]yatu (B) etakaye Devanapriye ⁴ Priyadraśi raya yaśo ⁵ kitri va

22 ichhati (C) ya[m] tu kichi parakramati Devanampriyo Priyadrasi raya tam sav[r]am paratrikaye va kiti sakale aparisrave siyati (D) eshe tu parisrave yam apuñam (E) dukare [tu] kho eshe khudrakena vagrena usațena va añatra agrena parakramena sava[m] paritijitu (F) at[r]a chu usațe......

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Devanampriya Priyadarsin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.
 - (B) On this (account) king Děvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.
- (C) But whatever effort king Dövänämpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may be free of danger.
 - (D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

² tadattaye Bühler; but see his Ind. Pal., § 11, C.

6 dukaram Bühler. 7 etam (which is also possible) Bühler.

¹ Instead of 'but if', two other versions read 'even if', which is preferable.

³ Read -suśruskam. ⁴ Devanampriye Bühler. ⁵ Bühler added va.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

23 (△) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्शि रय एवं हहित (B) निस्त एदिशं दनं यदिशं ध्रमदन ध्रमसंस्तवे ध्रमसंविभगो ध्रमसंबंध (C) तच एतं दसभटकनं संस्मपिटपित भतिपतुषु सुश्रुष मिचसंस्तुतजितकनं श्रमण्डमण्न

24 दन प्रणन अनरंभो (D) एतं वतवो पितृन पि पुनेन पि अतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिनसंस्तृतन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो (E) सो तथ करतं

इञ्जलोक च अरधेति परच च अनतं पुत्र प्रसवति

25 तेन अमदनेन.

23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadraśi raya evam hahati¹ (B) nasti ed[i]śam danam yadiśam dhrama-dana² dhrama-samstav[e] dh[r]ama-samvibhago dh[r]ama-samba[m]dha³ (C) tatra etam dasa-bhaṭakanam sammma-paṭipati⁴ mata-pitushu suśrusha mi[t]ra-samstuta-ñatikanam śramaṇa-bramaṇana⁵

dana praṇana anara[m]bho (D) etam vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi [spa]mikena pi mitra-samstutana ava prativesiyena [i]ma[m] sadhu imam kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[m] ialoka o cha a[ra]dheti paratra cha anatam puña o

prasavati

25 [te]na dhrama-danena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dövänämpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

* samma-prațipati Bühler. 5 -bramananam Bühler.

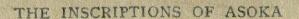
danam prananam Bühler. 7 [sa]mikena Bühler.

8 Read -sainstutena, which is Bühler's reading.

There is a fissure in the rock here.
 karamtam ialoka[m] Bühler.

¹ aha ti Bühler. ² -danam Bühler. ³ -sambamdho Bühler.

¹¹ puñam Bühler.







TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

B.—On a separate boulder.

(A) देवनंग्रियो ग्रियद्शि रय सबप्रषंडिन प्रविज्ञतिन यहचिन च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व

2 देवनंत्रियो मजित यथ किति सलवित सिय सम्प्रवंडनं (c) सलवित तु बहुविध

(D) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचगुति

अकिति अतप्रधंडपुज व परप्रधंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणिस लहुक व सिय तिस तिस प्रकरणे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रधं-

4 ड तेन तेन अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रवंडं वढेति परप्रवंडंस पि च उपकरोति

(G) तट अजध कार्मिनो अतप्रषंड

5 ख्राणित परप्रवडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कचि अतप्रवडं पुजेति परप्रवडं गरहति सबे अतप्रवडभतिय व किति

अतप्रवंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करंतं सो च पुन तथ करतं बढतरं उपहंति अतप्रवंडं (I) सो सयमो वो सधु किति अजमजस धमो

7 श्रुणेयु च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इछ किति सबप्रषंड बहुश्रुत च कल्यगम च सियस (K) ये च तच तच

अप्रसन तेषं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मजति यथ किति

सलवित सियति सनप्रवहनं (M) बहुक च एतये छाउ 🔭

9 वपट धममहमत्र इस्त्रिधयहामहमत्र वच्युमिक अञे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस फलं यं अतपषडवित भोति

10 धमस च दिपन

1 (A) Devanampriyo Priyadraśi raya savra-prashamdani pravrajita[ni]¹ grahathani² cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha [da]na³ va puja va

Devanampriyo manati yatha kiti sa[la]-vadhi siya savra-prashamdanam

(C) sala-vadhi tu bahuvidha (D) tasa tu iyo mula yani vacha-guti

kiti ata-prashamda-puja va pa[ra]-pashamda-garana va no siya [a]pakaranasi ⁴ lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[n]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-prasha[m]-

4 [da] tena tena akarena (F) e[v]am karatam ata-p[r]ashamdam vadheti para-prashamdamsa pi cha upakaroti (G) tada anatha ka[ra]min[o] ata-p[rashamda]

¹ This word was entered above the line; pravrajita Bühler.

² graha[tha]ni Bühler.

³ dana[m] Bühler.

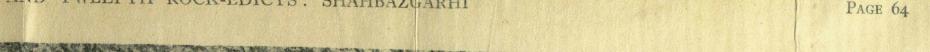
^{*} aprakaranasi Bühler.
6 Read °dasa, which is Bühler's reading.

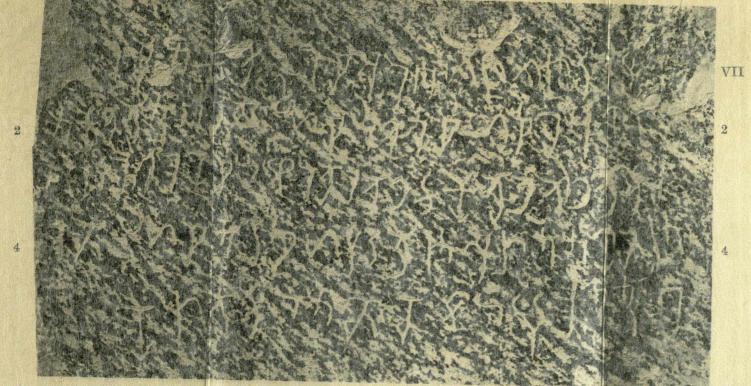
⁵ kara[m]tam Bühler.

⁷ Read tad-añatha.

⁸ ka[rata cha] Bühler.

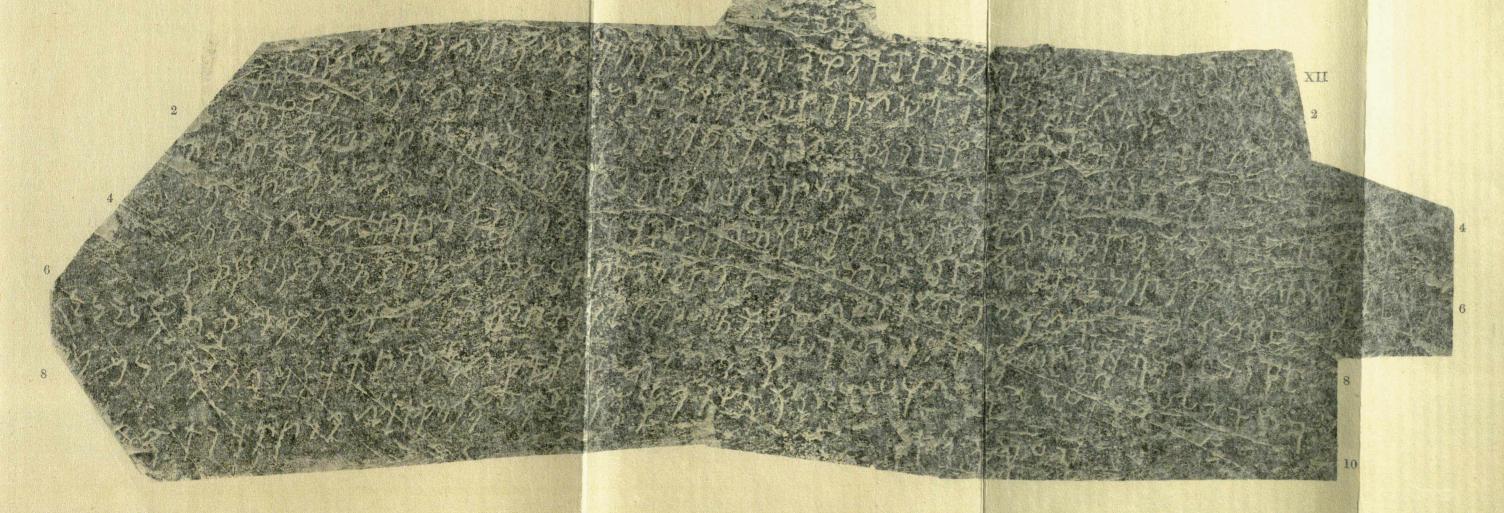
⁹ -prashamdam Bühler.





Scale One-Fourth





SCALE ONE-SIXTH

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI



kshaṇati para-[pra]shaḍasa¹ cha apakaroti (H) yo hi kachi² ata-prashaḍaṁ pujeti [para]-p[r]ashaḍa[ṁ]³ garahati savre ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti

6 ata-prashamdam dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karamtam so cha puna tatha karatam ba[dhata]ram upahamti ata-prashadam (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti anamanasa dhramo

7 śruneyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti (J) evam hi Dovanampriyasa ichha kiti savraprashamda bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[ana]gama cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra

8 prasana tesha[m] vatavo (L) Devanampriy[o] na [tatha da]na[m va] p[u]ja va mañati ya[tha] kiti sala-vadhi siyati savra-prashadanam (M) bahuka cha etaye a[tha]...⁵

vap[a]ta dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[stridhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika⁶ añe cha nikaye (N) imam cha etisa [pha]lam yam ata-pashada-vadhi ⁷ [bh]o[ti]

10 dhramasa cha di[pana]

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dövänämpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects: (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.
- (B) But Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.
 - (C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.
- (D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.
 - (E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.
- (F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.
- (G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.
- (H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.
- (I) Therefore self-control⁸ alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.
- (J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāmpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.
- (K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).
- (L) Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.9

⁴ Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.

⁵ Restore athaye.

⁶ vacha- Bühler. ⁷ -prashada- Bühler.

8 Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.

9 For siyati see above, p. 40, n. 1.

¹ -prashamdasa Bühler. ² k[o]chi Bühler. ³ -prash[a]da Bühler.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes

place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

C .- West face of Shahbazgarhī rock.

(A) अउवषश्रभितिस देवनप्रिश्रस प्रिश्चद्रशिस रजो कलिंग विजित (B) दिश्चढमचे प्रणश्तसहस्रे ये ततो अपवुढे शतसहस्रमचे तच हते बहुतवतके व मुटे

(c) तती पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिवे धमणिलन धमकमत धमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रिश्रस विजिनिति कलिगनि

- 3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनी यो तच वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं वढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनंप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं देवनंप्रियस (G) ये तच
- 4 वसति ब्रमण व श्रमण व श्रंजे व प्रबंड यहच व येसु विहित एव अयभुटिसुश्रुव मतिपतुषु सुश्रुव गुरुन सुश्रुव मिचसंस्तृतसहय-
- जितिनेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रितिपति द्रिडभितित तेष तच भोति अपयथो व वधो व अभिरतनं व निक्रमणं (म) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिहो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष मिचसंस्तुतसहयजितक वसन
- 6 प्रपुर्णित तच तं पि तेष वो अपघयो भोति (1) प्रतिभगं च एतं सवमनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनंप्रियस (3) निस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्यि न नम प्रसदो (E) सी यमनी जनो तद कलिंगे हतो च सटो च अपवृढ च ततो
- गतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनंप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरेयित श्रीमतिवयमते व देवनंप्रियस यं शको श्रमनये (M) य पि च अटिव देवनंप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनंप्रियस वुचित तेष किति अवचित्र न च हंजेयसु (०) इछित हि देवनंप्रियो सब्भुतन अखित संयमं समचिर्यं रभिसये (Р) अयि च मुखमुत विजये देवनंप्रियस यो धमिवजयो (६) सो च पुन लधो देवनंप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु
- श्र षषु पि योजनशतेषु यच अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजिन तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम निच चोडपंड अव तंबपंणिय (B) एवमेव हिद रजिवषवस्यि योनकंबोयेषु नभकनभितिन



भोजिपितिनिकेषु अंध्रपिलिदेषु सवन देवनंप्रियस धमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति (६) यन पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न ब्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस धमवुटं विधनं धमनुशस्ति धमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियशंति च (१) यो स लधे एतकेन भोति सवन विजयो सवन पुन

विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (D) लघ भोति प्रिति प्रमिवजयस्य (V) लहुक तु खो स प्रिति (W) परिचक्रमेव महफल मेजित देवनंप्रियो (X) एतये च ऋउये ऋयि प्रमिद्पि निपिस्त किति पुच पपोच मे ऋसु नवं विजयं म विजेतविक्र मिजिषु स्पक्षस्य यो विजये छाति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मजतु

12 यो ध्रमविजयो (Y) सी हिदलोकिको परलोकिको (Z) सवचितरित भोतु य ध्रमरित (AA) स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक

1 (A) [aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa¹ Devana]pri[a]sa Pri[a]draśisa ra[ño] Ka[liga] vi[j]ita (B) diadha-mat[r]e² praṇa-śata-[saha]sre y[e] tato apavuḍhe śata-sahasra-matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va]³ m[uṭe]

(C) tato [pa]cha a a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu tivre dhrama-silana] dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanusasti cha Devanapriyasa (D) so [a]sti anusochana

Devanap[ria]sa vijiniti Kaliga[ni] 8

(E) avijitam [hi vi]jinamano yo i tat[r]a vadha i va maranam va apavaho va janasa tam badham v[e]dani[ya]-ma[tam] guru-mata[m] cha Devanampriyasa (F) idam i pi chu [tato] guru-matataram [Devanam]priyasa (G) ye tatra i

4 vasati 18 bramaņa va śrama[ṇa] va a[m]ñe va prashamḍa gra[ha]tha va yesu vihita esha agrabhuṭi-suśrusha mata-pitushu suśrusha guruna 14 suśrusha mitra-

samstuta-sahaya-

5 ñatikeshu dasa-bhaṭakanam samma-pratipa[ti] dridha-bhatita 15 tesha 16 tatra bhoti [a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇam (H) yesha va pi suvihitanam 17 [si]ho 18 aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-samstuta-sahaya-ñatika vasana

6 prapuṇati [ta]tra taṁ pi tesha vo apaghratho 19 bhoti (I) pratibhagaṁ cha [e]taṁ savra-manuśanaṁ 20 guru-mataṁ cha Devanaṁpriya[sa] (J) nasti cha ekatare 21 pi prashaḍaspi 22 na nama prasado (K) so yamatro [ja]no tada Kalige [ha]to cha mut[o] cha apav[udha] 23 cha tato

5 śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagam va [a]ja guru-matam v[o] Devanampriyasa (L) yo pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va 24 Devanamp[r]iyasa yam śako kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha atavi Devanampriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti

anunijapeti 35 (N) anutape pi cha prabhave

⁴ [pa]chha Bühler. ⁵ [Kalimgeshu] Bühler. ⁶ -[palanam] Bühler.

7 °n[am] Bühler. 8 °priyasa vijinit[u Ka]limga[ni] Bühler.

tatra h[i] for ye tatra Bühler.
 didha- Bühler.
 tesham Bühler.
 zamvi Bühler.
 samvi Bühler.

a[sta]- Bühler.

ler. ² [diyadha]- Bühler.

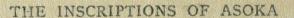
⁸ Bühler omitted va.

[&]quot; "man[i ye] Bühler. 10 vadh[o] Bühler. 11 imam Bühler.

Read sincho; [ne]ho Bühler.
 Read apagratho, which is Bühler's reading.
 savram manu^o Bühler.
 kataraspi Bühler.
 prashamdaspi Bühler.

²³ apavudh[o] Bühler. ²⁴ vo Bühler.

²⁵ Read "nijhapeti, which is Bühler's reading.





- Devanampriyasa vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mneyasu (O) ichhati hi D[e]vanampriyo savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamam sama[cha]riyam rabhasiye (P) ayi¹ cha mukha-mut[a]² vijaye Devanampriya[sa] yo dhrama-vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladho Devanampriyasa iha cha saveshu³ cha amteshu
- 9 [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra Amtiyoko nama Y[o]na-raja param cha tena Atiyok[e]na chature 4 rajani Turamaye nama Amtikini nama Maka nama Alikasudaro nama nicha Choḍa-Pamḍa ava Ta[m]bapam[ni]ya (R) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vishavaspi Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu Nabhaka-Nabhitina

Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Amdhra-Palideshu savatra Devanampriyasa dhramanusasti anuvatamti (S) yatra pi Devanampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi śrutu Devanampriyasa dhrama-vutam vidh[a]nam dhramanusasti dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti anuvidhiyiśam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa] dhe etakena bhosti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na]

vijayo priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meñati Devana[m]priyo (X) etaye cha athaye ayi 11 dhrama-dipi nipi[sta] 12 kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma vijetav[i]a 13 mañishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[e ksham]ti cha lahu-da[m]data 14 cha rochetu tam cha yo 15 vija 16 maña[tu]

12 yo dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) sava-chati-rati 17 bhotu ya [dh]ramma-rati 18 (AA) sa hi hidalokika paralokika

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dēvānampriya Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the Kalingas was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kalingas has been taken, Dēvā-nampriya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, 19 to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of Dēvānāmpriya on account of his conquest of (the country of) the Kalingas.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by Dēvānāmpriya.

¹¹ ayo Bühler. ¹² [di] pista Bühler. ¹³ 'tavi[ya] m Bühler.

14 -dam [da]tam Bühler. 16 tam e[va] Bühler. 16 Read vijayam, as at Kālsī.

17 savra cha nirati Bühler.
18 [s]rama- Bühler.
19 dhrama-śilana (= Skt. dharma-śīlana) is the equivalent of dhammavâyo at Girnār; see above,
p. 24, n. 14.

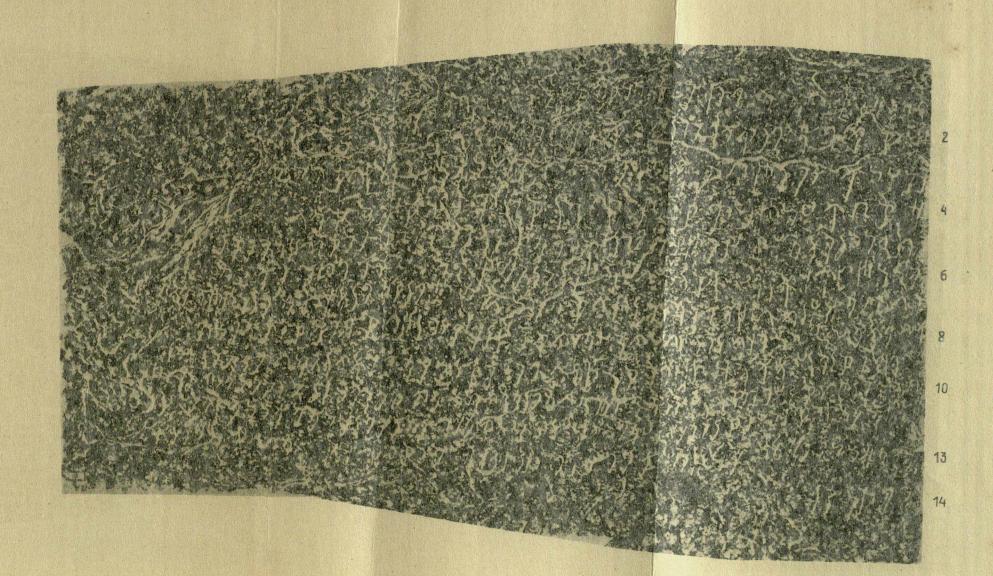
¹ eshe Bühler. ² -mute Bühler. ³ sa[vre]shu Bühler. ⁴ Amtiyokena Bühler.

⁵ °pamniya Bühler.
⁶ Visha-Vajri- Bühler.
⁷ Nabhake Na[bhi]tina Bühler.
⁸ -Puli[de]shu Bühler.
⁹ vidhenam Bühler.
¹⁰ [cha] Bühler.



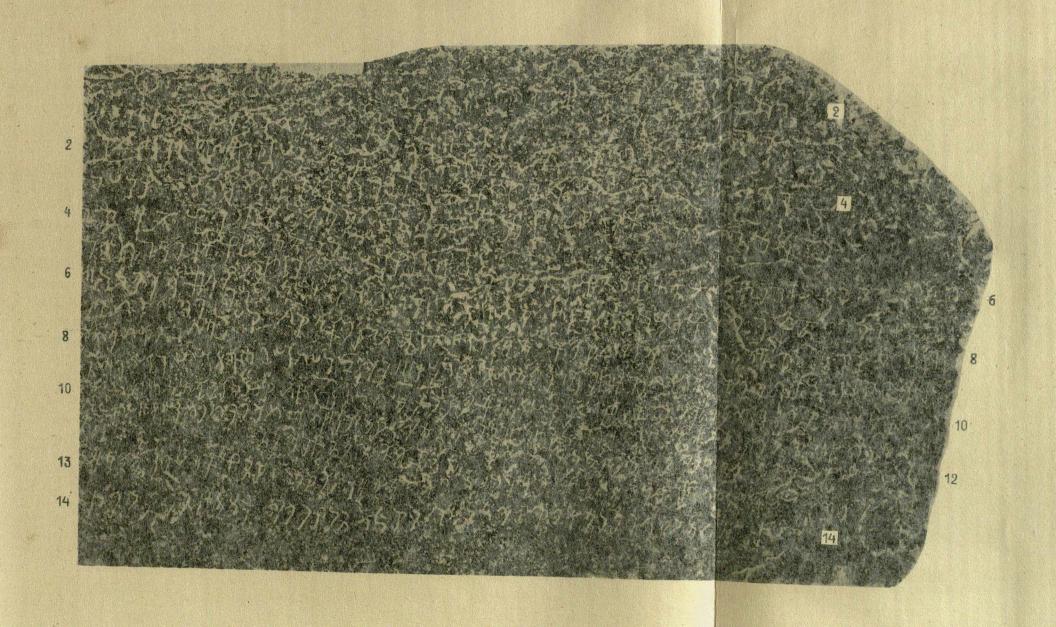
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THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI LEFT HALF



SCALE ONE-NINTH

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICTS: SHAHBAZGARHI BETWEEN PAGES 68 AND 69 RIGHT HALF



THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI



- (G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.
- (H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.
 - (I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya.
 - (J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.2
- (K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in Kalinga, (would) now be considered very deplorable by Dēvānāmpriya.
- (L) And Dēvānāmpriya thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.
- (M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānāmpriya, even those he pacifies (and) converts.
- (N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which Dēvānāmpriya (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.
- (O) For Dēvānāmpriya desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.6
- (P) And this conquest is considered the principal one by Dēvānāmpriya, viz. the conquest by morality.
- ¹ 'The meaning of apagratho is fixed by the various readings upaghāte (Kālsī) and upaghāto (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Pischel draws my attention) that some Kōśas give for grathita the meaning hata, himsita; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. granth.'—Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 174.
- ² 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.
- ³ As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 174 f.), the nom. plur. atavi is used in the sense of āṭavikāh. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression lakshaṇā. One of the examples given in the Tarkasaingrahadīpikā, § 59, is 可知 (i. e. the occupants of the tribunes) are shouting.'
- ⁴ Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. nijhapayisamti and nijhapayita (or nijhapayitave) in the pillar-edict IV, M, nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye in the Jaugada separate edict I, R, and nijhati in the rockedict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugada, where Aśōka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.
- ⁶ Bühler (EI, 2. 471) rendered anutape prabhave (i. e. anutāpē prabhāvē) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to anutāpa is unusual, and this word is a synonym of anusaya or anusāchana in section D of this edict. Thomas takes prabhave = Skt. prabhavēt; see V. A. Smith's Asoka, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbāzgaṛhī the 3. sing. opt. ends in -eyati; cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.
- ⁶ I adopt Lüders' rendering of the last two words of this section; see SPAW, 1914. 851. The Girnār and Kālsī versions replace the locative rabhasiye (= Skt. rābhasyē) by the accusative mādava or madava (= Skt. mārdavam, 'kindness').
- ⁷ mukha-muta (also at Mānsehrā, XIII, l. 9) is the same as mukhya-muta in the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edicts, VI, F.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

- (Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by Dēvānāmpriya both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred yōjanas, where the Yōna king named Antiyoka (is ruling), and beyond this Antiyoka, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named Turamaya, (the king) named Antikini, (the king) named Maka, (and the king) named Alikasudara, (and) towards the south, (where) the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas (are ruling), as far as Tāmraparṇī.
- (R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the Yonas and Kamboyas, among the Nabhakas and Nabhitis, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among the Andhras and Palidas, —everywhere (people) are conforming to Dovanampriya's instruction in morality.
- (S) Even those to whom the envoys of Dēvānāmpriya do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of Dēvānāmpriya, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).
- (T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.
 - (U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.
 - (V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).
- (W) Dēvānāmpriya thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).
- (X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,³ they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.
 - (Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.
- (Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims), which is pleasure in morality.
 - (AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 13 (A) अयि धमिदिप देवनंप्रियेन प्रिशित राज निपेसिपत अस्ति वो संक्षितेन अस्ति यो विस्तिटेन (B) न हि सवच समन्ने गिटिते (C) महलके हि विजिते बहु च लिखिते लिखपेशिम चेव (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लिपितं तस तस अठस मध्रियये येन जन तथ
- 14 परिपजेयति (E) सो सिय व अन किचे असमतं लिखितं देशं व संखय करण व अलोचेति दिपिकरम व अपरधेन

² See above, p. 48, n. 14. ³ Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.

¹ The Kälsi version reads Näbhapamti for Nabhiti.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kālsī and Mānsehrā differs here. Unless the Shāhbāzgaṛhī reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prākṛit substantive chatti = Skt. *tyakti in the sense of tyāga.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI



(A) ayi1 dhrama-dipi2 Devanampriyena Priśi[na]2 raña nipesapita4 asti vo samkshitena sasti yo vistritena (B) na hi savatra sasavre gațite (C) mahalake hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]eśami cheva (D) asti chu atra puna puna [la]pitam tasa tasa [a]thasa madhuriyaye ye[na] jana tatha

patipajeyati10 (E) so siya va atra kiche11 asamatam likhitam deśam va samkhay[a]12

karana va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written 18 by king Devanampriya Priyadarsin either in an abridged (form) or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm

of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.14

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,16 or by the fault of the writer.

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

A .- First Inscribed Rock.

(A) अयि धर्मादिप देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्शिन रिजन लिखपित (B) हिंद नो किछि जिवे अर्भित प्रजोहि-

तिवये (C) नी पि च समजे कटविये (D) बहुक हि दोष समजस देवनंप्रिये

प्रियद्शि रज दखित (E) अस्ति पि चु

एकतिय समज सधुमत देवनप्रियस प्रियद्शिस रजिने (म) पुर महनसिस देवनप्रियस प्रियदिशिस र-

जिने अनुदिवस बहुनि प्रणशतसहस्रानि अरिभमु सुपष्प्रये (G) से ' ' द अयि धमदिपि लिखित तद तिनि येव प्रण्ति अर्भियंति द्वे २ मजु-

र एके मिगे से पि चु मिगे नो भुवं (म) एतनि पि चु तिनि प्रणानि पच नो श्चरिम ' ' '

10 prati° Bühler.

¹ ayo Bühler.

² There is a vacant space between ma and di.

³ Read Priyadrasina.

⁴ dipapito Bühler. 5 samkhitena Bühler.

⁷ Read savre; [so] savre Bühler. * savratra Bühler.

⁹ cha Bühler. 8 Read ghațite; ghațiti Bühler.

¹² samkhaye Bühler. 11 Read kichi, which is Bühler's reading. 13 With nipesapita cf. nipesitam in the Shāhbāzgarhī edict IV, K.

With the optative patipajeyati (= vāti at Dhauli and Jaugada) cf. apakareyati (XIII, 1. 7), nivateyati (IX, l. 20), and siyati (= śiyāti or shiyāti at Kālsī); see above, p. 40, n. 1. 16 See above, p. 8, n. 3.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

GI

ayi dhra[ma]-dip[i] **Devanam[priye]na¹ Priya[drasina rajina** li]khapita (B) hi[da] no kichhi² ji[ve] ara[bhitu] pra[johi]-

taviye 3 (C) no pi [cha] samaj[e] kaṭaviye 4 (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha samajasa

Devanampriye] Priyadraśi raja [da]kha[ti] (E) asti [pi chu]

3 [eka]tiya samaja sa[dhu]-mata Devanapriyasa Priyadraśi[sa] rajine (F) pura maha[nasa]si [Devana]pri[ya]sa Pri[yadra]śisa ra-

jine anudiva[sa ba]huni praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani [arabh]isu supa[thra]ye (G) s[e]...... [da] ayi dhrama-dipi likhi[ta] ta[da] ti[ni] y[eva] pra[ṇa]ni [ara]bh[iyamti] du[v]e [2] maju-

ra [e]k[e]6 m[r]ig[e] s[e] p[i chu] mrig[e] no dhruvam (H) [e]tani pi chu [tini]

pranani pacha no ara[bhi]

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

5 (A) सवच विजितिस देवनप्रियस प्रियद्शिस रिजिने ये च छात अथ

6 चोड पंडिय सितयपुत्र केरलपुत्र तंबपिण ऋतियोगे नम योनरज ये च छ '''स '''' गम समत रजने सवत '''' प्रियस प्रियदिश्स रिजने

7 दुवे २ चिकिस काट मनुशचिकिस च पशुचिकिस च (B) ओषढिन मनु ''' किन च प''' किन च अब अब निस्त सबब हरियत च रोपियत च

8 (C) एवमेव मुलिन च फलिन च अच अच निस्त सवच हरियत च रोपियत च (D) मगेषु रुछिन रोपियतिन '''' पितिन पितिभोगये पशु-मुनिशनं

5 (A) sa[vatra vi]jitasi Devanapriyasa Priyadrasisa rajine ye cha ata 7 atha

6 [Choda] Pa[mdi]ya Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] Keralaputra ⁸ [Tam]bapani [A]tiyoge ⁹ nama Yona-[raja] ye cha [a]....sa.....[gasa] samata ¹⁰ ra[jane sa]vratra....priyasa Priyadrasisa rajine

7 [duve 2] chikisa [ka]ṭa manuśa-chik[isa cha] paśu-[chi]kisa cha (B) osha[dha]ni 11 manu ka[ni cha] pa [kani cha atra atra 12 nasti savra]tra [ha]rapi[ta

cha] ropa[pita] cha

8 (C) e[va]meva mulani [cha] phalani [cha] a[tra a]tra [na]sti [savra]tra harapita cha ro[pa]pita cha (D) ma[geshu] ruchhani 13 [ropa]pi[tani] 14 [pi]tani patibhogaye paśu-m[uni]śanam 15

2 kichi Bühler.

3 pra yuho taviye Bühler.

sama[ja] kaṭaviya Bühler. ⁵ [Pri] yadrasi[ne] Bühler.

6 Bühler inserted the figure '1'. 7 anta Bühler. 8 °putr[e] Bühler.
9 . tiyo[ke] Bühler. 10 samanta Bühler. 11 osha[dhi]ni Bühler.

12 [ya]tra yatra Bühler. 13 ru[chha] Bühler.

15 -m[a]nuśana Bühler.

^{1 [}De]vana[pri]yena Bühler.

¹⁴ The next symbol (read [ku] by Bühler) may be the first letter (u) of udupanani.



THIRD ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA



(A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्शि रज एव छाह (B) दुवडशवषिभितेन मे इयं छाण्पियते
 (C) सवन विजितिस ' ' ' ' त रजु ' प्रदेशिक पंचषु पंचषु प विषेषु

० अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतये व अथ्ये इमये ध्रमनुशस्तिये यथ अत्रये पि क्रमणे

(D) सधु मतिपतुषु सुश्रुव मित्रसंस्तृत-

11 जितकनं च ब्रमण्यमणनं सधु दने प्रणन अनरभे सधु अपवयत अपभडत सधु (E) परिष पि च युतनि गणनसि अण्पियशित हेत्ते च वियंज-

12 नते च

9 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja eva a[ha] (B) duva[a]śa-vashabhisetena me iyam² [anapayit]e (C) savrat[r]a vijitasi ta³ [ra]ju . . pradeśike [pam]chashu pam[chashu] 5 vashesh[u]

anusa[m]yana[m] nikramatu etaye va athraye imaye dhramanusastiye ya[tha] anaye pi krama[ne] (D) [sadhu mata]-pi[tu]shu [s]u[srusha mitra]-sa[m]stuta-

11 ñatikanam cha bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[m] sadhu dane praṇana [anara]bhe sadhu apa-[va]yata apa-bha[data] sadhu (E) parisha pi cha yutani ga[ṇa]nasi [aṇapa]yiśa[ti] he[tute] cha vi[yamja]-

12 nate cha

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 12 (A) अतिकतं अतरं बहुनि वषशतिन विधिते वी प्रण्रंभे विहिस च भुतनं जितन असपिटपिति अमण्डमण्न असंपिटपित
- 13 (B) से अज देवनप्रियस प्रियद्शिने रिजने ध्रमचर्रोन भेरिघोषे छहो धमघोषे विमनद्रशन अस्तिने छगिकंधनि अजिन च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशेति जनस
- 14 (C) अदिशे बहुहि वषशतेहि न हुतपुवे तिदशे अज विदिते देवनिप्रयस प्रियद्रिशने रिजने धमनुशिक्तिय अनरिभे प्रणन अविहिस भुतन जितन

15 संपिटपित वमण्यमणन संपिटपित मतिपतुषु सुश्रुष वुधन सुश्रुष (D) एवे अजे च वहुविधे धमचर्णे विधिते (E) वधियणित येव देवनिधिये

16 प्रियद्शि रज धमचरण इमं (F) पुत्र पि च क नतरे च पण्तिक देवनप्रियस प्रियद्शिने रिजने पवढियशंति यो धमचरण इमं अवकर्प धमे शिले च

¹ Read °bhisitena. ² ayam Bühler. ³ [me]..ta Bühler. ⁴ nikrama[m]tu Bühler. ⁵ vam Bühler. What he took for an Anusvāra, is the optional horizontal (sometimes curved) bottom-line which he has noted in ja (ZDMG, 43. 275), and which the Mānsehrā version uses also in da (XIII, 10), dha (VII, 33; XII, 6; XIII, 1), ta of mata (I, 3; IV, 15; XIII, 4), tha (II, 5; V, 20, 26; XII, 4; cf. above, p. 55, n. 6), and pa (XII, 5).

⁶ ya . am Bühler. ⁷ anays Bühler. ⁸ kramane Bühler. ⁹ -śramananam Bühler.



चिठितु भ्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एषे हि सेठे अं भ्रमनुशशन (H) भ्रमचर्गो पि च न होति अशिलस (I) से इमस अथ्स विध अहिनि च सध् (J) एतये

अथये इयं लिखिते एतस अथस वध युजंत हिनि च म अलोचियस (K) दवदशवषिभिसितेन देवनिषयेन प्रियद्शिन रिजन इयं लिखिपते

(A) atikratam ata[ram] bahuni vasha-śa[ta]ni vadhite vo² pranaram[bh]e vihi[sa] 12 cha bhutanam ñatina asapa[t]ipati śrama[na]-bramanana asa[m]patipati

(B) se aja [De]vanapriyasa Priyadrasine rajine dhrama-[cha]ra[ne]na bheri-13 ghoshe aho dhama-ghoshe vimana-draśana asti[ne] agi-kamdhan[i] aña[ni cha] di[vani] rupani draśeti janasa

(C) [a]diśe bahuhi vasha-śa[tehi] na [hu]ta-pr[u]ve tadiśe [a]ja vadhite [De]vana-14 priyasa Priyadrasine rajine dhramanusastiya anarabhe pranana avihisa

bhutana ñatina

sampatipati bamana-śramanana za[m]patipati mata-pitushu suśru[sha] vudhrana 15 [su]srusha (D) eshe añ[e] cha bahuvidhe dhrama-charane vadhrite (E) vadhrayiśati yeva Devanapriye

Priyadraśi raja dhama-[cha]raṇa ima[m]10 (F) [putra] pi cha ka 11 natare cha 16 paṇatika De[va]napriyasa Priyadaśine 12 rajine pavadhayiśamti yo 13 dhrama-

charana imam [a]va-kapam dhrame śile cha

[chi]thitu 14 dhra[mam] anu[śa]śiśamti (G) eshe hi srethe a[m] dhramanuśaśana 17 (H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ne] pi [cha] na hoti aśi[la]sa (I) se imasa athrasa vadhri

ahi[ni cha] sadhu (J) etaye

athraye i [vam] 16 li [khi]te e [ta]sa [athra]sa vadhra 16 yu [jam]tu hini cha ma 18 [alo]chay[i]su 17 (K) duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena Devanapriyena Priyadrašina rajina iya[m] likhapite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

(A) देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्शि रज एवं छाह (B) कालगां दुकारं (C) ये छादिकरे क्यग्रस से दुकरं करोति (D) तं भय बहु कयणे कटे (E) तं मञ्ज पुन च

नतरे च पर च तेन ये अपितये मे अवकपं तथ अनुविटिश्ति से सुकट कवित (F) ये चु अन देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कषति

(G) पपे हि नम मुपदरवे (H) से ऋतिकतं ऋंतरं न भुतपृव धममहमच नम (I) 21 से चेडशवषभिसितेन मय धममहमच कट (J) ते सवपबडेष

वपुर धमधिषनये च धमवधिय हिद्सुखये च धमयुत्तस योनकंबीजगधरन रिकपितिनिकन ये व पि अञे अपरत (E) भटमये-

a[m]ta[ram] Bühler.

⁴ dhrama-goshe Bühler.

^{7 -} śramanana[m] Bühler.

¹⁰ ima Bühler.

¹³ Bühler omitted yo.

¹⁷ anu[lo]chayisu Bühler.

² vadhite vam Bühler.

⁵ hastine Bühler.

⁸ matu- Bühler.

¹¹ ku Bühler.

^{14 [}ti]stitu Bühler.

^{3 -}bramananam Bühler.

⁶ prananam Bühler.

⁹ dhrama- Bühler.

¹² Devanampriyasa Priyadrasine Bühler.

¹⁵ i[main] Bühler. · 16 Read vadhri.



23 षु ब्रमशिश्येषु श्रनथेषु बुधेषु हिट्सुखये ध्रमयुतश्चपित्रबोधये वियपुट ते (L) वधनवधस परिविधनये श्रपित्रबोधये मोश्चये च इयं

24 शनुबंध प्रज ति व कट्रभिकर ति व महलके ति व वियप्रट ते (M) हिंद बहिरेषु च नगरेषु सबेषु श्रोरोधनेषु भतन च स्पसून च

25 ये व पि अजे जितके सबन वियपट (N) ए इयं अमिनिशितो तो व अमिधियने ति व दनसंयुते ति व सबन विजितसि मंख अमयुतिस वपुट ते

26 भ्रममहमन (O) एतये अपूर्वे अवि भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरिटितिक होतु तथ च मे प्रज अनुवटत्

(A) De[vanam]priyena¹ Priyadraśi raja eva[m] aha (B) kalana[m] dukara[m] (C) ye adikare kayanasa se dukaram karoti (D) tam maya bahu [ka]yane [ka]te (E) [ta]m ma[a] putra [cha]

20 natar[e] cha 2 para 3 cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]pam tatha anuvațiśati 4 se

sukața ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa pi hapeśati se dukața kashati

21 (G) pape hi nama supadarave (H) s[e] atikrata[m] a[m]tara[m] na bhuta-pruva dhrama-[ma]hamatra nama (I) se treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya dhrama-mahamatra kaṭa (J) te savra-pa[sha]desha (

vapuṭa dhramadhitha[na]ye cha dhrama-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yutasa Yona-Kamboja-Gadharana ⁷ Raṭhika-Pitinikana ⁸ ye va pi añe aparata (K)

bha[ta]maye-

23 shu bramanibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-su[khaye] dhrama-yuta-apalibodhaye viya[p]uṭa te (L) badhana-badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanay]e apalibodhaye

mokshay[e cha iyam]

24 anubadha p[r]aja 10 t[i] va kaṭrabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyapraṭa te (M) hida 11 bahireshu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu bhatana 12 cha spas[u]na [cha]

25 ye va pi añe ñatike savratra viyapaṭa (N) [e] iyam dhrama-niśito to 13 va dhramadhithane ti va dana-samyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhrama-yutasi

vaputa [te]

26 dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-dipi likhita chira-thitika hotu tatha 14 cha me praja anuvatatu

⁵ supadare v[a] Bühler. ⁶ Read °deshu, which is Bühler's reading.

¹ Read oprive, which is Bühler's reading.

² Bühler omitted cha. ³ param Bühler. ⁴ tatham anuva[t]iśati Bühler.

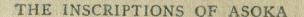
⁷-Ga[m]dharanam Bühler.

⁸ Ratrakra- Bühler. The second symbol (thi) resembles the corresponding one at Shāhbāz-garhī, but the vertical line connecting the right ends of the two horizontal bars is omitted here. The third symbol looks like kam; but the apparent Anusvāra is the optional bottom-line of the letter. Cf. the ka of chira-thitika, VI, 31, and above, p. 73, n. 5.

hidam- Bühler.
 Read bhatuna.

paja Bühler; ja looks like ju.
 -nišiti ti Bühler; read ti for to.

hidam Bühler.tatham Bühler.







SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

(A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्शि रज एवं अस्त (B) स्नितकतं स्नतरं

न हुतपूर्व सत्रं कल अध्क्रम व परिवेदन व (c) त सय एवं किटं (D) सब कलं अशतस मे शोरोधने यभगरंति वचस्पि विनितस्य उयनस्य सवच परिवेदक अय जनस

पटिवेदेत में (E) सबन च जनस अथ्र करोमि अहं (F) यं पि च किछि मुखती अगापेमि अहं दपकं व श्रवकं व ये व पुन महमचेहि श्रविके अरोपिते होति

तये अथ्ये विवदे निजित व संत परिषये अनतिलयेन परिवेदेतिवये मे सवन सव कल (G) एवं अण्पित मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तीचे उटनिस अधमंतिरगये च

(I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस चु पुन एवे मुले उठने अध्मतिर्ख च (E) निस्त हि क्रमतर सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किछि परक्रमि छार्छ किति भुतनं

अग्रियां येहं इस च वे मुखयिम परच च स्पय अर्धेतु ति (M) से एतये अथ्रेय इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरिटितिक होतु तथ च मे पुच नतरे परक्रमते सव-

लोकहितये (N) दुकरे च लो अजन अयेन परक्रमेन

26 (A) Devanapriye 1 Priyadraśi raja [e]va[m] aa 2 (B) atikratam ataram 3

na huta-pruve [sa]vram kala athra-[krama] va [pa]tivedana va (C) ta maya evam 27 kiṭam (D) savra kalam asatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savratra pa[t]i[ve]da[ka] athra janasa

28 pațivedetu me (E) savratra cha janasa athra kar[o]mi aham (F) van pi cha 5 kichhi6 mukhato7 anapemi aham dapakam va śravakam va ye6 va puna

mahamatrehi achayike aropite 9 hoti

taye athraye vivade nijati 10 va samta par[isha]ye a[na]taliyena pativedetaviye 11 me savratra savra kala (G) evam anapita maya (H) nasti hi me toshe [uthanasi] ath[r]a-sa[m]tiranaye cha

30 (I) kaṭaviya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]te (J) [ta]sa chu puna eshe mule uthane athra-satirana cha (K) nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena (L) ya[m] cha

[kichhi] 12 pa[rakra]mami aam 13 k[i]t[i] bh[u]tanam

ananiyam 14 ye ham ia cha she 15 sukhayami paratra cha spagra 16 a raldhetu ti 31

1 Devana[in] prive Bühler.

² aha Bühler.

3 atikramtam amtaram Bühler. 6 kichi Bühler.

4 n[o] Bühler. ⁵ Bühler omitted cha.

7 mukhato looks almost like mukhati, which is Bühler's reading. 8 yam Bühler.

⁹ aropita Bühler. ¹⁰ Read nijhati, which is Bühler's reading.

¹⁸ aham Bühler.

¹⁴ ananiyam Bühler. 16 sha Bühler.

¹⁶ spagram Bühler.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

(M) se etaye athraye iyam dhrama-dipi likhita chira-thitika1 hotu ta[tha cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate 3 sa[vra]-

[lo]ka-hitaye (N) dukare cha 4 kho [a]ñatra a[g]rena para[kra]mena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

(A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रिश रज सज़न इद्धित सज़पषड वसेयु (B) सज़े हि ते सयम भवश्रधि च

इछंति (C) जने चु उचवुचछरे उचवुचरगे (D) ते सत्रं एकदेशं व पि कषति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस निस्त संयमे भवश्रुति किटनत द्रिडभितत च

निचे बढं

(A) Devanapriyo Priyadraśi raja savratra ichhati savra-pashada vaseyu (B) savre hi te sa[ya]ma [bha]va-śu[dh]i [cha]

33 [ichham]ti (C) jane chu uchavucha-chhade o uchavucha-rage (D) te savram eka-deśam va pi kashati (E) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme bhava-suti s kitanata dridha-bhatita 9 cha

34 niche badham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

(A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनप्रिय विहर्यच नम निक्रमिषु (B) इस्र सिगविय स्वर्जन च एदिशनि अभिरमनि हुसु (C) से देवनप्रिये प्रियद्शि

रज दश्वषभिसिते संतं निकमि सबोधि (D) तेनट धमयट (E) अत्र इय होति 35 शमग्राबमग्रान दशने दने च वधन दशने च हिजपिटविधने च

जनपदस जनस दशने धमनशस्ति च धमपरिपृद्ध च ततोपय (F) एषे भये रित 36 होति देवनप्रियस प्रियद्शिस

रजिले भगे छारो

(A) a[ti]kratam ataram 10 Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) ia 11 mrigaviya añani cha ediśani abhiramani husu (C) s[e] Devanap[r]iy[e] P[r]iyadraśi

raja daśa-vashabhisite samta[m] nikrami Sabodhi 12 (D) tenada dhrama-yada 13

7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n. 7.

^{1 -}thitikam Bühler.

² tathain Bühler.

^{3 °}mamte Bühler.

⁴ chu Bühler.

^{5 °[}priye] Bühler.

^{6 -}chade Bühler.

⁷ sayame Bühler. 11 i[ha] Bühler.

⁸ Read - śudhi. 12 sambodhi Bühler.

⁹ dridhra- Bühler.

¹⁰ amtaram Bühler.

¹³ tenad[am] dhrama-yadra Bühler. What looks like an Anusvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of da, which occurs also in V, 23, 24; VIII, 36; IX, 8 (twice); X, 9; XIII, 3.

SUJURE COVERNMENT OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPE

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



(E) atra iya hoti śamaṇa-bramaṇana¹ dra[śa]ne dane cha vudhrana² dra[śa]ne [cha hi]ña-paṭivi[dhane³ cha]

janapadasa janasa draśane dhramanuśasti cha dhrama-[pa]r[i]puchha cha tatopaya

(F) eshe bhuye rati hoti Devanapriyasa Priyadraśisa

37 rajine bhage ane

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

B .- North Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्शि रज एवं श्रह (B) जने उचवुचं मगलं करोति
- 2 अवधिस अवहिस विवहिस प्रजीपदये प्रवसिस्य एतये अञये च एदिशये जने
- 3 बहु मंगलं करोति (C) अन तु अवकजनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरिश्र्य च मगलं करोति (D) से कटविये चेव खो
- 4 मगले (E) अपफले चु खो एषे (F) इयं चु खो महफले ये अममगले (G) अव इयं दसभटकिस सम्यपटिपति गुरुन अपचिति
- 5 प्रणान सयमे श्रमणव्रमणन दने एवे अणे च एदिशे भ्रममगले नम (H) से वतविये पितृन पि पुनेन पि अतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि

6 मिचसंस्तृतेन अव परिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं करिवये मगले अव तस अप्रस निवृटिय निवृटिस व पुन इम कषिम ति (1) ए हि इतरे मगले

- 7 शशिय में (J) सिय व तं अध्रं निवटेय सिय पन नो (E) हिट्लोकिके चेव से (L) इयं पुन अममगले अकलिके (M) हचे पि तं अध्रं नो निवटेति हिट् अध परच
- 8 अनत पुण प्रसवित (N) हचे पुन तं अण्रं निवटेति हिंद ततो उभयेसं अर्धे होति हिंद च से अण्रे परच च अनत पुणं प्रसवित तेन ध्रमगलेन
- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja evam aha (B) jane uchavucha[m ma]gala[m] karoti
- 2 abadhasi a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi prajopadaye pravasaspi etaye añaye [cha ed]iśa[ye jane]
- 3 bahu mamga[lam ka]ro[t]i (C) atra tu abaka-janika bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuda cha nirathriya cha magalam karoti (D) se ka[ṭaviye ch]eva kho
- 4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]she (F) iyam chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-magale (G) atra iyam dasa-bhatakasi samya-patipati guruna a[pachit]i
- 5 pra[na]na [sa]yame śramana-bramanana [dane] eshe ane cha ediśe dhrama-magale nama (H) se vataviye pi[tu]na pi putrena pi bhratuna 7 pi spamikena pi
- 6 mitra-sa[m]stutena [a]va paṭiveśiyena pi iyam sadhu iyam kaṭaviye magale ava tasa athrasa nivuṭiya nivuṭasi va puna ima [ka]shami ti * (I) e hi [i]tare * maga[le]

¹ śramana- Bühler.

⁴ balika for abaka- Bühler.

⁷ bhatuna Bühler.

² vadhrana Bühler.

⁵ cha for [ch]eva Bühler.

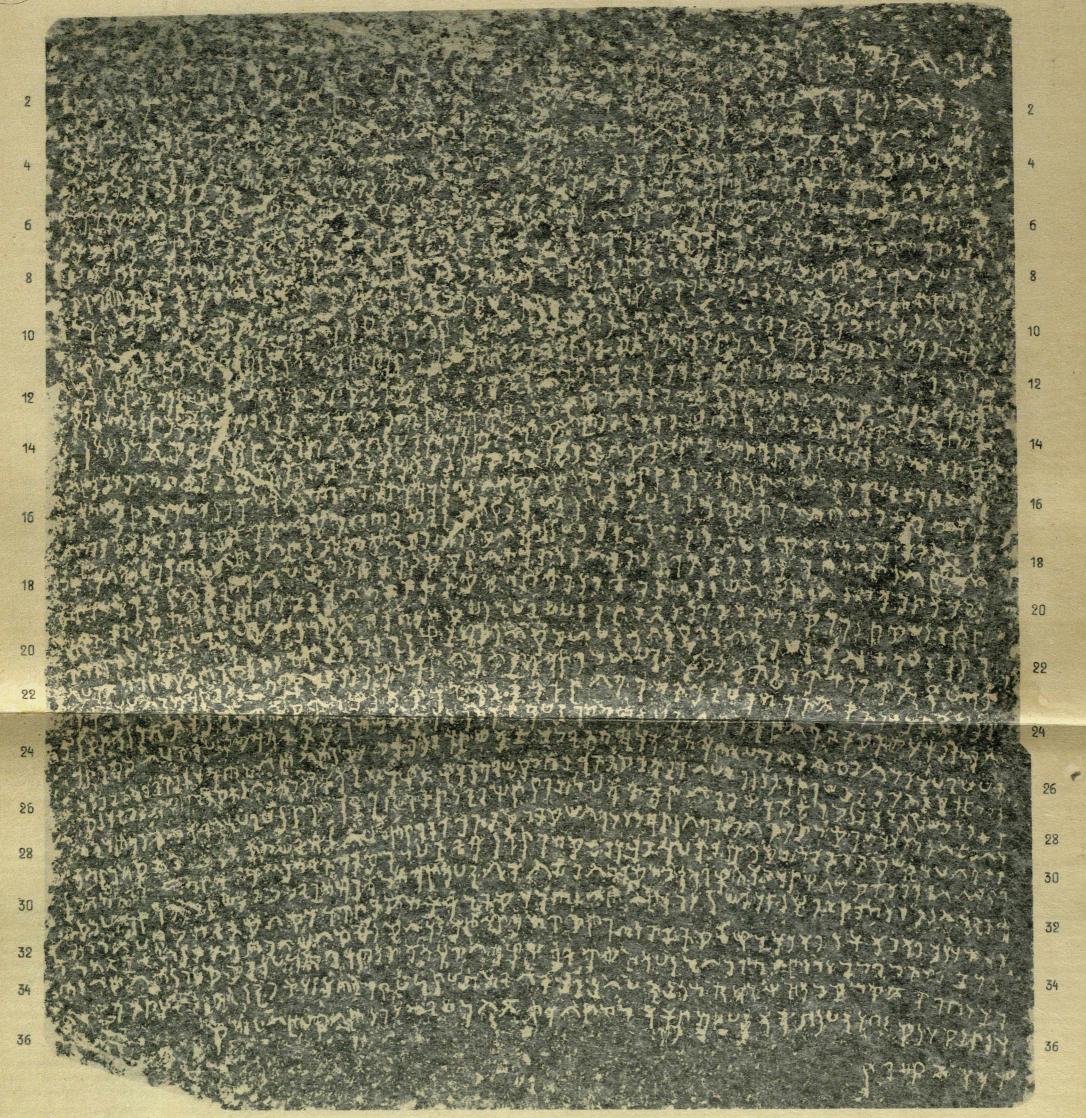
⁸ k[e]sh[a]miti Bühler.

³ Read hiraña-.

^{6 -}maingale Bühler.

^{9 [}a]trake Bühler.





NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

Za[śa]yike se (J) s[i]ya va tam athram nivateya s[i]ya pana no (K) hidal[o]kike cheva se 1 (L) iyam puna dhrama-magale akalike (M) [ha]che pi tam athram no 2 nivateti [hi]da a[tha] paratra

anata puṇa 3 prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athram 4 nivat[e]ti hida tato 5 ubhayesam [ara]dhe hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata punam

prasavati tena dhramagalena 8

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

(A) देवनिप्रिये प्रियद्शि रज यशो व किटि व नो महयूवहं मजित अगाच यं पि यशो व किटि व इस्रित तद्वये अयितय च जने धमसुश्रुष सश्रुषतु मे ति

10 धमवृतं च अनुविधियत् ति (B) एतकाये देवनिप्रये प्रियद्शि रज यशो व किटि व इद्धति (C) · · · किंद्धि परक्रमति देवनप्रिये प्रियद्शि रज तं सबं परिचकये व किति

सकले अपपरिसवे सियति ति (D) एषे चु परिसवे ए अपुरो (E) दुकरे चु खो एषे खुदकेन व वयेन उसटेन व अनच अयेन परक्रमेन सर्व परितिजितु (F) स्रम तु खो उसरेनेव दुकरे

(A) [Devana]priye Priyadraśi raja yaśo va kiti va no 9 mahathravaham mañati anatra yam pi ya[śo va] kiti va ichhati tadatvaye 10 ayatiya cha jane [dhra]ma-suśrusha suśrushatu 11 me ti

dhrama-[vutam cha] 12 anuvidhiyatu ti (B) etakaye Devanapriye Priya[dra]śi 10 raja yaśo va kiti va i[chha]ti (C) [k]ichhi 13 parak[r]ama[ti] Devanapriye

Priyadraśi raja tam savram parat[r]ikay[e va k]i[ti]

11 sa[kale apa]-pa[r]isav[e] siyati ti (D) eshe chu 14 pa[ri]save e apu[ne] 15 (E) dukare 16 chu kho eshe khudakena 17 [va va]gr[e]na [u]satena va ana[tra] 18 a[gre]na para[krame]na sav[ram] pariti[ji]tu (F) atra 19 tu [kho] usateneva du[ka]re 20

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

12 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्शि रज एवं छाह (B) निस्त एदिशे दने छिदशे धमदने ध्रमसंथवे ध्रमसंविभग ध्रमसंबंधे (C) तच एवे दसभटकसि सम्बपटिपति मतपितृषु सुश्रुष

¹ i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha] vase Bühler. ² na Bühler.

³ an[am]tam puñam Bühler.

^{* [}a] . ra Bühler.

⁸ tato looks almost like tati.

⁶ ubhayasa [va la]dhe Bühler.

ana[m]ta[m] Bühler.

⁸ Read dhrama-magalena. The same mistake is found in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.

⁹ n[a] Bühler. 10 tadattaye Bühler; but see above, p. 62, n. 2.

¹¹ The syllable sru is engraved in a deep round hole which must have existed already at the time of the inscription.

¹² Bühler omitted cha.

^{15 [}apu]ña[m] Bühler.

¹⁸ a [ña] ira Bühler.

^{13 [}e tu] kichi Bühler.

¹⁶ dukaram Bühler.

¹⁹ e. Bühler.

¹⁴ tu Bühler.

¹⁷ khudrakena Bühler.

²⁰ usatena va duka[ra] Bühler.



मिनसंस्तुतजतिकन श्रमण्डमण्न दने प्रण्न अनरभे (D) एवे वतविये पितुन पि पुनेन पि अतुन पि स्पिसकेन पि मिनसंस्तुतेन अव परिवेशियेन

इयं सधु इयं कटविये (E) से तथ करतं हिटलोके च कं अरधे होति परच च अनंतं पूर्णं प्रसवित तेन भ्रमदनेन

(A) Devanapri[y]e Priyadraśi raja evam aha (B) nasti ediśe dane [a]diśe dhrama-dane dhrama-samtha[v]e dhrama-samvibhaga¹ dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e] (C) tatra eshe dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si samya-paṭipati² mata-[pifu]shu su[śru]sha

mitra-sam[stuta]-ñatikana śramana-bramanana dan[e] pranana [ana]rabhe 3 (D) [e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna4 pi spamike[na] pi mitra-

samstultselna ava pativeśiyena

14 iyam sa[dhu] iyam kataviye (E) se tatha karata[m] hi[dalo]ke (cha] kam aradhe ho[ti 8 pa]ra[tra] cha ana[m]tam punam p[r]asavati te[na dhra]ma-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

C .- South Face of Second Rock.

(A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्शि रज सनपषडिन प्रविज्ञतिन गेह्थिन च पुजेति दनेन विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व

2 देवनंप्रिये मञ्जात अथ किति सलविं सिय समपष्डन ति (c) सलवुं ि तु

बहविध (D) तस चु इयं मुले ऋं वचगुति

किति अतप्रवरपुज व परपवरगरह व नो सिय अपकारणिस लहुक व सिय तसि तसि पकारण्सि (E) पुजेतिवय व चु परप्रघड तेन तेन

अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अन्वपवड बढं वढयति परपवडस पि च उपकरोति (G) तदंजय करतं अतपषड च छराति परपषडस पि च

अपकरोति (H) ये हि केछि अलपघड पुजेति परपघड व गरहित सबे अल-पषडभतिय व किति छालपषड दिपयम ति ' ' पुन तथ करतं

बढतरं उपहिंत अलपषड (1) से समवये वो सधु किति अणमणस धमं श्रुणेयु च सुध्रवेय च ति (उ) एवं हि देवनिपयस इछ किति सवपषड बहुश्रुत च

क्यग्गम च हुवेयु ति (K) ए च तच तच प्रसन तेहि वतविये (L) देवनिप्रये नो तथ दनं व पुजं व मण्ति अथ किति सलवित सिय सवपषडन

(M) वहक च एतये अधूये वपुट धममहमच इस्त्रिजस्महमच वचभुमिक अजे च निकये (N) इयं च एतिस फले

यं ऋत्वपषडविं च भोति भ्रमस च दिपन

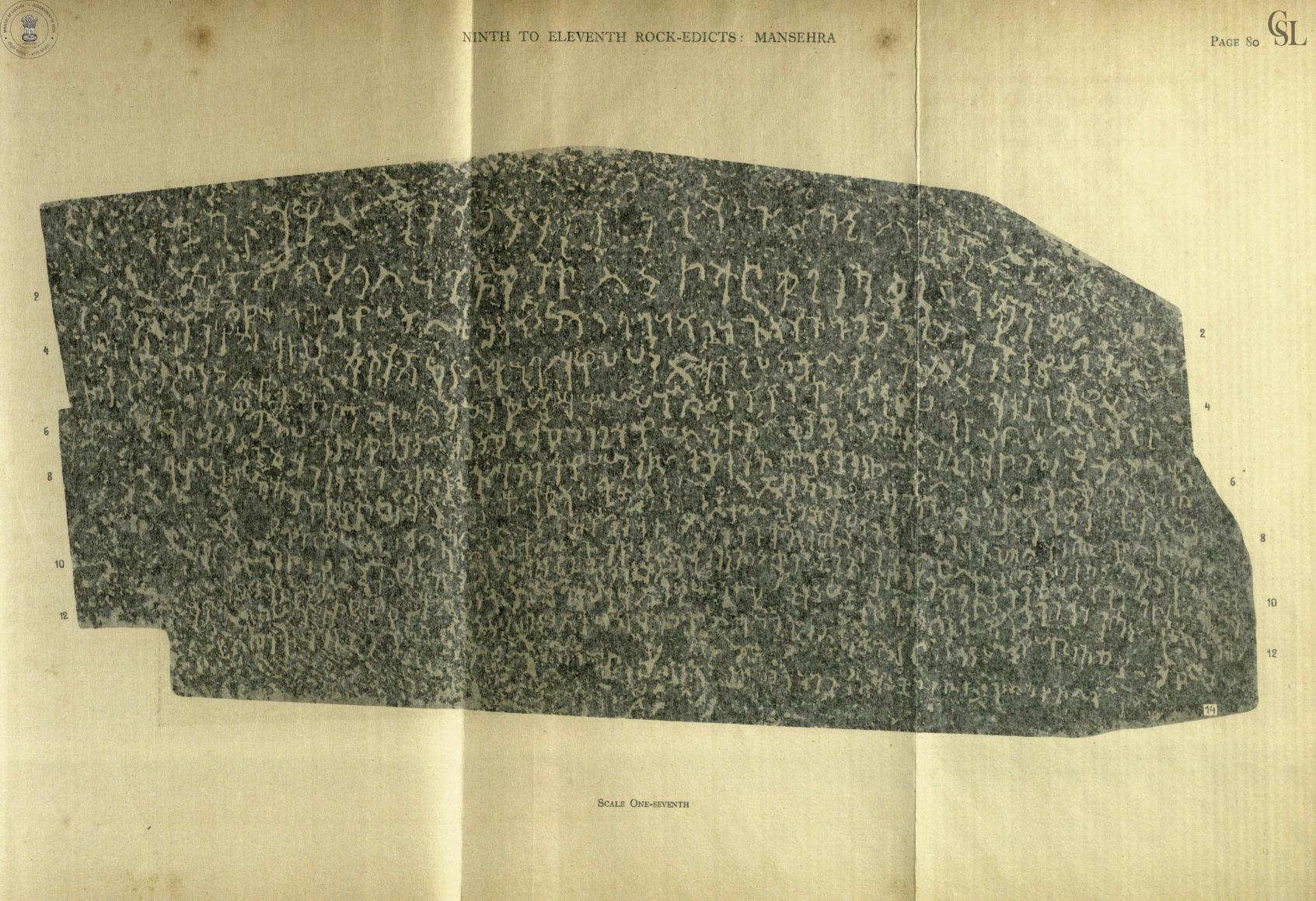
^{1 °}bhage Bühler.

³ anarambhe Bühler.

² -[bha]ta . . sa sa[mya]-sampatipati Bühler.

⁴ bhatuna Bühler. ⁶ krataviye Bühler.

^{*} aradhe . . i Bühler. 7 [ku?] Bühler in foot-note 10. 6 karamtam hida . . ka Bühler.





SCALE ONE-SEVENTH

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

(A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja savra-pashadani [p]rava[ji]tani gehathani cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye² (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va

[De]vana[m]priye mañati atha kiti sala-vadhi siya savra-pashadana ti (C) sala-

vrudhi t[u] bahuvidha (D) tasa chu iyam mule am vacha-guti

3 kiti ata-prashada-puja va para-pashada-garaha va no siya apakaranasi lahuka va siya tasi tasi pakaranasi (E) pujetaviya va chu para-p[r]ashada tena tena

- 4 akarena (F) evam karatam atva-pashaḍa baḍham vaḍhayati para-pashaḍasa pi cha upakaroti (G) tad-amnatha karatam ata-pashaḍa cha chhanati para-pashaḍasa pi cha
- 5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi 6 atva-pashada pujeti para-pashada va garahati savre atva-pashada-bhatiya va kiti atva-pashada dipayama ti puna tatha karatam
- 6 badhataram vupahamti atva-pasha[da] (I) se samavaye vo sadhu ki[ti] anamanasa dhramam śrun[e]y[u cha] suśrushe[yu] cha ti (J) evam hi Dovanapriyasa ichha kiti savra-pashada bahu-śruta cha
- 7 kayanagama cha [hu]veyu 11 ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tehi vataviye (L)

 Devanapriye no tatha danam va puja[m] va manati atha kiti sala-vadhi siya
 savra-pashada[na]

8 (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vapuṭa dhrama-mahamatra istrijaksha-mahamatra 12 vracha-bh[u]mika añe cha nikay[e] 13 (N) iyam cha etisa phale

yam atva-pashada-vadhi cha bh[o]t[i] dhramasa cha [di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

D .- Third Inscribed Rock.

(A)	अ ठवषभिसितस	देवनप्रियस	प्रियद्शिने	रजिने कलिंग	विजित	(B)	दियहमचे
	प्रण्यतस ' '						

- 2 मटे (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिने धमवये धमनुशस्ति च देवनिप (D) (D)
- मरखे व अपवहे व जनस से बढं वेदिनयमते गुरुमते च देवनिप्रयस (F) इयं पि चु ततो ' ' ' ' ' ' '
- 4 येसु विहित एव अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतिपतुषु सुश्रुष गुरुसुश्रुष मिवसंस्तु 😘

¹ -prashadani pravrajitani gahathani Bühler. ² pujaya Bühler.

³ Here, and in five other places of the same edict, Bühler read atma- for atva-. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the tva of tadatvaye in edict X, l. 9. I therefore read atva-, following Konow (SPAW, 1916, 804, n. 7), who quotes in support Pischel's Grammatik, § 277.

* tadañatham Bühler. The wavy line at the bottom of da need not be an Anusvāra, but may be a portion of da itself; see above, p. 77, n. 13.

b atma- Bühler. b kechi Bühler.

7 badhamtaram Bühler.

8 °hanti looks like anti; °ha[na]ti Bühler.

⁹ v[a] Bühler.

Devana[m] priyasa Bühler.
 nikaya Bühler.

11 haveyu Bühler. 12 Read istrijhaksha-.

SCHOOL WITH HELD STORY OF THE S

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



(A) [i]yam dhrama-dipi De[va]napriyena Pri[va] 1 [jina likhapita]

14 [likhite likha]pe[śa]mi che[va] ni (D) [asti chu a]tra puna puna la[pite] tasa
ta[sa] a[thra]sa [madhu]riyaye [ye]na jane ta[tha] paṭipaje[ya]ti (E) se [si]ya
atra ki[chhi] [t]i likhi[t] va [samkha]ya

V. THE DHAULI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

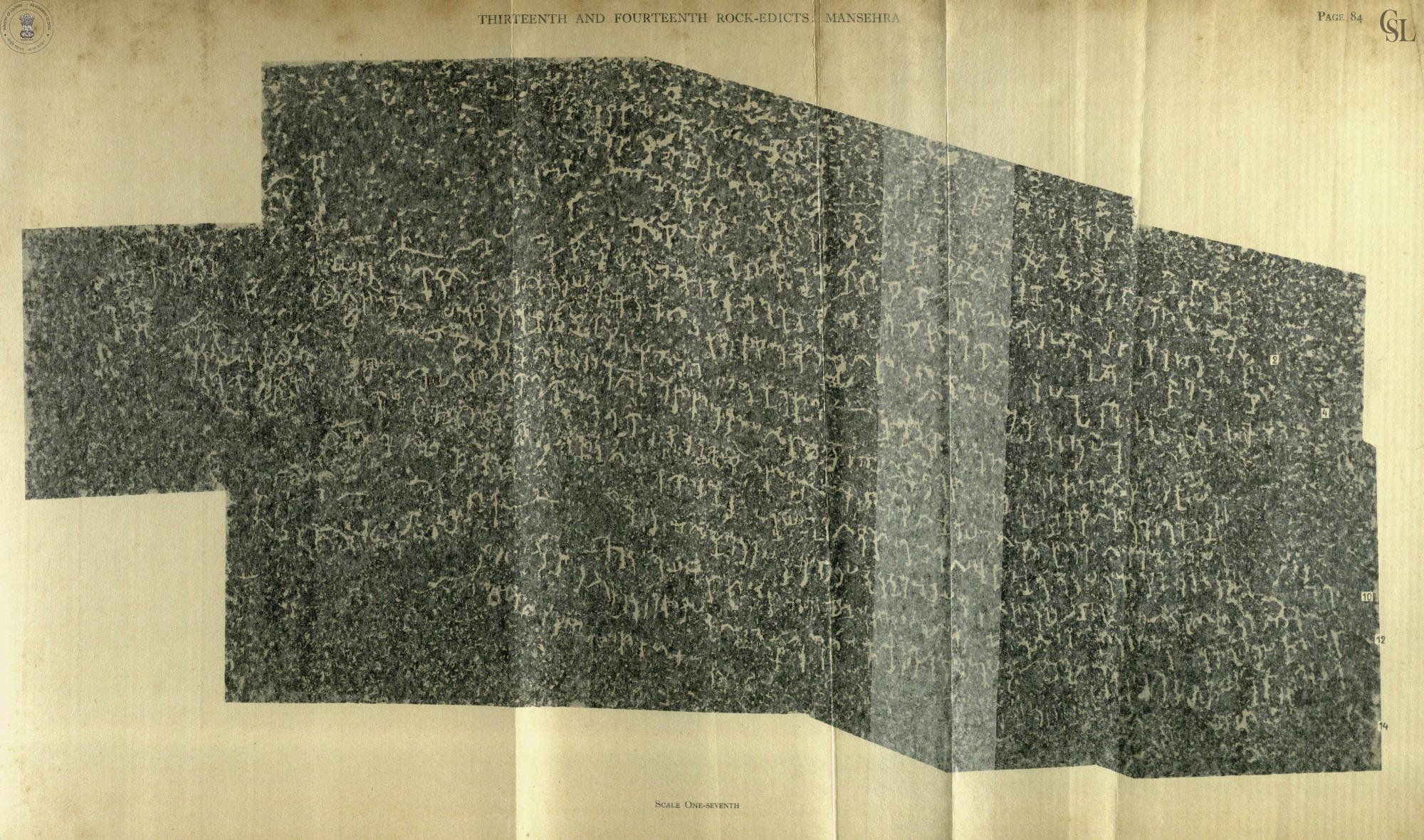
	FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI
1	(A) · · · · · · · सि पवतिस देवानंपिय · · · · · ना लाजिना
	लिखा ' ' ' ' वं श्वालियतु पन्नोह ' ' ' ' '
2	(c) नी पि च समाजे ' ' ' समाज ' द ' ' ' (E) ' ' '
	पि चु ' ' ' तिया समाजा साधुमता देव ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
3	पियद्सिने लाजिने (F) मह पिय पिय नि
	पानसत ' ' ' आलभियसु सूपराये
4	(G) से अज अदा इयं धंमिलिपी लिता तिं आलिय आलिय
	तिंनि पानानि पद्मा नी ज्ञालंभियसंति
1	(A) [si ³ pava]tasi [D]e[v]ā[na]mp[iy] [nā lājinā l]i[khā]
2	(C) [no pi cha sam]ā[je] [samā]ja [d] (E) [pi chu] [t]i[y]ā [sam]ā[jā] s[ā]dhu-matā Dev
3	[Piyadasine lā]j[ine] (F) [mah] Piy[a] [n]i
	[p]āna-[sa]ta[ā]labhiyisu sūpaṭhāy[e]
4	(G) se a[ja] adā [iyam dha]m[ma]-lipī likhitā tim [āla]bh[iy] [t]imni pānāni pachhā n[o] āl[am]bhiyisa[m]t[i] 4
	SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI
1	(A) सवत विजितिस देवानंपियस पियदिसने ल ' ' श्रथा
	· · · · · · · · · · · तियोके नाम योनलाजा
2	ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदिसना
	· · · · · · · सा च पसुचिकिसा च (B) · · · धानि

¹ Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [Devanampriyena Priyadraśina]; see ZDMG, 44. 704.

² The actual reading was perhaps nikain, which would correspond to nikyain at Kālsī.

³ The name of the hill on which the Dhauli record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been Khepimgala as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugada rock; see the Jaugada edict I, A.

⁴ ālābhi° Senart, ālabhi° Bühler.





SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI



अप्ति मुनिसोपगानि पसुञ्जोपगानि च अतत निध सवत हालापिता च लोपापिता च (c) मूल '''' वत हालापिता च

4 लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च लोपापितानि पटिभोगाये ' ' ' नं

- 1 (A) [sa]vata [v]i[ji]tasi [D]e[v]ānampiyasa Piyadasi[ne 1] [athā] [t]iyoke nāma Yo[na]-lājā
- 2 [e] vā [p]i [ta]sa Amtiyo[ka]sa sāmamtā lājāne savat[a D]evā[namp]i[ye]na P[i]yadasi[nā].....[s]ā cha p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā] cha (B)....dhāni

3 ān[i m]u[nisopa]gāni pasu-opagān[i] cha atata na[thi savata hā]lāpit[ā] cha [lo]pāp[i]tā [cha] (C) mū[l] v[a]t[a] hālāpitā [cha]

4 lo[p]āpitā cha (D) ma[g]e[su udu]pānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopā[p]itāni p[a]tibhogāye......[na]m

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आनापिय ' (C) ' ' ' तं विजितिस मे युता लजुके ' ' ' ' ' '
- 2 पंचतु पंचतु वसेतु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अंनाये पि कंमने हेवं इमाये धंमानुसिथये (D) साधु मातापितिसु सुसूसा म
- 3 नातिसु च वंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु अपवियता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च ' ' निस युतानि आनपिसति हेतुते च वियंज ' ' ' '
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me iyfa]m ānāpfayli¹..(C).... [ta v]ifj]itfa]si m[e] yutfā] lafj]u[k]e.......
- 2 pamchasu pamchasu vasesu anusayānam nikhamāvū athā amnaye pi [ka]m[ma]ne hevam imā[y]e [dham]mānus[ath]iy[e] (D) [s]ādh[u] māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su su[s]ūs[ā m].....
- 3 nātisu cha bambhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālambhe sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā]² apa-bh[am]datā sādhu (E) p[a]lisā pi cha [nas]i y[u]t[ān]i ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti [he]tut[e] ch[a] vi[yamja].....

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि विदिते व पानालंभे विहिसा च भूतानं नातिसु असंपिटपित समनवाभनेसु असंपिटपित
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदिसने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेलिघोसं छहो धंमघोसं विमानदसनं हथीनि अगिकंधानि अंनानि च दिवियानि

ल्पानि दसयित सुनिसानं (०) आदिसे बहुहि वससतेहि नो हुतपुल्वे तादिसे अज विदते देवानंपियस पियदिसने लाजिने धंमानुसिषया

अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिस संपरिपति समनवाभनेस संपरिपति

मातिपित्सससा वृदसस्सा (D) एस अने च बहविधे

धंमचलने विदते (E) वहियमित चेव देवानंपिये पियदमी लाजा धंमचलनं इमं (F) पुता पि चु नित पनित ' च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने

पवढियसंति येव धंमचलनं इमं आक्षपं धंमिस सीलिस च चिठित धंमं अनुसासिसंति (G) एस हि सेठे कंमे या धंमानुसासना (H) धंमचलने

नो होति असीलस (I) से इमस अठस वढी अहीनि च साधू (J) एताये अठाये

इयं लिखिते इमस अठस वढी युजंतू हीनि च मा अलोचियसू

(K) द्वादस वसानि अभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने यं इध लिखिने

(A) atikamtam amtalam bahuni vasa-satāni vadhite va pānā[la]mbhe vihisā cha bhūtānam nātisu asampatipati samana-bābha[ne]su asampatipati

(B) se aja Devänampiyasa Piyadasine läjine dhamma-chalanena bheli-ghosam a[h]o dhamma-[gho]sam vimana-dasanam hathini [a]gi-kamdhani amnani cha [di]vi[y ani

lūpān[i] dasayitu munisānam (C) ād[i]se b[a]hūhi vasa-sa[t]ehi no hūta-puluve tādise aja va[dhite De]vānampiyasa Piy[a]dasine lājin[e] dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā

an[āla]mbhe pānānam avihisā bhūtānam nātisu sampatipat[i sama]na-b[ā]bhanesu 1 sampațipati m[a]t[i]-pitu-sususa vu[dha]-sususa (D) esa amne cha ba[h]uvidhe

dh[a]mma-chalane vadhite (E) vadhayis[a]ti cheva Devānampiye Piyada[s]ī 1[ā]jā dhamma-chalanam imam (F) putā pi chu anati [panati] . . [cha] Devānampiyasa Piyadasine läjine

pavadhayisamti yeva dhamma-chalanam imam ā-k[a]pam dhammasi [s]īlasi ch[a chlifthlitu [dhammam a]nus[ā]sisamftli (G) esa h[i] se[the kam]me yā dhammānusāsanā (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu

no hoti asīlasa (I) se imasa athasa v[a]dhī * ahīni ch[a] sā[dhū] 5 (J) et[āy]e [aṭhāy]e iyam likhite imasa athasa vadhī yujamtū hīni cha mā alochayisū 6

8 (K) duvādasa vasāni abhisitasa Devānampi[ya]sa Piyadasine lājine yam i [idha] likhite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

(A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) क्याने दुकले (C) ' ' कयानस से दुकलं कलेति (D) से में बहुके कयाने कटे (E) तं ये मे पुता व

^{1 -}bambhanesu Bühler.

^a The Kālsī version reads panātikyā.

⁶ 'yisu Senart and Bühler.

² cha Senart and Bühler.

^{*} vudhī Bühler. 5 sādhu Senart and Bühler.

⁷ Read perhaps iyam.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI



नती व ' ' च तेन ये अपितये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवितसंति से सुकटं कर्छति (F) ए हेत देसं पि हापियसित से दुकटं कर्छति (G) पापे हि नाम

अ सुपदालये (म) से ऋतिकंतं ऋंतलं नो हूतपुलुवा धंममहामाता नाम (I) से तेदसवसाभिसितेन मे धंममहामाता नाम कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु

4 वियापटा धंमाधियानाये धंमवितये हितसुखाये च धंमयुतस योनकंबीचगंधालेसु लिटिकपितेनिकेसु ए वा पि अने आपलंता (E) भटिमयेसु

वाभनिभियेसु अनाथेसु महालकेसु च हितसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिबोधाये वियापटा से (L) बंधनबधस पटिविधानाये अपलिबोधाये मोखाये च

- 6 इयं अनुबंध पजा ति व कटाभीकाले ति व महालके ति व वियापटा से (M) हिंद च बाहिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु स्रोलोधनेसु से ए वा पि भातीनं में भगिनीनं व
- 7 अंनेसु वा नातिसु सवत वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति व धंमाधिषाने ति व दानसयुते व सवपुठवियं धंमयुतिस वियापटा इसे धंममहामाता (0) इसाये अठाये
- 8 इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलिंदितीका होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु
- 1 (A) [Dev]ānampiye Piyadasī lājā h[eva]m āhā (B) kayāne dukale (C) k[a]y[ā]n[a]sa s[e] dukalam kal[e]ti (D) se me b[ah]uke kayāne kaṭe (E) tam ye me [p]ut[ā] va

2 n[a]t[ī¹ va]... m cha t[e]na ye apatiye me āva-kapam tathā anuvatisamti s[e] sukaṭam kachh[am]ti (F) e heta d[esa]m pi hāpayisat[i] se dukaṭam kachhati (G) pā[p]e hi [nāma]

3 supadālaye (H) s[e] at[ikam]tam amtalam no hūta-puluvā dhamma-mahāmātā nāma (I) se tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena me dhamma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā (J) te sava-pāsamde[su]

4 v[i]y[āpaṭā] dhammādhithān[ā]ye dhamma-[va]dhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhamma-yutas[a] Yona-Kambocha-Gamdhālesu Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu e vā pi amne āpalamtā ² (K) bhati[mayesu]

5 bābha[n]ibhi[yes]u anāthesu ma[hāla]kesu cha h[i]t[a]-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye a[pa]libodhāye viyā[pa]tā se³ (L) bamdhana-[ba]dhas[a] p[a]ti[vidhānā]ye apalib[o]dhāye mokhāye cha

6 iya[m] anubamdh[a] p[aj]ā ft]i [va ka]ṭābhīkā[le] ti va mahālake ti va viyāpaṭā se (M) hida cha bāhilesu cha nagalesu savesu s[a]vesu olodhanes[u me] e vā pi bhāt[ī]nam me bhaginīnam va

¹ nat[i] Bühler. ² āpalamta Bühler.

* pa[ja] Bühler. 6 bhātinam Bühler.

³ Here, and at the end of section L, Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) joins viyāpatāse into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in -āsaḥ. In the pillar-edict VII, Y (twice) and CC, viyāpatāse actually occurs. But, as pointed out by Michelson (AJP, 32. 442 f.), the case may after all be different at Dhauli, because the other versions have te in the place of se.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



7 amnesu vā [nāt]i[su sava]t[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (N) e iyam dhamm[a-n]isite ti va dhammādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyam dha[m]ma-yutasi viyāpaṭā ime dhamma-mahām[ā]tā (O) [i]m[ā]ye aṭhāye

iyam dhamma-lip[ī] li[kh]i[tā] chila-thitīk[ā ho]tu t[athā] cha me pa[jā anu]vatatu

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकांतं श्रांतलं नी हूतपुलुवे सवं कालं अठकांने व पिटवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं ''' मानस मे

थंते ओलोधनिस गभागालिस वचिस विनीतिस उयानिस च सवत पिटवेदका जनस अउं पिटवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस अउं कलामि हकं

अपि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठिस विवादे व निभ्तती वा संतं यिलसाया

4 ज्ञानंतिलयं पिटवेदेतिवये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसर्थे (E) निध हि मे तोमे उठानिस अठसंतीलनाय च (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते

(J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (E) निष हि कंमत ' सवलोकहितेन (L) छं च किछि पलकमामि हकं किंति भूतानं आनियं येहं ति

हिंद च कानि मुख्यामि पलत च स्वगं आलाध्यंतू ति (м) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च पुता पपोता मे पलकमंतू

7 सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं छांनत छागेन पलकमेन

1 (A) Dev[ānamp]iye Pi[yada]sī lājā [he]vam [ā]hā (B) atikam[tam a]m[ta]lam no [h]ū[ta]-puluve s[a]vam kālam aṭha-ka[m]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D) sa[va]m [kālam].... [māna]sa¹ me

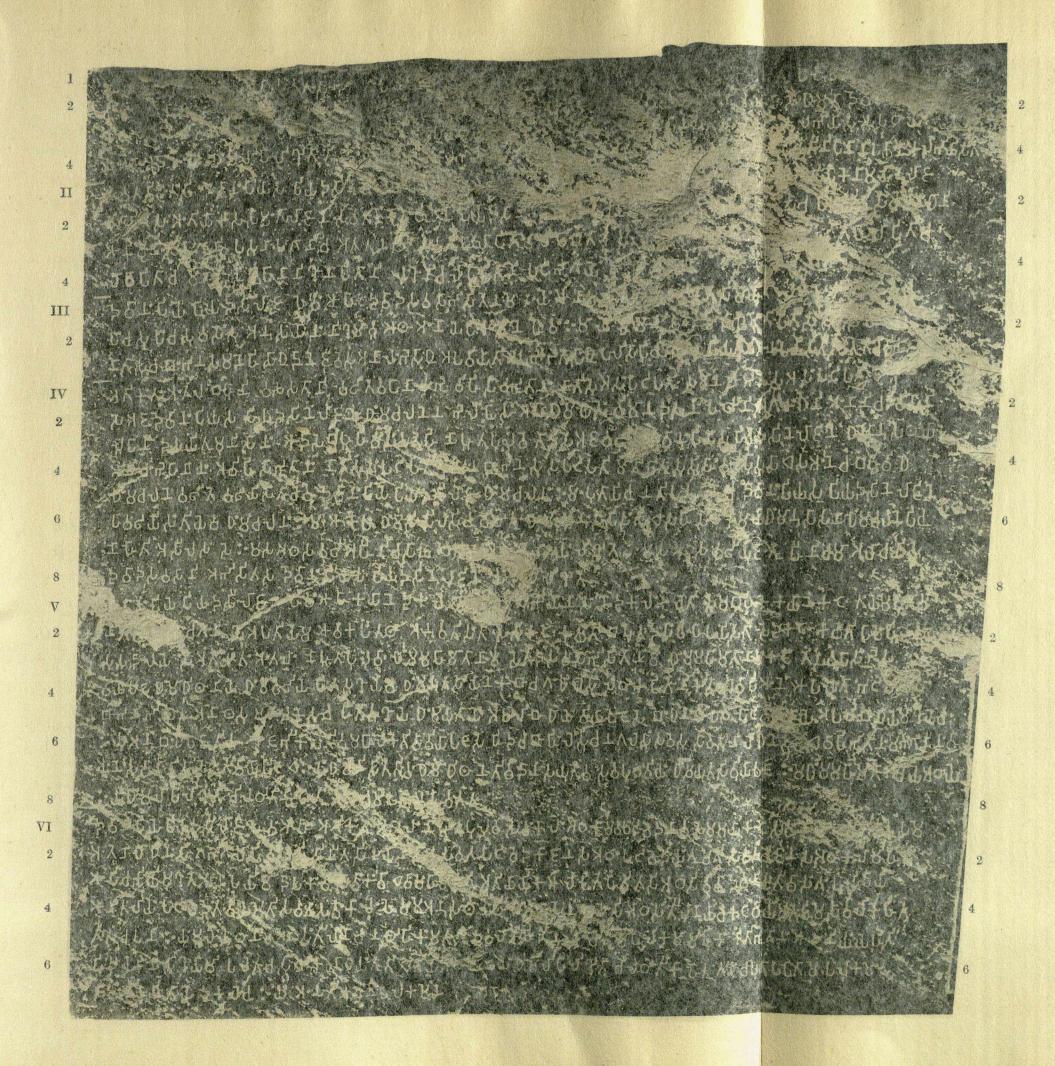
amte olodh[a]nasi ga[bhā]g[āla]si v[achas]i [v]inītasi [u]y[ā]n[asi cha sa]vata paṭivedakā janasa aṭham [pa]ṭived[a]yamtu m[e] ti (E) sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]nasa

atham kalāmi hsakalm

3 (F) am pi cha ki[m]chhi mukh[a]te ānapay[ā]mi dāpakam v[ā sā]v[a]kam vā e vā mahām[āteh]i atiyāyike ālopite hoti tasi aṭhasi v[i]vāde va [n]ijhatī vā samtam palisāvā ^a

4 āna[m]taliyam paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] me ti savata savam kālam (G) heva[m] me anusathe (H) nath[i hi m]e [tos]e u[ṭhāna]si aṭha-samtīlanāya cha (I) kaṭaviyam[at]e hi me sava-loka-hite





SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI



(J) tasa cha pana iyam müle [u]thän[e cha a]tha-samtīl[a]n[ā] cha (K) nathi hi kammata.. [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena (L) [am] ch[a kichhi] p[a]lakamāmi hakam kimti bhūtānam ā[na]niyam yeha[m] ti

[h]i[da] cha [k]ān[i] sukhayāmi pal[a]ta cha svag[am āl]ādhayamtū ti (M) et[ā]y[e aṭhāye i]yam dhamma-lipī likhitā ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tīkā hotu ta[th]ā cha putā papotā

me palakama[m]t[u]1

7 [sava-loka]-hitäye (N) dukale chu iyam amnat[a] a[g]en[a pa]lakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

(△) देवानंपिये पियद्सी लाजा सवत इद्धति सवपासंडा वसेवू ति (३) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधी च इद्धंति (०) मुनिसा च

2 उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा (D) ते सवं वा एकदेसं व कछंति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने अस निष सयमे भावसुधी च नीचे वाढं

(A) [D]evānam[p]iye Piy[a]dasī lājā savata ichhat[i sava-p]āsam[dā va]sevū ti (B) save h[i] t[e sa]yamam [bh]āv[a]-sudhī cha ichhamti (C) mun[i]sā ch[a]

[u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā uchāvucha-lāgā (D) te savam vā ek[a]-de[sam va kachham]ti (E) vipul[e] pi chā² dāne asa n[athi sa]yame [bh]āva-sudhī cha nīche bāḍham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

(A) अतिकंतं अंतलं लाजाने विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) ' त मिगविया अंनानि च एदिसानि अभिलामानि हुवंति नं (C) से देवानंपिये

पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते निखमि संबोधि (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) ततेस

होति समनवाभनानं दसने च दाने च वृढानं दसने च

हिलंनपिटिविधाने च जानपदस जनस दसने च धंमानुसयी च ' ' ' ' ' पुछा च तदोपया (F) एसा भुये अभिलामे होति देवानंपियस पियद्सिने लाजिने भागे अंने

1 (A) [atika]m[ta]m amt[ala]m lāj[ā]n[e] v[i]h[ā]la-yātam nāma [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u] (B)
.. [ta miga]viy[ā] a[m]nāni ch[a] edisāni a[bh]i[l]āmāni huvamti nam (C) se.
Devānampiye

2 P[i]y[a]dasī lājā d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]o [n]ikhami Sambodh[i]³ (D) [t]e[na]tā dha[mma-yātā] (E) [tat]esa [ho]ti samana-bābhanānam d[a]s[a]n[e] ch[a] d[āne] cha v[u]dhānam dasane cha

1 °mātu Senart, °maintu Bühler.

² cha Bühler; the reading chu is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugada version has chā.

³ sambodhī Bühler.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



h[i]lamna-p[a]tividhā[ne¹ cha jāna]padasa janasa [dasa]ne cha dhammānu[sath]ī [cha] [p]u[chh]ā cha [ta]d[o]payā (F) e[sā bhuy]e² abhilāme hoti Devānampiyasa Piyada[s]ine lājine bhāge [am]ne

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1	(A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अधि जने उचावुचं मंगलं
	कलेति आवाध '''' वीवाह ''' जुपदाये पवासिस
2	एताये अंनाये च हेदिसाये जने बहुकं मंगलं क ' ' (c) ' ' चु इथी बहुकं
	च बहुविधं च खुदं च निलिठियं च मंगलं कलेति
3	(D) से कटविये चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेरिसे मंग '' (F) '' यं
	चु खो महाफले ए धंममंगले (G) ततेस दासभरकिस संम्यापरिपति
4	गुलूनं अप ' ' ' में समनवाभनानं दाने एस अने च ' ' '
	धंममंगले नाम (म) से वतिवये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि
5	सुवामिकेन पि ' ' ' ' ले आव तस अठस निफतिया (I) अथि च हेवं
	वुते दाने साधू ति (ग) से निध ' ' ' ' अनुगहे वा
6	आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे ''(K)' ''' भि '''' तिनेन सहायेन
	पि वियोवदित ' ' ' ि तसि पक्तलनिस इयं ' ' ' '
P	ं राप्ता राप्ता स्वाधितवे (L) राप्ता राप्ता रव राप्ता स्वगम
1	大学的大学的大学的大学的大学的大学的大学的大学的大学的大学的大学的大学的大学的大
	श्रालधी
1	(A) Devānampiye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) [athi ja]ne uchāvucham mamgalam
	kal[e]ti [āb]ādha 3 [v]ī[vāha] [ju]padāye 4 pavās[a]si
2	etāye amnāye ch[a] hedisāye j[a]n[e] bahukam mamgalam k[a] (C)
197	[chu] ⁵ ithī b[ahuka]m cha [ba]hu[v]idh[am] ch[a kh]ud[am ⁶ cha nilaṭhi]yam cha
	mamgalam kaleti
3	(D) se kat[a]viye che[va kh]o m[a]mgale (E) [a]pa-phale chu kho esa h[e]dise
	mam[ga] . (F) . [ya]m [ch]u kho mah[a]-ph[a]le e [dha]mma-mamgale (G)
	[ta]te[sa d]ā[sa-bhaṭakas]i saṁmyā-paṭipat[i]
4	[gulū]nam a[pa] [me] samana-bābhan[ā]nam dāne esa amne ch[a]
	[dhamma]-mamga[le nāma] (H) [se] vata[viye p]it[inā pi pute]na
5	pi bhātinā pi suvāmike[na p]i[l]e [ā]va tasa aṭhas[a] niphatiy[ā] (I) [a]thi [cha o
Č	heva]m v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (J) [s]e [na]thi [anu]ga[h]e v[ā]
6	[ād]i[se dha]mma-dāne dham[mānugahe] 10 [m]i
	sahāye[na p]i viyovadita 11 i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]rii
7	[l]ādhayitave (L)ta[v][svagasa] āl[adh]ī
	¹ hilanna- Senart and Bühler; -pați° looks like -peți°, and may be meant for -prați°.
	² esa bhūye Bühler. For the nom. sing. masc. esā see above, p. 15, n. 7.

4 [j]opadāye Bühler.

⁶ khuda[kam] Bühler. ⁷ [cha] Bühler. ⁸ tā Senart, [ta] Bühler.

⁵ [eta] tu Bühler.

11 Restore viyovaditaviye.

9 pa Senart, p[i] Bühler.

³ ābādhe Senart and Bühler.

10 dhammanu° Senart and Bühler.

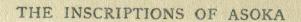




TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

1	
	ं जिल्ला वा किटी वा इद्धित तद्वाये आ । जिल्ला
2	· · · · · मूसं सुसूसतु में धंम · · · · · · मे (B) एतकाये यसी वा किटी
	वा इ ' ' ' ' ि पलकामित देवानंपिये पालितकाये '
3	किंति सकले अपपिलसवे हुवेया ति (D) पिलस '''''(E) दुकले
	····ं न अगेन · · · · न सवं च पिलितिजितु
4	खुदकेन वा उसरेन वा (म) उसरेन चु दुकलतले
1	(A) [Devānam]piye Piyad[a]s[ī lājā yaso v]ā [k]iṭī vā n [ha]m mamn[ate]i [yaso] vā k[iṭ]ī [v]ā ichhati tadatvāye [ā] [ja]ne
2	[sūsa]m [susū]s[at]u [m]e dhamma [me] (B) etakāye [yaso vā kiṭī v]ā ii [pa]lakama[t]i Devānampiye pāl[atik]ā[y]e
3	kimti saka[le apa-pal]isave [hu]v[eyā t]i (D) pa[l]isa (E) [du]ka[le]
4	t[a agena] [na sa]vam cha paliti[j]i[tu] khudakena v[ā] usaṭena vā (F) u[saṭena] chu [dukalatale]
	FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI
1	(A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंपियेन पियदिसना लाजिना लिखा '''''
	(m) La dellisal dalla la delle la
	अधि मिक्निन '''' हि सवे सवत घटिते
2	अधि मिक्सिन ''''' हि सवे सवत घटिते (c) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियस '''''' (D) अधि
	अधि मिक्सेन ''''' हि सवे सवत घटिते (c) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियस ''''''' (D) अधि ''''' वुते तस ''''' याये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमिति लिखिते स '''' सं
2	अधि मिक्सिन ''''' हि सवे सवत घटिते (c) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियस '''''' (D) अधि
2	য়िष मिक्सेन '''' हि सवे सवत घटिते (c) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियस ''''' (D) अधि '''' वुते तस '''' याये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमिति लिखिते स '''' सं '' लोचियतु '''' कला '' ति (A) iyam dhamma-lipī De[v]ānampiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā likhā]
2 3	अधि मिक्सेन ''''' हि सवे सवत घटिते (c) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियस ''''''' (D) अधि ''''' वृते तस ''''' याये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमिति लिखिते स '''' सं ''लोचियतु '''' कला ''' ति
2 3 1 2	য়िष मिक्सिन '''' हि सवे सवत घटिते (c) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियस ''''' (D) अधि ''' वुते तस '''' याये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमिति लिखिते स ''' सं '' लोचियतु '''' कला '' ति (A) iyam dhamma-lipī De[v]ānampiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā likhā]
3	अधि मिक्सिन '' 'हि सवे सवत घटिते (c) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियिस '' '' '' '' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
2 3 1 2	अधि मिक्सिन '''' हि सवे सवत घटिते (c) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियस ''''' (D) अधि ''' वृते तस '''' याये क्षिति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमिति लिखिते स ''' सं ''लोचिंगु ''' कला 'ति (A) iyam dhamma-lipī De[v]ānampiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā likhā]
2 3 1 2	স্থামি মাদ্দিনল ''' 'हि सवे सवत घटिते (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियस '''' '(D) স্থামি
2 3 1 2	अधि मिक्रिमेन '' हि सवे सवत घटिते (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियस '' (D) अधि

Restore likhiyisämi.
 sam Senart and Bühler. ² Or patipajeyāti may be one word, as suggested above, p. 71, n. 14.







TRANSLATION

The white one.1

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसिलयं महामात नगलवियोहालका
- 2 वतविय (B) छां किछि द्खामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कंमन पटिपादयेहं
- 8 दुवालते च आलभेहं (c) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि अठिस अं तुफेसु
- 4 अनुसिष (D) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं आयत पनयं गर्छम सु मुनिसानं (E) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (F) अथा पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन हिदलोकिक-
- 6 पाललोकिकेन यूजेवू ति तथा ''' मुनिसेसु पि इक्षामि हकं (G) नो च पापुनाथ आवग-
- 7 मुके इयं ऋहे (H) केछ व एकपुलिसे ' ' ' नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं (I) देखत हि तुफे एतं
- 8 सुविहिता पि (J) नितियं एकपुलिसे पि श्रिष ये बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा पापुनाति (E) तत होति
- श्रिकस्मा तेन वधनंतिक अंने च ''' हु जने दिवये दुखीयित (L) तत इक्टितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मर्फ पटिपादयेमा ति (M) इमेहि चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति इसाय आमुलोपेन
- 11 निट्रिलयेन तूलनाय अनावृतिय आलिसयेन किलमधेन (N) से इंडितियये कितिं एते
- 12 जाता नी हुवेवु ममा ति (0) एतस च सवस मूले खनासुलीपे छातूलना च (P) नितियं ए किलंते सिया
- 13 न ते उगछ संचलितविये तु विटितविये एतिवये वा (Q) हेवंमेव ए दक्षेय तुफाक तेन वतिवये
- 14 आनंने देखत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसिष (R) से महाफले ए तस संपरिपाद
- 15 महाअपाये असंपिटपित (६) विपिटिपादयमीने हि एतं निष स्वगस आलिध नो लाजालिध

As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauli rock. Cf. the similar labels at Girnār and Kālsī, above, pp. 26 f. and 50.

COVERNOA OF INDIA

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI



- 16 (T) दुआहले हि इसस कंमस मे कुते मनोखतिलेके (U) संपटिपजमीने चु एतं स्वगं
- 17 आलाधियसय मम च आनितयं एह्य (V) इयं च लिपि तिसनखतेन सोतिवया
- 18 (W) अंतला पि च तिसेन खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सीतिवय (X) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे
- 19 चम्प संपरिपाद्यितवे (Y) एताये अठाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिंद एन
- 20 नगलवियोह।लका सस्वतं समयं यूजेवू ति ''' नस अकस्मा पलिबोधे व
- 21 अन्नत्मा पलिनिलेसे व नो सिया ति (Z) एताये च श्राठाये हवं ' ' ' मते पंचमु पंचमु वसे-
- 22 सु निषामियसामि ए अखबसे अचंडे सिबनालंभे होसित एतं अठं जानितु
- 23 कलंति अप मम अनुसर्थी ति (AA) उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये निखामियस ' ' ' '
- 24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि (BB) हेमेव तखिसलाते पि (CC) अदा आ ' ' ' '
- 25 ते महामाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा श्रहापयितु अतने कंमं एतं पि जानिसंति
- 26 तं पि तथा कलंति अय लाजिने अनुसयी ति
- 1 (A) [Devāna]mi[pi]y[asa vacha]nena Tosaliyam ma[hā]māta [naga]la[v]i[yo]hālak[ā]
- 2 [va]taviya (B) [aṁ kichhi dakhā]mi hakaṁ taṁ ichhāmi k[i]ṁ[t]i kaṁ[mana pa]ṭi[pāday]ehaṁ ¹
- 3 duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la etasi aṭha]si am tuph[esu]
- 4 anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahüsu pāna-sahasesum ² ā[yata] ³ p[a]na[yam ga]chh[e]ma su munisānam (E) save
- 5 munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[in kimti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena hidalo[kika]-
- 6 pālalokike[na] y[ūjev]ū [t]i [tathā...muni]sesu pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no cha pāpunātha āv[a]-ga-
- 7 [m]u[k]e⁶ [iyam athe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-puli[se]... nāti⁷ e[ta]m se pi desam no savam (I) de[kha]t[a hi t]u[phe] etam
- 8 suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyam s eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e] bamdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā pāpunāti (K) tata hoti

¹ pațivedaº Senart and Bühler.

³ āyatā Senart and Bühler.

⁵ Restore sava-munisesu.

⁷ Read pāpunāti, as at Jaugada.

^{2 °}sesu Senart and Bühler.

^{4 °}lokikāye Senart and Bühler.

^{*} ava-gamake Senart and Bühler.

⁸ niti iyam Senart and Bühler.

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THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



akasmā tena badhana[m]tik[a] amne cha hu jane da[v]iye dukhīyati (L) tata ichhitavive

tuphehi kimti m[a]jham patipādayemā ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no sampatipajati 10

isāva āsulopena

ni[thū]liyena tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena (N) se ichhitaviye kitim 3 ete

[jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (0) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū]l[a]nā cha 12 (P) niti[ya]m e kilamte siyā

[na] te uga[chha] samchalitaviy[e] tu va[t]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevammeva e 13 da[kheya]6 t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye

ānamne dekhata hevam cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānampiyasa anusathi (R) se

mah [ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [sampa]tipāda

mahā-apāye asampaṭipati (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi i etam nathi svagasa [ā]l[a]dhi 15 no laj[a]la[dh]i 16

(T) dua[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kamm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke s (U) sa[m]pati-

pajam[i]n[e] chu [etam] svaga[m]

ālādha[yi]sa[tha mama cha a ananiyam ehatha (V) iyam cha l[i]p[i] 10 t[i]sa-17 na[kha]tena so[ta]viy[ā] 11

(W) amta[l]a [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na 12 kha]nasi kha[nas]i ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevam

cha kalamtam tuphe

chaghatha sampa[ti]pad[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[a]ye athaye 13 iya[m 1]i[p]i likhit[a 19 hlida ena

nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]atam samayam yūjevū 14 t[i] [na]sa 15 akasmā 20 [pa]libodhe va

[a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā ti (Z) etāye cha athāye haka[m] mate 16

p[a]mchasu pamchasu [va]sesu [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[cham]d[e] s[a]khinālambhe hosati etam

atham jānitu [ta]thā

kala[m]ti atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a] athāye 23 ni khāma yisa

hedisameva 17 vagam no cha atikāmayisati timni vasāni (BB) hemeva Takha silāte

pi (CC) [a]dā a

te mahāmātā nikhamisamti anusayānam tadā ahāpayitu atane kammam etam pi 25 jānisamti

tam pi ta[th]ā kalamti a[tha] lājine anusathī ti

3 Read kimti, which is Senart's reading; kiti Bühler.

4 Read ugachhe. 5 dakhiye Senart and Bühler. ⁶ amnam ne Senart and Bühler.

Lüders (SPAW, 1913, 1013, n. 1) has shown that hi must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugada separate edict I, T. Senart and Bühler read ominehi.

8 mana- Senart, mane- Bühler. 9 t.... for mama cha Senart, [ta] ... Bühler. 10 lipī Bühler.

11 °viyain Senart, °viya Bühler. 12 stisle Bühler. 13 athäye Senart and Bühler. 14 yujevū Senart and Bühler.

15 Restore ena janasa; nagala-janasa Senart and Bühler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my materials.

16 Read mahāmātain; dhainmate Senart and Bühler.

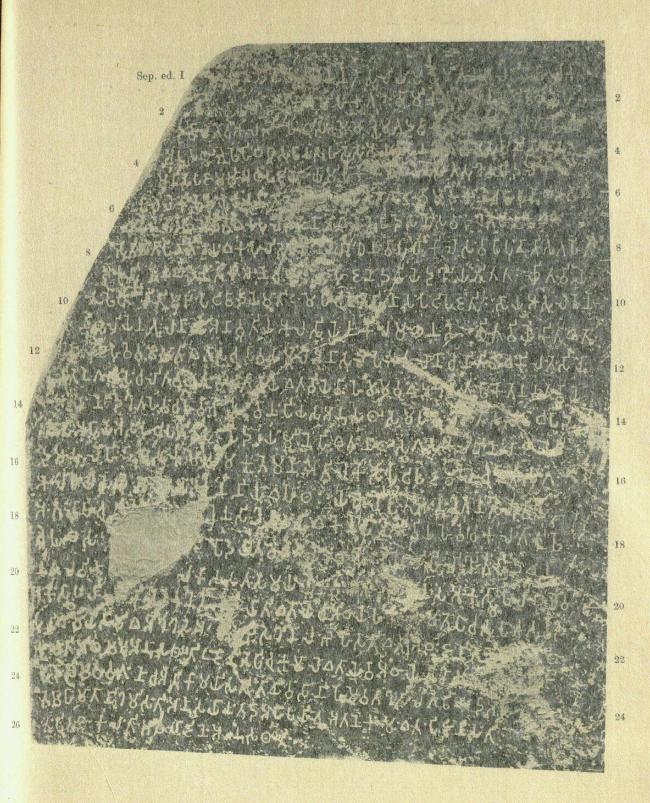
¹ bamdha° Senart and Bühler. ² nithūli° Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ hedisammeva Senart and Bühler.



DHAULI ROCK; LEFT COLUMN







FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI



TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Dēvānāmpriya, the Mahāmātras at Tōsalī, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to

accomplish by (various) means.3

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men,4 with the object of gaining the affection of men.5

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.⁶

(G) And you do not learn 7 how far this (my) object reaches.8

(H) Some single person only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion, 10 (but) not the whole.

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for. 11

1 Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsalī; see EI, 9. 286, and 15. 1. Prinsep (JASB, 7. 449) identified Tōsalī with the Τωσαλεῖ μητρόπολις of Ptolemy; but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, Ind. Alt., 2 (sec. ed.). 252, n. 2; Burnouf, Lotus, p. 673; Kern, JRAS, 1880. 384 f.; IA, 13. 382.

With nagala-viyohālaka cf. paura-vyāvahārika in the Kautiliya, p. 20, l. 13; see SPAW,

1914. 855.

3 The correct translation of this section is due to Senart; see Franke, GN, 1895. 537, and cf.

a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, E.

Here, and in the pillar-edicts (IV, C; VII, M, N), the participle ayata (= Skt. ayatta) seems to be used in the sense of vyaprita. Cf. the rock-edict V, J to N, and the pillar-edict VII, Y to AA.

⁵ Previous translators took sumunisanam to be one word: 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men', Lüders is no doubt right in explaining

su = Skt. svit; see SPAW, 1914. 856, and cf. su in the Dhauli separate edict II, F.

6 Cf. Aśvaghōsha's Buddhacharita, II, 35: स्वास्यः प्रजान्यो हि यथा तथैव सर्वप्रजान्यः शिवमाश्रशंत ;

'as for his own children, even so (king Śuddhōdana) desired welfare for all (his) subjects.

⁷ Bühler rendered pāpunātha by 'understand', and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 857) more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section J of the first edict it means 'to suffer'; see my note on the Jaugada separate edict I, K.

8 Bühler translated ava-gamuke iyam athe by '(all) that the sense (of these words) implies', and Lüders by 'how far this matter reaches', i.e. 'how far this matter is attended to'. Cf. ava

ite pi cha me āvuti in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict IV, l. 15.

This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide an individual case. Senart compared eka-pulise (= eka-munise at Jaugada) with the Buddhist term prithagjana (see Childers, s.v. puthujjano), and Bühler rendered it by 'a private person'; see ZDMG, 41. 15. The expression eka-pulise or eka-munise, 'a single person', occurs again in section J (= K at Jaugada), where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section K (= L at Jaugada). In section W 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V; see also the second separate edict, N and O.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



(J) It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment 3 is (obtained) by him 4 accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: ⁵ envy, anger, ⁶ cruelty, hurry, want of practice, ⁷ laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(0) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you: 8 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king); 8 such and such is the instruction of Dēvānāmpriya.'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil.¹⁰

(S) For if one fails to observe this,¹² there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.¹²

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty? 13

As recognized by Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 859), nīti is here = daṇḍa-nīti. I connect the locative nītvām with asti; at Jaugada it is replaced by bāhuka, 'frequently'.

² Bühler translated palikilesa by 'trouble'. Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the Kautiliya the technical term for 'torture' is karman, and pariklēśayatah, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as karma kārayatah in the next preceding line.

³ The correct explanation of ba[m*]dhanamtika and daviye is due to Lüders; see SPAW,

1914. 861 f.

* As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16), one would expect tasa for tena. He proposed to supply praptam.

⁵ As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of jātāni is justified by etymology; see IA,

19. 89.

⁶ For āsulopa, 'anger' (literally: 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 60 f.

⁷ With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take āvūti (Dhauli) or āvuti (Jaugada) = Skt. āvritti, 'repetition'. In the pillar-edict IV, L, āvuti corresponds to Skt. āvukti, 'an order'.

⁸ Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative e corresponds to the demonstrative tena, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

⁹ Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read amnamne, which they divided into amnamne = Skt. $\bar{a}j\tilde{n}\bar{a}m$ nah (Senart and Bühler) or anyat + nah (Lüders).

¹⁰ Both at Dhauli and at Jaugada, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject

is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

As vipațipādayamīne corresponds to vipațipātayamtam at Jaugada, it must be a nominative sîngular absolute. The same applies to sampațipajamīne in section U, below, to anuvekhamāne in the Delhi-Töprā pillar-edict VII, P, and to vijinamane in the Kālsī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1011 ff.

12 For *āladhi* (= **ārāddhi*) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

¹³ In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895. 537 f., but explain duāhale as a nominative absolute, because in the Māgadha dialect the locative would end in -asi.

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI



(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.1

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation

Tishya.2

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus,3 you will be able4 to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times ⁵ (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering ⁶ nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men].

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years [a Mahāmātra] who will be neither harsh 8 nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers), 9 paying attention to this object, are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

(AA) But from Ujjayini also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose.... a person of the same description, 10 and he will not allow (more than)

three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from Takshaśilā also.

(CC) When these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसिलियं कुमाले महामाता च वतिवय (B) ऋं किछि देखामि हकं तं इ ' ' ' ' ' '
- 2 दुवालते च ज्ञालभेहं (c) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाला एतसि अउसि अं तुफेसु ' ' ' मम

1 Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, L.

2 i.e. three times per year; see the Dhauli separate edict II, N.

³ The forms kalamtam (here and in II, L and P), °pātayamtam (Jaugada separate edict I, S and T), samtam (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), nāsamtam (pillar-edict IV, M), and °pajamtam (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, PP) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.

⁴ Franke (VOJ, 9. 340 ff.) has shown that *chaghati* is the future of *chak*, a variant of the root sak. Cf. *chakiye* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, in the Sahasrām rock-inscription, l. 3, and in

the Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 5; also chakye, ibid., l. 6.

⁵ In the translation of sasvatam samayan I follow Kern (JRAS, 1880. 391) and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 864).

⁶ See above, p. 33, n. 8.

7 Cf. the rock-edict III, C.

8 Cf. Dhammapada, verse 408:

akakkasam viññāpanim giram sachcham udīraye l yāya nābhisaje kañchi tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam ll

The context shows that these are meant here, and that the Mahamatras were directed by the king to control them; see SPAW, 1914. 865 f.

10 See above, p. 40, n. 2.



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- 3 (E) अध पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये युजेव ति हेवं '''''
- 4 (F) सिया अंतानं अविजितानं विद्धंदे मु लाज अफेसु ' (G) ' ' ' मव इह्र मम अंतेसु ' ि पापुनेवु ते इति देवानंपिय ' ' अनुविगिन ममाये
- हवेवू ति अस्वसेवु च सुखंमेव लहेवु ममते नो दुखं हेवं ' नेवू इति खिमसिति ने देवानंपिये अफाका ति ए चिकिये खामतवे मम निमितं व च धंमं चलेव्
- 6 हिदलोक पललोकं च आलाधयेवू (H) एतिस अटिस हकं अनुसासामि तुफे अनने एतकेन हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ हि धिति पटिंजा च ममा
- ग अजला (1) से हेवं कटु कंमे चिलितिवये अस्वास ''' ि च तानि एन पापुनेवू इति अथ पिता तथ देवानंषिये अफाक अथा च अतानं हेवं देवानंषिये अनुकंपित अफे
- श्रथा च पजा हेवं मये देवानंपियस (J) से हकं अनुसासित छंदं च वेदित तुफाक देसावृतिके होसामि एताये अठाये (K) पिठकला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये च तेस
- 9 हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये (L) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं ञ्चालाधियस्य मम च ञ्चाननियं एहथ (M) एताये च ञ्चठाये इयं लिपि लिखिता हिद् एन महामाता स्वसतं सम
- 10 युजिसंति अख़ामनाये धंमचलनाये च तेस खंतानं (N) इयं च लिपि अनु-चातुंमासं तिसेन नखतेन सोतिवया (O) कामं चु खण्सि खनिस छंतला पि तिसेन एकेन पि
- 11 सोतविय (P) हेवं कलंतं तुफे चघच संपटिपाद्यितवे
 - 1 (A) Devānampiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyam kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B) am kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam tam i].....
- 2 duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi athasi am tuphe[s]u..... mama
- 3 (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakam ki[m]ti savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokikapālalokikāye¹ yujevū ti h[e]v[am]......
- 4 (F) siyā amtānam avijitānam ki-chha[mde] su lāja [aphesu] . . (G) m[a]va ² ichha mama amtesu . . . i ³ [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānamp[iy] [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
- 5 huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhammeva lahevu mamat[e] no dukha[m] h[e]va[m]

3 Restore kimti.

¹ Read -pālalokikena, as in the first separate edict, F.

² mave Bühler; read perhaps hevameva.

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI



... un[e]vū¹ iti khamisati² ne **Devānampiye** [aph]ākā³ ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitam [va]⁴ cha dhammam chalevū

6 hidaloka palaloka[m] cha ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe ana[n]e [e]takena hakam anusāsitu chhamdam cha veditu ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭimñā cha mamā

7 [a]jalā (I) s[e] hevam kaţu kamme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] i * [cha] tāni ena pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha **Devānampiy**[e] aphāka athā cha atānam * hevam **Devānampiy**e [a]nukampati aphe

athā cha pajā hevam may[e] **D[e]vānampiyasa** (J) se hakam anusāsitu [chha]mda[m] ch[a veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike hosāmi etāye aṭhāye ⁸ (K)

paţibalā hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-sukhāye cha [tesa]

9 hidalokika-pālalo[ki]kāye (L) hevam cha kalamtam tuphe svagam ālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyam ehatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iyam lipi likhitā hida e[na ma]hāmātā svasata[m sa]ma 9

yujisamti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhamma-chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amtānam (N) iyam cha lipi [anu]chātummāsam tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmam chu 10 [kha]nas[i] 11

khanasi amtalā pi tisena ekena [p]i

11 [so]taviya (P) hevam kala[m]tam [t]uphe chaghatha sampatipādayitave

TRANSLATION .

(A) At the word of Dēvānāmpriya, the prince (governor) and the Mahāmāiras at Tōsalī have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that and to accomplish by

(various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. to you.

(D) my

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus.....

(F) It might occur 12 to (my) unconquered borderers 13 (to ask): 'What does the

king desire 14 with reference to us?"

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that Dēvānāmpriya..... that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

¹ Restore pāpunevā. ² The syllable sa is entered above the line.

³ aphākam Senart and Bühler. ⁴ Senart and Bühler omit va. ⁵ Restore asvāsaniyāni.

⁶ The syllable nam is entered above the line. ⁷ paja Bühler.

8 athäye Senart and Bühler. 9 Read sasvatam samayam.

10 cha Senart and Bühler. 11 The syllable si is entered above the line.

Lüders showed that siyā is not the last word of section E, as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as huthā in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, D and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 866 ff.

¹³ Cf. the Kālsī rock-edict II, A; V, J; XIII, Q.

¹⁴ Kern (JRAS, 1880. 381) explained su by Skt. svit. Cf. gachhema su in the Dhauli separate edict I, D, and kinasu in the Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.



THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; that they may [learn] this, that Dēvānāmpriya will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

- (H) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) 4 by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i.e. my unshakable 5 resolution and yow.
- (I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them, in order that they may learn that Dövänämpriya is to them like a father, that Dövänämpriya loves them like himself, and that they are to Dövänämpriya like (his own) children.
- (J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces 7 for this object.
- (K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.
- (L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.
- (M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.
- (N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months * on (the day of) the constellation Tishya.*
- (O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person) 10 also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.
 - (P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

Here and at Jaugada, Senart and Bühler wrongly read mama te (in two words) instead of mamate, which, as Kern recognized, corresponds to the Prākrit ablative mamatto. See JRAS, 1880. 380, 382, 383; SPAW, 1914. 868; Pischel's Grammatik, § 415 f.

² As Bühler (ASSI, 1. 128, n. 24) remarked, either ne or aphākā is superfluous.

³ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, L. For chakiye see above, p. 97, n. 4.

⁴ Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.

⁵ ajala corresponds to achala at Jaugada, as loga (Jaugada separate edict II, ll. 7 and 13) to loka, libi (Delhi-Töprā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to lipi, hida (Kālsī, V, J and K) to hita, and dose (Kālsī, VI, H) to tose.

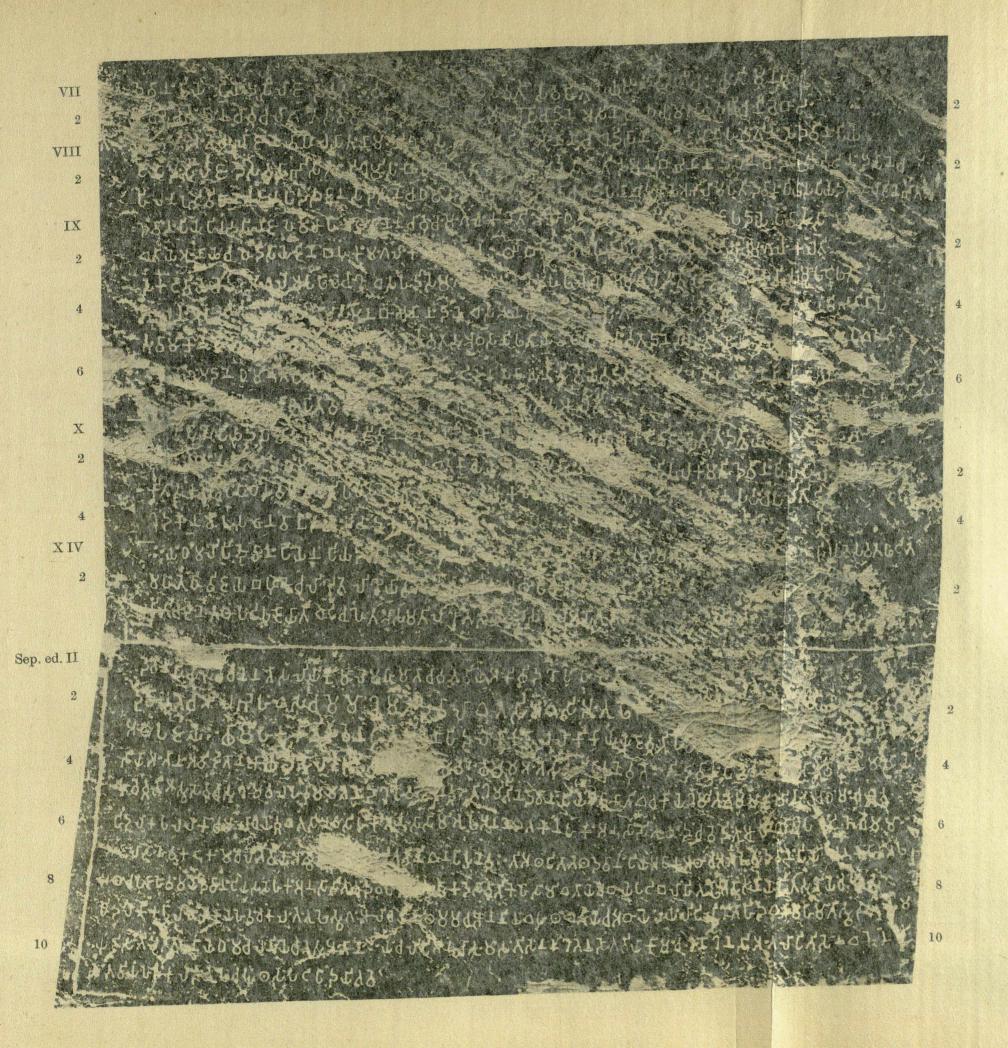
⁶ The neuter tani is improperly used for the masculine te, which is the reading of the Jaugada version.

⁷ Kern (JRAS, 1880. 384) translated: 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term desāvutika (Dhauli) or [saka]la-desā-āy[ut]ika (Jaugaḍa) see Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 28), who took āyuti = Skt. āyuktin, 'an official'. Cf. āvuti = Skt. āyukti, 'an order', in the pillaredict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the Mahāmātras whom Aśōka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī, and Takshaśilā; see the four last sections of the Dhauli separate edict I.

⁸ Cf. chātummāsī in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict V, ll. 11, 16, 18.

⁹ Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, V.

¹⁰ See above, p. 95, n. 9.







VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी खेपिंगलिस पवतिस देवानंपियेन पियदिसना लाजिना लिखापिता (B) हिंद नो बिडि जीवं ज्ञालिभितु पजोहितिवये

2 (C) नो पि च समाजे कटिवये (D) बहुकं हि दोसं समाजस द्रखित देवानंपिये पियद्सी लाजा (E) अधि पि चु एकतिया समाजा साधुमता देवानंपियस

उपयद्गिने लाजिने (F) पुलुवं महानसि देवानंपियस पियदिसने लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पानसतसहसानि आलिभियसु सूपठाये

4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता तिनि येव पानानि आलंभियंति दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चु मिगे नो धुवं (E) एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि

5 पञ्चा नो ज्ञालिभियसंति

1 (A) iyam dhamma-lipī Khepi[m]galasi pavatasi Devānampiyena Piyadasinā lājīnā likhāpitā (B) hida no kichhi jīvam ālabhi[t]u pajohitaviye

2 (C) no pi cha samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahukam hi dosam samājasa² drakhati³ Devānampiye Piyadasī lājā (E) athi pi chu ekatiyā samājā sādhu-matā Devānampiyasa

3 Piyadrasine lājine (F) puluvam mahā[nasa]si Devānampiyasa Piyadasine lājine anudivasam bah[ū]ni pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni ālabhiyisu sūpa[ṭh]āye

4 (G) se aja adā iyam dhamma-lipī likhitā timni yeva pānāni āla[m]bhiyamti b duve majūlā eke mige se pi chu mige no dhuvam (H) etāni pi chu timni pānāni

5 pachhā no āla[bh]iyisamti

TRANSLATION

- (A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written on the Khōpingala smountain by king Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.
 - (B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.
 - (C) And also no festival meeting must be held.
 - (D) For king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin sees much evil in festival meetings.
- (E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.

² samājasi Bühler.

⁴ Piyadasine Senart and Bühler. The curve at the bottom of da is probably intended for r.

⁵ ālabhiyainti Senart and Bühler.

¹ Khapingalasi Bühler, but the e of khe is perfectly distinct.

³ A horizontal stroke, which may be meant for r, seems to be attached both at the top and at the bottom of da; dakhati Senart and Bühler.

⁶ The etymological meaning of this name is: '(which appears) brown in the air;' see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 92.



(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) सवत विजित्तिस देवानंपियस पियद्सिने लाजिने ए वा पि छांता छाषा चोडा पंडिया सतियपुते कार्या अंतियोके नाम

योनलाजा ए वा पि तस अंतियोक्स सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदिसना लाजि ' ' ' चिकिसा च

उ पसुचिकिसा च (B) ज्ञोसधानि ज्ञानि सुनिसोपगानि पसुज्ञोपगानि च ज्ञाति निथ सवत * * * * * * * च ज्ञात निथ

4 सत्र हालापिता च लोपापिता च (D) मगेमु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च ' ' ' ' ' ' '

1 (A) savata vijitasi Devānampiyasa Piyadasine lājine e vā pi amtā athā Choḍā Pamdiyā Satiyapu[t]e ī Amtiyoke nāma

Yona-lājā [e] vā pi tasa Amtiyokasa sāmamtā lājāne savata Devānampiyena Piyadasinā lāji [ch]ikisā cha

3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi sava[ta].....cha atata nathi

s[a]vatra hālāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (D) magesu udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Chōdas, the Pāṇdyas, the Satiyaputa, the Yōna king named Antiyoka, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.
- (B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.²
- (C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.
- (D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

¹ sāvata Senart, savatu Bühler.

² The last words of this section are missing at Jaugada, but are preserved at Dhauli. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicts.



GL

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1	(A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं ज्ञाहा (B) दुवादसवसामिसिनेन मे इयं
	ञ्चा ' ' ' ' च पादेसिके च
2	पंचमु पंचमु वसेमु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अंनाये पि कंमने ' ' ' ' ' '
	सा मितसंयुतेस ' '
3	नातिसु च बंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु ' ' ' '
	यि ' ' '
4	हेतुते च वियंजनते च
1	(A) Devā[na]mpiye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me iyam [ā]
2	pamchasu pamchasu vasesu anusayānam nikhamāvū athā amnāye pi kamma[n]e[s]ā mita-samthute[s]
3	nātisu ch[a] bambhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu [a]nālambhe sādhu [y]i
4	hetute cha viyamjanate cha
	TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.
- (B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.
- (C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the Yuktas, the Lajuka, and the Prādēšika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.
- (D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmaņas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'
- (E) And the council (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1	(A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहूनि वससतानि विति व पानालंभे · · · · · · ·
	(B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेल '''''
3	दिवियानि लूपानि द्रसियतु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससते ***********************************
	धंमानुसिथया अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिसु संप '''''
5	(D) एस अंने च बहुविधे धंमचलने विदेते (E) विदयि *******
6	पियद्सिने लाजिने पवढियसंति येव धंमचल ''''
7	(E) धंमचलने पि चु नो होति ' ' ' ' ' ' '
8	हीनि च मा अलोचिय '''''

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THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

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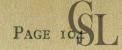
1	(A) a[t]ikamtam amtalam bahūni vasa-satāni vadhite va pānālambhe
2	(B) se aja Devänampiyasa Piyadasine läjine dhamma-chalanena bhe[l]
3	divi[y]āni lūpāni drasayitu 1 munisānam (C) ādise bahūhi vasa-sate
4	dhammānusathiyā anālambhe pānānam avihisā bhūtānam nātisu [sampa]
	(D) esa amne cha bahuvidhe dhamma-chalane vadhite (E) va[dhay]i
	Piyadasine lājine pavadhayi[sa]m[t]i [y]e[va] dhamma-cha[la]
	(H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i
	[hī]ni cha mā aloch[ay]i

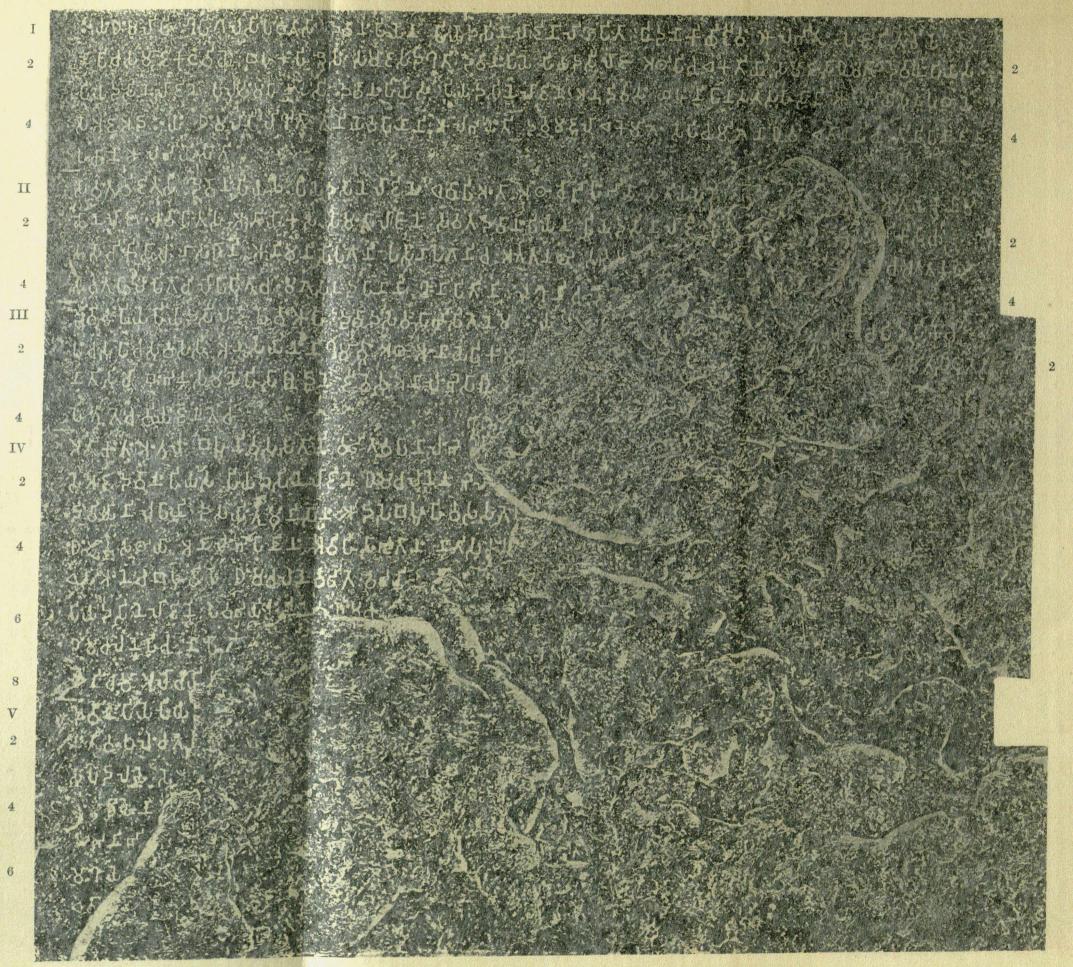
TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.
- (B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.
- (C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Dēvānām-priya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.
 - (D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.
- (E) And king Devanampriya Priyadarsin will ever promote this practice of morality.
- (F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.
 - (G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.
- (H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.
 - (I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.
- (J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve 2 the neglect (of it).
- (K) This has been written here by king Dövänämpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

¹ dusayitu Senart, dasayitu Bühler.









FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1	(A) देवानंपिये पियद · · · · · · ·
2	नती व पलं च ते
3	सुपदालये (H) से ऋ ' ' ' ' ' '
4	धंमाधिषाना ' ' ' ' ' '
5	ः भनिभि ः ः ः ः ः ः
6	मोखाये ''''
7	एवा
8	******
L	(A) Devā[na]mpiye Piya[da]
2	nat[i]¹ va palam cha te
3	s[u]padālaye (H) se [a]
1	[dha]m[m]ā[dh]i[th]ānā²
5	. bhanibhi
6	mokhāye
7	e [v]ā
3	

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.
- (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
- (C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult.
- (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
- (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 - (F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 - (G) For sin indeed steps fast.3
- (H) Now in times past, (officers) called Mahāmātras of morality did not exist before.
- (I) But (the officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
- (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōchas, and Gandhālas, among the Laṭhikas and Pitēnikas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
 - (K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brahmanas and Ibhyas,

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P

¹ namti Senart, nati Bühler.

² °thana Bühler.



with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, and in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

- (N) These Mahāmātras of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.
- (O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) ' ' ' नंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ऋतिकंतं ऋंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे सवं कालं अठकंमे पिटवेदना व (C) से ममया करे (D) सवं कालं
- 2 '''' स मे खंते खोलोधनिस गभागालिस वचिस विनीतिस उयानिस च सवत परिवेदका जनस छाउं प्रतिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस
- 3 '''''' कं (F) छं पि च किंछि मुखते छानपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि छतियायिके छालोपिते होति तसि छठिस विवादे व
- 4 '''' लिसायं आनंतिलयं पिटवेदेतिवये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसये (H) निष हि मे तोसे उठानिस अठसंतीलनाय च
- 5 (I) '''''' में सबलोकहिते (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (E) निष हि कंमतला सबलोकहितेन (L) छं च किछि पलकमामि हकं
- 6 · · · · · · · · · नियं येहं ति हिद् च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं ज्ञालाधयंतू ति (M) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलिटितीका होतु
- 7 '''' ता में पलकमंतु सवलोकहिताये (N) दुक्के चु इयं अंनत ऋगेन पलकमेन
- 1 (A).... [na]mpiye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) atikamtam amtalam no hūtapuluve savam kālam aṭha-kamm[e] paṭivedanā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D) savam kālam
- 2 [sa m]e amte olodhanasi gabhāgālasi vachasi vinītas[i] uyānasi cha savata paṭivedakā janasa aṭham praṭivedayamtu ³ me ti (E) savata cha janasa

¹ See above, p. 33, n. 7. ² See above, p. 33, n. 8.

³ The r is expressed by a horizontal stroke before pa, which therefore looks like pe; $pati^{\circ}$ Senart and Bühler.



SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA



3[ka]m (F) am pi cha kimchhi mukhate ānapayāmi dāpakam vā sāvakam vā e v[ā] mah[ā]mātehi a[t]i[yā]yike [ā]lopite hoti tasi aṭhasi vivāde va

4 lisāy[am¹ ā]nam[ta]liyam paṭivedetaviye me ti savata savam kālam (G) hevam me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uṭhānasi aṭhasamtīlan[ā]y[a] cha

5 (I) me sava-loka-hite (J) tasa cha pana iyam mule uthane cha atha-samtīlanā cha (K) nathi hi k[am]matalā sava-loka-hiten[a] (L) am cha kichhi p[a]lakamāmi hakam

6 [n]iyam yeham ti hida cha kāni su[kha]yāmi palata cha svagam ālādhayamtū ti (M) etāye aṭhāye i[ya]m dhamma-lipī likhitā chila-ṭhitīkā hotu²

7[t]ā³ me [pa]lakamamtu sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu i[ya]m amnata agena palakamena

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before.

(C) But I have made (the following arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

- (L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).
- (M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

² hotū Bühler.

3 On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable po is visible before tā.

^{1 °}sāya Senart and Bühler.

⁴ The preposition ante, 'within', is used with the locative, just as anto in Pāli; see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, p. 39 b.





SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1	(A) · · · · · · दसी लाजा सवत इछित सवपासंडा वसे · · ति (B) सवे हि
	ते सयमं भावसुधी च इद्यंति (c) मुनिसा च उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा
2	(D) ''''' सं व कछंति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने '''''धी
	च नीचे बाढं
1	(A) da[sī]¹ lājā savata ichhati sava-p[ā]samdā va[s]e [t]i (B) [sav]e hi te sa[yama]m bhāva-[su]dhī cha ichhamti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhamdā uchāvuch[a]-lāgā
2	(D) [sa]m² va kachhamti (E) [v]i[pul]e [p]i chā ³ [d]ā[ne] [dhī] cha nīche [b]āḍham
	TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)
	 (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere. (B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind. (C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions. (D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).
	(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-
co	ntrol and purity of mind, is very mean.
	EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA
1	''''' 'विया अंनानि च एदि '''' मानि हुवंति नं (c) से देवानंपिये
9	पिय ' ' ' दस ' ' ' ता (छ) ततेस होति स ' ' ' '
	च दाने च वृढानं दंसने च
3	हिलंनपटिविधाने च ' ' ' ' धंमपिलपुद्धा ' ' ' ' िलामे
	होति देवानंपियस
4	पियदिसने लाजिने भागे छ ' '
1	4 [v]i[y]ā [a]mnāni cha e[d]i [m]āni huvamti nam (C) se Devānampiye
2	[Piya] [tā] (E) [ta]tesa hoti [sa]
3	hilamna-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne [cha] [dha]mma-p[al]i[puchh]ā '
4	ilāme hoti De[v]ānampiyasa
4	Piyadasine lājine bhāge [a]
	On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before dasī. The same plate reads [va] eka-desam. 3 cha Senart and Bühler.

⁴ At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a*][ti]kamtam amtalam lājā.

⁵ The same plate reads Piyadasī [1]ājā dasa.

⁶ cha looks almost like chu, and dane like dano.

⁷ -pāli° Senart and Bühler.



EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA



TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).1

(C) But when king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Sambödhi.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा ''''' पजुपदाये पवासिस एताये अंनाये च 2 हेदिसाये जने बहुकं ''''' च मंगलं कलेति (D) से कटविये चेव खो मंगले

3 (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे म · · · · (F) इयं चु · · · · · · समटकिस

संस्यापिटपित गुलूनं अपिचिति पानेसु सयमे

समनवाभनानं दाने एस अंने ''''' पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि इयं साधु इयं कटविये

·····ं से दाने अनुगहे वा आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे च (K) से चु खो मितेन

ं ं ं ं ं ं ं ं ं यं साधू इमेन सिकये स्वगे आलाधियतवे (L) किं हि इमेन कटवियतला

1 (A) Devān[aṁ]piye Piyadasī lā[jā] [pa]jupadāye pavāsasi etāye aṁnāye cha

2 hedisāye jane [ba]hu[ka]m [cha ma]m[gala]m k[a]leti (D) se kaṭaviye cheva kho mamgale

(E) apa-[pha]le chu [kh]o e[sa] he[d]ise ma.... (F) i[ya]m [chu] 2....... [sa-bha]takasi sammyā-paṭipati gulūnam apachiti pānesu say[a]me

4 saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam d]ā[n]e [esa a]m[n]e [pi]tinā pi putena pi bhātinā pi suvāmike[na] pi iyam sādhu iyam kaṭaviye

² These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.

With huvamti nam cf. etchi na in the Kārlē and Nāsik inscriptions (EI, 7. 64, text l. 4; 8. 65, text l. 14; 71, text l. 4; 73, text l. 11). In the Jaina Prākrit, nam is used as an enclitical particle, and in Saurasēnī, according to the grammarians, in the sense of nanu. Pischel (Grammatik, § 150) derives it from Skt. nūnam.

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\$		gah[e]	vā ādi[s]	e dhan	nma-dāne dhar	inmānuga	he cha (K)
6	yam sādh[ū] kataviyatalā	imena	sakiye	svage	ālādhayitave	(L) kim	hi ime	ena
7				*				

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness..... at the marriage of a daughter, at the birth of a child, (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men [are practising] many ceremonies.

(C) But women are practising many and various vulgar and useless

ceremonies.

(D) Now ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But such ceremonies as these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other [such] (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This [practice] should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.'

(I) And it has been said thus: -- Gifts are meritorious.'

(J) But there is no [such] gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality.

(K) Therefore a friend [a relative], and a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—'This this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.'

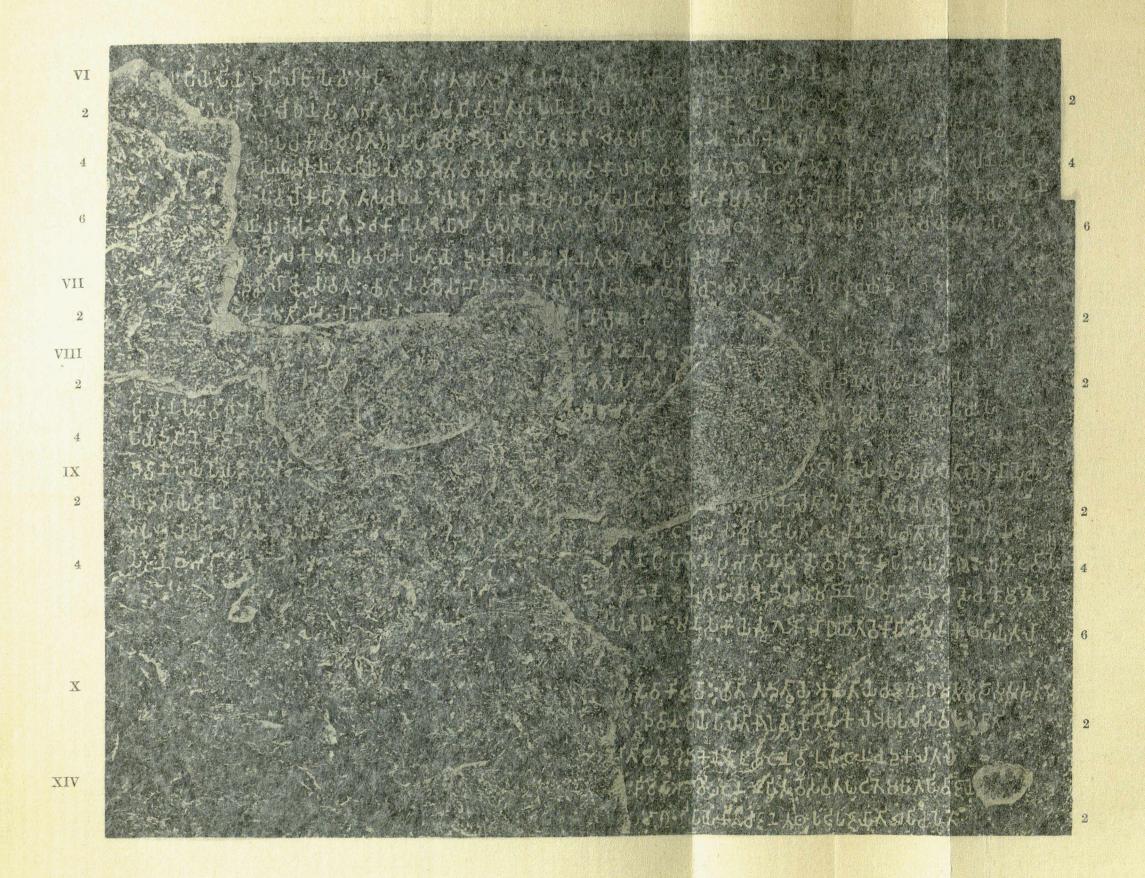
(L) For what is more desirable than this, [viz.] the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1	(A) · · · · · · यसी वा किटी वा इछित तद्वाये आयितये च जने धंमसुसूसं
	सुसूसतु मे
2	ं कि देवानंपिये पालतिकाये वा किंति सकले अपपिलसवे
	हुवेया ति
3	(D) · · · · · · · लितिजितु खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले
1.	(A) [ya]so vā ki[t]ī vā ichh[a]ti tadatvāye ā[ya]tiye cha jane dhamma-
2	susūsam susūsatu me[t]i Devānampiye pālatikāye vā ki[m]ti [sa]kale apa-palisave
	[h]uveyā ti
3	(D) [l]itijit[u] khudakena [v]ā u[sa]țena vā (F) usațena chu dukalatale



JAUGADA ROCK; SECOND COLUMN





TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA



TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality..... morality.
 - (B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.
- (C) [Whatever] effort Dēvānāmpriya is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.
- (E) difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [zeal] and (without) laying aside every (other aim).
 - (F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) ' ' ' ' मिक्सिन अधि विषटेन (B) नो हि सवे सवत घटिते (C) महंते हि विजये
- 2 '''' स माधुलियाये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि च हेत

- 1 (A) [ma]jhime[na] ath[i] vithatena (B) [no] hi save savata ghatite (C) mahamte hi vijaye
- 2[sa] mādhuliyāye kimt[i] cha jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) e pi chu heta 3

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) These rescripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by king Děvānāmpriya Priyadarśin or of middle (size), or at full length.
 - (B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.
- (C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.
- (D) has been stated because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.
 - (E) But whatever of this is written incompletely

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालक हेवं वतविया (C) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कं कमन परिपातयेहं
- 2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवालं ऋं तुफेसु ऋनुसिच (E) फे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गहेम सु मुनिसानं (F) सवसुना मे



- उपजा (G) अथ पजाये इङ्घामि किंति से सवेन हितसुखेन यूजेयू ति हिट्लोगिक-पाललोकिकेन हेमेव से इङ्घ सवसुनिसेसु (म) नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाथ आवगसुके
- 4 इयं खेठे (I) केचा एकमुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देसं नो सवं (J) दख्य हि तुफे पि सुविता पि (E) बहुक ऋठि ये एति एकमुनिसे बंधनं पलिकिलेसं पि पापुनाति (L) तत होति खक-
- 5 स्मा ति तेन वधनंतिक अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (M) तत तुफेहि इछितये किंति मफं परिपातयेम (N) इमेहि जातेहि नो परिपजति इसाय आमुलोपेन निवृत्लियेन
- 6 तुलाय अनावृतिय आलस्येन किलमयेन (0) हेवं इछितविये किंति मे एतानि जातानि नो द्वेयू ति (P) सवस चु इयं मूले अनामुलोपे अतुलना च (Q) नितियं एयं किलंते सिय * * * * * *
- त संचलित उथाया संचलितथे तु विटितविय पि एतिवये पि नीतियं (B) एवं दिखेया आनंने शिभ्रपेतिवये हेवं हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुस्थि ति (S) एतं संपिटपातयं-
- 8 तं महाफले होति असंपिटिपित महापाये होति (T) विपिटिपातयंतं नी स्वगञ्जालिध नो लाजािध (U) दुञ्जाहले एतंस कंमस स मे कुते मनो-अतिलेके (V) एतं संपिटिपजमीने मम
- 9 च आननेयं एसथ स्वगं च आलाधियसथा (W) इयं चा लिपी अनुतिसं सोतिवया (X) अला पि खनेन सोतिवया एककेन पि (Y) · · · · · · · · मीने चघथ · · · · · · ·
- 10 तवे (Z) एताये च अठाये इयं लिखिता लिपी एन महामाता नगलक सस्वतं समयं एतं युजेयु ति एन मुनिसानं अ '''' ने पलिकि ''''' ये
- 11 पंचमु पंचमु वसेमु अनुसयानं निखामयिसामि महामातं अवंडं अफलुसं त'''' मिय'''' मिय'''' मिय'''' मिय''''' लाते''''
- 12 '''' वचनिक अद अनुसयानं निखमिसंति अतने कंमं ''''
 यितु तं पि तथा कलंति अथा ''''''
- 1 (A) Dev[ā]nampiye he[va]m [ā]hā (B) Sam[ā]pāyam mahāmātā [na]galaviyohālaka he[vam va]tav[i]y[ā] (C) am kichhi dakhāmi ha[ka]m [tam] ichhām[i k]imt[i kam¹ kamana² pa]ṭipātayeham

2 [kam]mana Bühler.

¹ Senart and Bühler omit kam. Cf. the Jaugada separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above, p. 35, n. 12.

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA



duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam a[m] tuphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[yam] gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m] (F) sava-mu[n]ā me1

pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i kim]t[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu 2

tu[phe e]tam [p]a[p]unatha ava-gamu[k]e3

[i]yam ath[e] (I) kechā eka-[muni]s[e]4 pā[p]unāti5 se pi desam no savam (J) dakhatha hi [tuphe] pi 6 suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka athi 7 ye eti eka-munise ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]sam [p]i 8 pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i aka]-

sm[a] ti o ten[a] badhana[m]ti[ka 10 anye] 11 cha [va]ge bahuke vedayati (M) tata tuphe[hi ichhi]taye kimti majham [pa]tipātayem[a] (N) imehi jāte[hi]12 no

[pa]tipa[ja]ti 18 i[s]ā[ya] 14 āsulopena [ni]thū[li]ye[na] 15

t[ul]āya 16 [a]nā[v]uti[ya 17 āla]s[y]e[na ki]lamath[e]na (O) hevam ichhit[a]vi[y]e kimti me et[a]ni jata[ni n]o hveyū 18 ti (P) savasa chu 19 iyam mū[le] as nassals as a sala a

samchalitu uthāy[ā] 20 samchalitavye tu v[a]titaviya 21 [pi] etaviye pi nīt[i]yam (R) eve dakh[e]yā 22 āna[m]ne 23 nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye 24 heva[m hevam] cha Devānam[p]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]m [sampaṭipā]ta[yam]-

tam mahā-phale hoti asampatipati mahāpāy[e] hoti (T) vipatipātayamtam no svag[a]-āladhi no lājādhi 25 (U) du[ā]hale etasa [kaṁ]masa sa me k[u]t[e maln[o-atille[ke] 26 (V) [etam sampatipajamine mama]

cha ananeyam esatha svagam cha ala[dha]yisa[th]a (W) iyam cha 27 li[p]i anutisam sot[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā 28 [p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y)

m[i]ne 29 ch[aghatha]

tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyaṁ [li]khitā [l]ipī ena mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[ṁ] sama[ya]m [etam] yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena [muni]s[ā]nam [a]..., ne [pal]i[k]i 30 ye

[pa]mchasu pamchasu va[sesu] anu[sa]yānam 31 nikhāma[y]isāmi 32 mahāmāta[m] achamda[m] aphal[usa]m 33 ta 34 pi kumāle [v]i 35 .. ta m[ayi] 36 [lā]t[e] 37

² cha Bühler.

28 Read amtalā.

3 ava- Bühler; -gamake Senart and Bühler.

8 hi Bühler.

12 jātehī Bühler.

14 isā[ye] Bühler.

⁵ pi manati Senart, pi [ma]nāti Bühler. 4 -pulise Senart and Bühler.

6 hi Bühler.

7 athi Bühler.

9 Senart and Bühler omit ti.

11 Bühler omitted this word.

13 sampati° Senart, samti° Bühler.

15 nithu° Senart, nithu° Bühler.

17 °tive Senart and Bühler.

19 cha Senart and Bühler.

22 dekheyi Senart and Bühler.

24 nijha° Senart and Bühler.

25 Read lājāladhi.

20 uthā ye Bühler.

16 tulaye Senart and Bühler. 18 heyū Senart and Bühler.

²¹ vajita° Senart and Bühler.

23 amna ne Senart and Bühler.

10 baindha° Senart and Bühler.

26 [ma]ne- Bühler. 27 cha Senart and Bühler.

30 Restore akasmā baindhane palikilese. 29 mane Bühler. 32 °sāmī Bühler. 38 aphalaha Bühler. 31 °samyānam Senart and Bühler.

34 Bühler adds . . vachanele; perhaps sakhinālambham is intended, as in the corresponding 35 vā Bühler. 36 Restore nikhāmayisati. passage at Dhauli.

Q

37 This is probably a remnant of Takhasilate.

¹ Read -munisā me; -munise Senart and Bühler.

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THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvānāmpriya speaks thus.

- (B) The Mahāmātras at Samāpā, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.
- (C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.
- (D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction to you.
- (E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.
 - (F) All men are my children.
- (G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.
 - (H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches.
- (I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.
- (J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances.4
- (K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment.⁵
- (L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people 6 (continue to) suffer.
 - (M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.
- (N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.
 - (O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.
 - (P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.
- (Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).
- (R) He who will pay attention to this, must exhort (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you): Such and such is the instruction of Dēvānāmpriya.

² tada Senart, adā Bühler.

³ °sainyānain Senart and Bühler.

4 For suvita see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauli has the synonym suvihila.

⁶ For vage = jane see above, p. 40, n. 2.

¹ javacha° Senart, . ājavacha° Bühler; cf. l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] in the Jaugada separate edict II, B.

⁵ Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 862) renders the Dhauli version of this section: 'There is also a single officer who hears of imprisonment or torture'; but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is obliged to change eti in the Jaugada version to eta (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb pāpunāti has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII; cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.

⁷ As eve dakh[e] yā corresponds to hevammeva e da[kheya] at Dhauli, it seems to represent evam e dakheyā.

⁸ For nijhapeti see above, p. 69, n. 4.

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

(S) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

- (T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.
 - (U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly?
- (V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.
 - (W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.
- (X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of Tishya).
 - (Y) you will be able to
- (Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment]......
- (AA) I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (throughout his charge) a Mahāmātra who is neither fierce nor harsh
 - (BB) also the prince (governor) [will send out]
 - (CC) from [Takshaśi]lā.
- (DD) When, at the word [of the king], they will set out on tour, (then), [without neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain whether the judicial officers) are carrying out this also just, as

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आह (B) समापायं महमता लाजवचिनक वतिया (C) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं किंति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस अथस अं तुफेस् अनुसिष (E) सवमुनि-
- असा मे पजा (म) अष पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हितसुखेन युजेयू अष्य पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसु-
- 4 खेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिकपाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सवसुनिसेसु (G) सिया इंतानं अविजिता-
- 5 नं विंछांदे सु लाजा अफेसू ति (म) एताका वा मे इछ अंतेसु पापुनेयु लाजा हेवं इछति अनुविगिन होयू
- 6 मिमयाये अस्वसेयु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नी खंहेवं च पापुनेयु खिमसित ने लाजा
- ए सिवाये खिमतवे ममं निमितं च धंमं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पललोगं च आलाध्येयू (1) एताये

¹ See above, p. 5, n. 4. ² See below, p. 117, n. 10.

³ The word jānisamti seems to be omitted at Jaugada, but is required by the context; see the Dhauli version, CC.

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- GI
- श्व अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदि-
- 9 तु आ मम धिति पिटना च अचल (J) स हेवं काटू कंमे चिलतिवये अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं मये लाजिने (E) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित छांदं च वेदित आ मम धिति परिना चा अचल सकल-
- 12 देसाआयुर्तिके होसामी एतिस अधिस (L) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये च तेसं हिद-
- 13 लोगिकपाललोकिकाये (M) हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आलाधिसथ मम च आननेयं एसथ (N) ए-
- 14 ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिंद एन महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंमचलनाये च अंतानं (O) इयं च लिपी अनुचातुंमासं सोतिवया तिसेन (P) अंतला पि च सोतिवया
- 16 (Q) खने संतं एकेन पि स्रोतविया (B) हेवं च कलंतं चघ्य संपरिपातियतवे
- 1 (A) Devānampiye hevam ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyam mahamatā l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]¹ vataviyā (C) am kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakam tam i[chh]āmi hakam k[im]ti kam kamana
- 2 paṭipātayehaṁ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṁ (D) esa cha me mokhiya-mat[a]² duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]sa a[th] t[uph]esu anusa[thi] (E) sava-muni-
- 3 sā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kimti me saveņā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū [a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kim[ti] m[e] savena hita-su-
- 4 kh[e]na yujeyū 3 ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[na] 4 hevammeva me ichha savamunisesu (G) siyā amtānam [a]vijitā-
- 5 nam kim-chhāmde 5 su lājā aphesū ti (H) etākā 6 [vā] me ichha [a]mtesu pāpuneyu lājā hevam ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū] 7
- 6 mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukham[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate [n]o kha[m] hevam cha pāpuneyu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne lājā
- 7 e s[a]kiye hhamitave mamam nimitam cha dhamma[m] chaley[ū] ti hidalog[am] cha palalogam cha ālādhayey[ū] (I) etāye

¹ laja- Senart and Bühler.

^{2 -}mate Senart, -matain Bühler.

³ Cancel the eight last words ([a]tha to yujeyū), which the writer has repeated by mistake.

 ⁴ °kena Senart and Bühler.
 ⁶ -chhamde Senart and Bühler.
 ⁶ Read etakä, as proposed by Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 867.

heyu Senart and Bühler.

Read di

⁹ chha kiye Senart, chakiye Bühler.

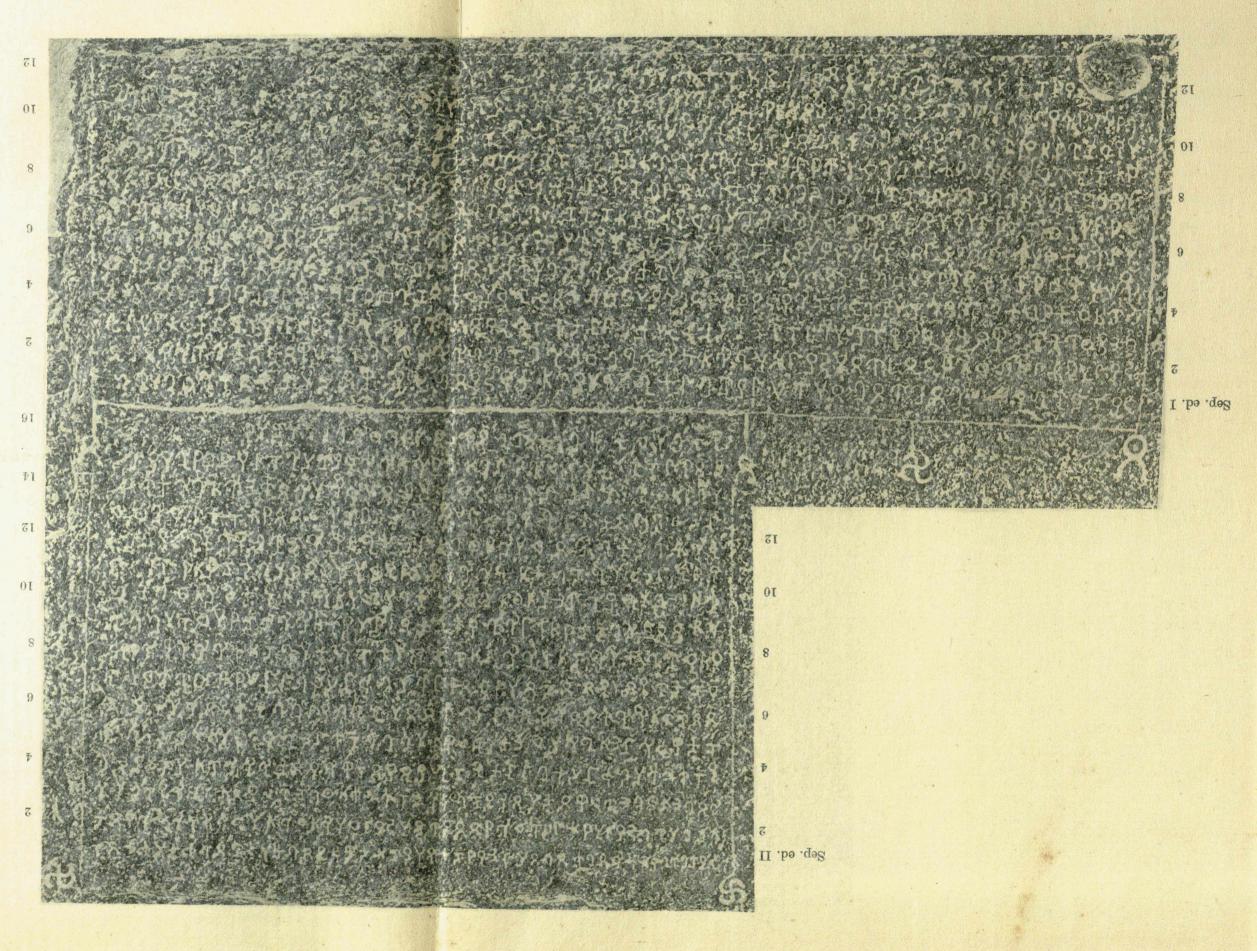
⁸ Read dukham.

than kije Schart, thukiye Duniel.

¹⁰ The Anusvāra of main stands above the line; dhainma Senart and Bühler.

^{11 °}yeyu Senart and Bühler.





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SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA



8 cha athāye hakam tupheni anusāsāmi ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kam tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhamda[m cha] vedi-

[t]u ā mama dhiti paṭimnā cha achala (J) sa hevam [ka]ṭū¹ k[am]me [cha]litaviye

asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te pāpune-

10 yu a[th]ā pita [h]evam [n]e lājā ti atha [a]tānam anukampat[i he]vam a[ph]eni anuka[mpa]ti athā pajā he-

vam [may]e lā[j]ine (K) tupheni hakam anusāsita 2 [chh]āmdam 3 [cha v]e[di]ta 4

[ā 5 ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m]nā chā achala [saka]la-

12 desā-āy[ut]ike hosāmī et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]lam [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-sukhāye [cha te]sa[m] hida-

13 logi[ka]-p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevam cha kalamtam svaga[m cha ā]lādhayisa[tha]

mama cha āna[n]eyarn es[a]tha (N) e-

14 täye cha a[th]āye i[ya]m lipī li[kh]i[ta¹ hi]da e[na ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvatam s samam s yujeyū asvāsanāye cha

15 dhamma-chala[nā]ye [cha] amtā[na]m (O) iyam cha lipī a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m]āsam

s[ota]viyā tisena (P) amta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā

16 (Q) khane samtam eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m] cha [ka]lam[ta]m chaghatha sampaṭipātayit[av]e

TRANSLATION

(A) Dövänämpriya speaks thus.

(B) The Mahāmātras at Samāpā have to be told (this) at the word of the king. 10

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give)

instruction to you.

11

(E) All men are my children.

- (F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.
- (G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'
- (H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.

¹ katu Senart and Bühler.

^{· 3} chhamdam Senart and Bühler.

⁵ Senart and Bühler omit ä.

² Read °sāsitu, which is Bühler's reading.

⁴ Read veditu; vedāta Senart, vedit[u] Bühler.

⁶ Read desāyutike.

⁷ likhitā Senart and Bühler. ⁸ sasvatam Senart and Bühler. ⁹ Read samayam.

The derivative $l[\bar{a}]ja$ -vachanik[a] seems to convey the same meaning as the two words Devānampiyasa vachanena at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauli, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf. also the opening phrase of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions.



(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence, in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children.

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i. e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(0) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.2

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

5	निखमिट स ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
6	(E) हेत इयं होति वंभ · · · · · · ·
7	वृद्धानं दसने च हिरंनपटिविधाने च * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
8	धंमानुसिथ धंम : : : : : : :
9	ं ये रती होति दे ः ः ः ः ः
10	· · · ने भागे ऋं ·
5	nikhamitha Sa 3
6	(E) heta iyam [ho]ti bam[bha]
7	vudhānam dasane fcha] hiramna-paṭividhāne cha
8	[dha*]mmanusa[thi] 6 dhamma
9	ye [ra]tī o hoti De
10	n[e] bhāge am

.

¹ With asvāsa nijvā cf. visvamsayitave on the Sārnāth pillar, 11. 8 and 9.

² The two words khane saintain are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

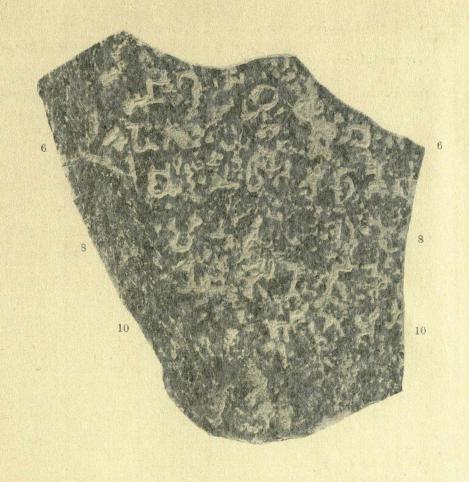
³ nikhamithā sam Bhagvanlal Indraji.

⁴ These two words are entered above the line.

b °sathi Bh. I.



BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT



SCALE ONE-THIRD



SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आहा (B) सहुवीसित-
- 2 वसञ्चभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता
- 3 (C) हिट्तपालते दुसंपटिषादये अंनत अगाया धंमकामताया
- 4 अगाय पलीखाया अगाय सुसूयाया अगेन भयेना
- 5 अगेन उसाहेना (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसिषया
- 6 धंमापेखा धंमकामता चा सुवे सुवे विदता वढीसित चेवा
- 7 (E) पुलिसा पि च मे उकसा चा गेवया चा मिक्सा चा अनुविधीयंती
- 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं समादपियतवे (F) हेमेवा अंत-
- 9 महामाता पि (G) एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने
- 10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devänampiye Piyadasi läja hevam āhā (B) saduvisati-
- 2 vasa-abhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā
- 3 (C) hidata-pālate dusampatipādaye amnata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā
- 4 agāya palīkhāyā agāya su[sū]yāyā agena bhayenā
- 5 agena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā
- 6 dhammāpekhā dhamma-kāmatā chā suve suve vadhitā vadhīsati chevā
- 7 (E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā anuvidhīyamtī
- 8 sampatipādayamti chā alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) hemevā amta-
- 9 mahāmātā pi (G) esa 1 hi 2 vidhi yā iyam dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne
- 10 dhammena sukhiyanā dhammena gotī ti

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.
- (B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.
 - (C) (Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) 3 is difficult to secure

¹ esā Bühler.

² pi Senart and Bühler; hi is quite distinct on the inked estampages.

³ With the base pālata, which is derived from the Sanskrit adverb paratra, cf. pāratrika at Girnār (= pālamtikya at Kālsī, and pālatika elsewhere).



without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality

have been promoted day by day 1 and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents 2 also, both the high ones 3 and the low ones,4 and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up 5 fickle (persons).

(F) In the same way the Mahāmātras of the borderers 6 also (are acting).

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.⁷ to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure ⁸ according to morality, (and) to guard (their speech) ⁹ according to morality.

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

10 (A) देवानंषिये पियद्सि लाज

11 हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधू कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने

12 दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चलुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपद-

13 चतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे करे आ पान-

14 दाखिनाये (F) छांनानि पि च मे बहूनि क्यानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे

15 अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपरिपजंतु चिलं-

16 थितिका च होतू ती ति (म) ये च हेवं संपरिपजीसित से मुकटं कछती ति

10 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja 10

11 hevam āhā (B) dhamme sādhū kiyam chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave 11 bahu kayāne

12 dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me 12 bahuvidhe dimne (E) dupada-

² I adopt V.A. Smith's translation of *pulisa*; see his *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillaredict IV, G, and VII, M.

3 ukasa (= utkarsha) is used in the sense of utkrishta.

⁵ For samādapeti see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. samādiyati.

⁶ Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauli (M) and at Jaugada (N).

⁸ Cf. the pillar-edict IV, E, and VII, V.

Cf. the rock-edict XII, D.
 lājā Senart and Bühler.

11 A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of ve.

12 A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of me.

¹ For suve suve = Skt. śvah śvah (literally: 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. sve.

⁴ This meaning of $gevay\bar{a}$ is evident from the context. Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 62) derived gevaya (for $*g\bar{e}vaka$) from the root $g\bar{e}v$, to which the $Dh\bar{a}tup\bar{a}tha$ attributes the meaning of $s\bar{e}v$, 'to serve'. For the change of k to y cf. $supad\bar{a}laya$, above, p. 33, n. 3. But the existence of the root $g\bar{e}v$ is far from certain; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.

⁷ For this meaning of yā iyam see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pāli expression yad idam.

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SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA



3 chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kațe ā pāna-

14 dākhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me

15 athāye iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevam anupatipajamtu chilam-

16 thitikā cha hotū tī ti¹ (H) ye cha hevam sampaṭipajīsati se sukaṭam kachhatī² ti

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.

(B) (To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?

(C) (It includes) few sins,4 many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.

(D) The gift of spiritual insight 5 also has been bestowed by me in many ways.

(E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.6

(F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.7

(G) For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration.

(H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.8

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदंसि लाज हेवं छहा (B) कयानंमेव देखित इयं मे

18 क्याने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखित इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे

19 नामा ति (D) दुपिटवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि

20 आसिनवगामीनि नाम अप चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्या

21 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसियसं (G) एस बाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे

22 हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये

An apparent Anusvāra after ka is probably accidental.
 Burnouf (Lotus, p. 667) explained kiyam = Skt. kiyān.

⁵ Literally: 'the gift of the eye'. According to the *Itivuttaka* (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three chakkhūni are mainsa-chakkhu, dibba-chakkhu, and paññā-chakkhu; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 62.

⁶ For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.

¹ The remaining versions read hotū ti. Three verses of Manu in which iti is doubled are quoted in Böhtlingk and Roth's Wörterbuch, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also kiti t[i] at Kālsī, XII, D.

⁴ āsinava is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term anhaya which is derived from ā+snu; see Weber's Ind. Studien, 16. 326, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23. 267 f. The corresponding Pāli term is āsava, which is Sanskritized by āśrava or āsrava. See Burnouf, Lotus, p. 822 f.; Sarvadarśanasangraha, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f.; ZDMG, 72. 149. With the compound apāsinave of apa-vyayatā, apa-phalam, and apa-parisrave in the Girnār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.

⁷ Cf, the rock-edict V, D. ⁸ Cf, the sa

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17 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam ahā (B) kayānammeva dekhati iyam me

18 kayāne kate ti (C) no mina pāpam d[e]khati iyam me pāpe kate ti iyam vā āsinave

19 nāmā ti (D) dupativekhe chu kho esā (E) hevam chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni

20 äsinava-gāmīni nāma atha chamdiye nithūliye kodhe māne isyā

21 kālanena va hakam mā palibhasayisam (G) esa bāḍha dekhiye (H) iyam me

22 hidatikāye iyammana me pālatikāye

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.

(B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me,'

(C) They do not at all regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.' 2

(D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.

(E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:

(F) 'These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful.³ Let me not ⁴ ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).'

(G) The following ought to be specially regarded:

(H) 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action) to my (happiness) in the other (world).'

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद्सि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसितवस-
- 2 अभिसितेन में इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) लजूका मे
- 3 बहुसु पानसतसहसेसु जनिस आयता (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा
- 4 दंडे वा अतपतिये में कटे किंति लजूका अस्वण अभीता

² For asinava see above, p. 121, n. 4.

³ With the compound asinava-gamin of ava-gamuka in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugada (H).

⁴ See Michelson, IF, 23. 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking mā to be the accusative of the pronoun mad, we may add that, if mā were the object of palibhasayisam, it would be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. ātmānam.

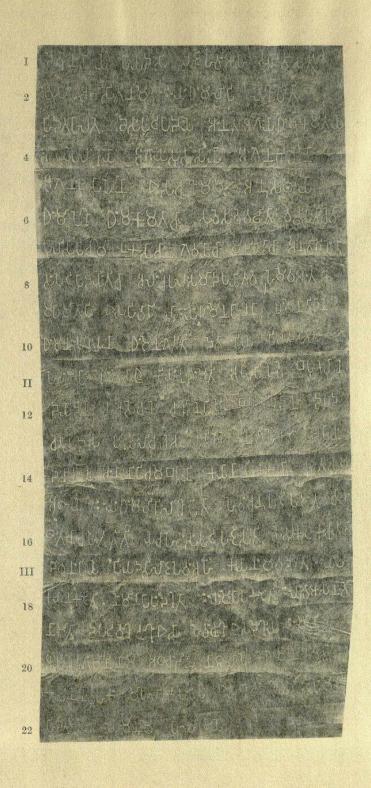
b Michelson (IF, 23, 237 f.) connects mana with Skt. manāk, and Bühler translated it by 'at least'. The adverb mana does occur in the Jātaka, vol. I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means 'nearly'. I suspect that iyammana represents Skt. idam anyai. For the Sandhi cf. kayānammeva in line 17; hevammeva (or °vā) in the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauli separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugada separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, F; sukhammeva in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugada separate edict II, l. 6.

¹ Michelson (IF, 23. 236 f.) dissolves nomina into no amina, and identifies amina with the Päli aminā, to which he attributes the meaning 'also'; but this word rather means 'hereby'. Bühler (EI, 2. 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking no mina = Skt. na manāk. For the change of a to i cf. Pischel's Grammatik, §§ 101-103.



DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR; NORTH FACE



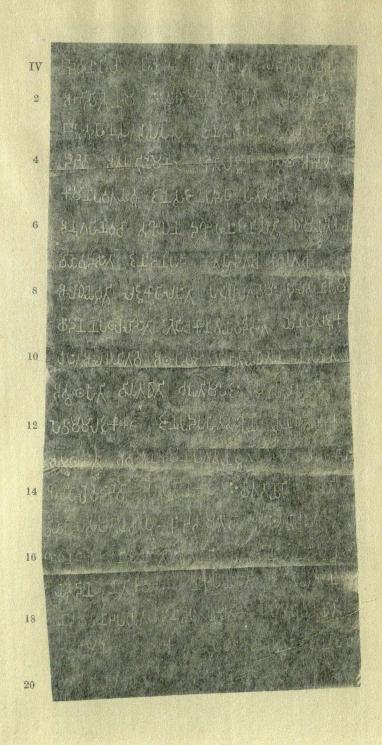


SCALE ONE-SIXTH



DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR; WEST FACE





SCALE ONE-SIXTH

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA



- 5 कंमानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेवू
- 6 अनुगहिनेव चा (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च
- 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पालतं च
- 8 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूना पि लघंति परिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे
- 9 छंदंनानि परिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोविदसंति येन मं लजूका
- 10 चर्चति आलाधयितवे (1) अथा हि पर्ज वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
- 11 अस्वये होति वियत धाति चघति मे पर्ज सुखं पलिहरवे
- 12 हेवं ममा लजूका कटा जानपद्स हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीता
- 13 अस्वय संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं
- 14 अभिहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एसा किंति
- 15 वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता चा (L) अव इते पि च मे शावृति
- 16 बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे
- 17 योते दिने (M) नातिका व कानि निभर्पियसंति जीविताये तानं
- 18 नासंतं वा निक्पियता दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति
- 19 (N) इहा हि में हेवं निलुधिस पि कालिस पालतं आलाधियेवू ति (O) जनस च
- 20 वहति विविधे धंमचलने संयमे दानसविभागे ति
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi I[ā]ja hevam āhā (B) saduvīsati-vasa-
- 2 abhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me
- 3 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu janasi āyatā (D) tesam ye abhihāle vā
- 4 damde vā ata-patiye me kate kimti lajūkā asvatha abhītā
- 5 kammāni pavatayevū janasa jānapadasā hita-sukham upadahevū
- 6 anugahinevu chā (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanam jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha
- 7 viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kimti hidatam cha pālatam cha
- 8 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti patichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me
- 9 chhamdamnāni patichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam lajūkā
- 10 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu
- 11 asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palihatave
- 12 hevam mamā lajūkā kaţā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhītā
- 13 asvatha samtam avimanā kammāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam
- 14 abh[i]hāle¹ va damde vā ata-patiye kate (K) ichhitaviye [h]i esā kimti
- 15 viyohāla-samatā cha siya damda-samatā chā (L) ava ite pi cha me āvuti
- 16 bamdhana-badhānam munisānam tīl[i]ta-damdānam pata-vadhānam timni divasā[n]i me
- 17 yote dimne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisamti jīvitāye tānam
- 18 nāsamtam vā nijhapayitā dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavāsam va kachhamti
- 19 (N) ichhā hi me hevam niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
- 20 vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane samyame dana-savibhage ti





TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.
- (C) My Lajūkas 1 are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.2
- (D) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to their discretion, in order that the Lajūkas should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them).
- (E) They will know how to cause pleasure 5 and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality, 6 in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).
 - (F) The Lajūkas also must obey me.7
 - (G) They will also obey the agents 8 who know (my) wishes.
- (H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people), in order that the Lajūkas may be able to please me. 10
- (I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent ¹¹ nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the Lajūkas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people. ¹²
- (J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed, 13 for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the Lajūkas.

² For āyata cf. above, p. 95, n. 4.

³ In the Fātaka the word abhihāra has the meaning of 'a present, an offering'; see Bühler,

ZDMG, 46. 539 f., and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 f.

⁴ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990 f.), ata-patiya is an adjective formed of ātman + pati with the affix -ya, which seems to stand for -ka; see Franke, VOJ, 9. 347. Cf. nilathiya in the Kālsī rock-edict IX, C, and atha-bhāgiya on the Rummindēī pillar, C.

⁵ Cf. sukhiyanā in the pillar-edict I, l. 10, and sukhāyanā, VII, V.

⁶ Bühler translated dhainma-yutena by 'in accordance with the principles of the sacred law'. In the pillar-edict VII, N, dhainma-yu[ta]in is an adjective qualifying janain, 'the people who are devoted to morality'. The same translation suits dhama-yute[na] at Maski, l. 5, and the substantives dhrama-yutasa and dhrama-yutasi in the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant [dhainma]-yutānain at Girnār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith (Asoka, sec. ed., p. 185) and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992) understand the word dharma-yukta to be the collective designation of certain officials.

⁷ Kern (Faartelling, p. 96) compared laghainti with Skt. arhanti.

⁸ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.) has shown that *pulisāni* is the accusative of *pulisā*, which occurs in the pillar-edict I, E, and VII, M; cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.

9 For kāni see above, p. 35, n. 12.

10 For chaghati = Skt. śakshyati see above, p. 97, n. 4.

11 Kern (Faartelling, p. 99) first identified viyata with Skt. vyakta, which, according to the Amarakōśa, has also the meaning of prājňa, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist Sanskrit; see Böhtlingk's Abridged Dictionary, s. v. 可有, and Aśvaghōsha's Saundarananda, II, 38.

12 I follow Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1009 f.) in making this section end here.

18 saintain is a nominative singular absolute. See Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1010 f., and cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

¹ For Lajūka or Rājūka see above, p. 5, n. 2.

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA



(K) For the following is to be desired, (viz.) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments.

(L) And my order 1 (reaches) even so far 2 (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed, 3 (and) who have been condemned to death.

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade 4 those (Lajūkas) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them), 6 they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world).6

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired,7 they

should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(0) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं अहा (B) सहुवीसितवस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथा
- अ सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे
- 4 जत्का अंबाकपीलिका दळी अनिविक्स वेदवेयके
- 5 गंगापुपुरके संकुजमछे कफरसयके पंनससे सिमले
- 6 संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपीते गामकपीते
- 7 सवे चतुपदे ये परिभोगं नो एति न च खादियती (O) · · · · · · · ि

¹ With ävuti = äyukti (Senart) cf. -ävutike in the Dhauli separate edict II, 1. 8 = -äy[ut]ike at Jaugaḍa, II, 1. 12; vishava at Sārnāth (1. 10), Shāhbāzgaṛhī, and Mānsehrā, and viśava at Kālsī = vi[sa]ya at Girnār, XIII, R; supadarave at Mānsehrā = supadālaye at Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa, V, G; sochave in the Delhi-Töprā pillar-edict VII, 1. 28 = sochaye in edict II, 1. 12.

² Senart (IA, 18. 9) translated ava ite (= Skt. yāvad itaḥ) by 'from this day'. I follow Bühler's rendering (EI, 2. 254), and compare āva-gamu[k]e in the first separate edict at Dhauli (G) and Jaugaḍa (H). Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares ava with Avestan yavaṭ, and āvā, the reading

of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian yava.

3 With tīlita-damda cf. tīritam (kāryam), Manu, IX, 233, and atha-samtīraņā at Girnār, VI,

11. 9, 10.

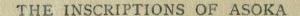
⁴ Literally: 'will induce to meditate or consider'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1022 f.) quotes na machchuno nijjhapanam karonti from the Fätaka. The means of 'persuasion' was evidently the payment of ransom; cf. the Kautiliya, p. 146, last line: पुराशीका: समयानुवद्या वा दोषणिकारं विश्ववस्थानां] दद्यः.

⁵ Three other versions read: 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1023) has explained nāsamtam as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of nathi

(Skt. nästi).

⁶ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

⁷ Bühler (EI, 2. 254, n. 28) took niruddhē 'pi kālē in the sense of nirūdha-kālē 'pi, 'even during (their) imprisonment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1026) translates: 'even in limited time', and Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 123): 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s. v. niruddho.



GL

- ह एक्टका चा मूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिय पातके
- 9 पि च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
- 10 नो भाषेतविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो भाषेतविये
- 11 (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसायं पुंनमासियं
- 12 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा
- 13 अनुपोसधं मछे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये (1) एतानि येवा दिवसानि
- 14 नागवनिस केवटभोगिस यानि इंनानि पि जीवनिकायानि
- 15 न हंतवियानि (J) श्राठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये
- 16 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये
- 17 अज़के एउके सूकले ए वा पि अंने नीलिखयित नी नीलिखतिवये
- 18 (ह) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गीनसा
- 19 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसितवसञ्चिभितिन मे एताये
- 20 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसित बंधनमोखानि कटानि
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam ahā (B) saduvīsati-vasa-
- 2 abhisitona me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā
- 3 suke sālikā alune chakavāke hamse namdīmukhe gelāțe
- 4 jatūkā ambā-kapīlikā daļī 1 anathika-machhe vedaveyake
- 5 Gamgā-pupuṭake samkuja-machhe kaphaṭ[a]-sayake pamna-sase simale
- 6 samdake okapimde palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote
- 7 save chatupade ye patibhogam no eti na cha khādiyatī 2 (C) i 3
- 8 [e]lakā 4 chā sūkalī chā gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhi[y . p . ta]ke 5
- 9 pi cha kāni āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukuţe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve
- 10 no jhapetaviye (F) dave anathaye va vihisaye va no jhapetaviye
- 11 (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātummāsīsu tisāyam pumnamāsiyam
- 12 timni divasāni chāvudasam pamnadasam patipadāy[e] dhuvāye chā
- 13 anuposatham machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā 6 divasāni
- 14 nāga-vanasi kevata-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni
- 15 no hamtaviyāni (J) athamī-pakhāye chāvudasāye pamnadasāye tisāye
- 16 punāvasune tīsu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye
- 17 ajake edake sūkale e vā pi amne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye
- 18 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsiye chātummāsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā
- 19 lakhane no kataviye (L) yāva-saduvīsati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye
- 20 amtalikāye pamnavīsati bamdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

¹ dadī Bühler; but see his Ind. Pal., § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1088. Three other versions read duli, and the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar dudī.

² khādiyati Bühler.

³ Three other versions read ajakā nāni.

⁸ Restore avadhiyā potake.

⁴ edakā Bühler.

⁶ yeva Bühler.



FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

SL

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

- (B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.¹ parrots, mainas, the aruna, ruddy geese, wild geese, the nandīmukha, the gelāṭa, bats, queen-ants,² terrapins,³ boneless fish, the vedaveyaka, the Gangā-pupuṭaka, skate-fish,⁴ tortoises⁵ and porcupines, squirrels (?),⁰ the srimara,¹ bulls set at liberty,⁰ iguanas (?), the rhinoceros,⁰ white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.
- (C) Those [she-goats], 10 ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

1 seyathā = Pāli seyyathā and Skt. tadyathā.

² Michelson (IF, 23. 266 f.) dissolves ambākapīlikā into *ambāka (an adjective formed of ambā) and *pīlikā (for pipīlikā by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into ambā and kapīlikā = Pāli kipillika. The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar actually reads ambā-kipilikā. Skt. pipīlikā has been changed to kapīlikā, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trenckner's Pāli Miscellany, p. 59.

3 Monmohan Chakravarti (Memoirs, ASB, 1. 368) takes d[u][i in the sense of 'the female

tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel,

- ⁴ With sainkuja Senart (IA, 18.75) compares Skt. śainkuchi or sāinkuchi, which may be derived from sainkuch, 'to contract'.
 - ⁵ The identification of kaphata with Skt. kamatha is due to Senart; see IA, 18. 75.
 ⁶ This doubtful explanation of parna-sasa was proposed by Bühler; see EI, 2. 260.

7 This animal is mentioned in the Kautiliya, p. 100, l. 12.

⁸ C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37. 211) remarks that this translation of sandaka is improbable because 'Hindūs would hardly kill a bull'; but matters may have been different in Ašōka's time. Cf. the reference in Kālidāsa's Mēghadūta (v. 45) to king Rantidēva who, according to the Mahābhārata (7. 67, 5; 12. 29, 123; 13. 66, 42 f.), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Charmanvatī. According to the Satapatha-Brāhmana (III, 1, 2, 21), Vājňavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacharita it is stated that a heifer (vatsatarī) was slaughtered by Vālmīki in honour of Vasishtha's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, göghna means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Pāraskara (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Āpastamba (Grihyasūtra, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage; cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the śūlagava or 'spit-ox' offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt's Ritual-Litteratur, p. 83 f. The Buddhist Suttas mention beef-butchers; see Neumann's translation of the Dīghanikāya, vol. II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also Memoirs, ASB, 1. 373; Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, vol. II, p. 145; Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, article 'cow' by Jacobi.

⁹ According to Trenckner's Pāli Miscellany, p. 58, n. 6, palasata (=Vēdic parasvat) is the original of Pāli palāsāda, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form palāsāda occurs in the yātaka, V, p. 406, v. 267, and palasata ibid., VI, p. 277, v. 1205; see Kern's Toevoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers

(Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.

¹⁰ For the pronoun nāni see above, p. 13, n. 5. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9. 343), who wanted to join ajakānāni into one word, and to consider it a Prākrit form of ajakā. Just as the nom. plur. neut. nāni is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. ajakā, and with the nom. sing. neut. she in the Queen's edict, l. 4, kāni is combined with the nom. sing. masc. potake in l. 9; see Lüders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.

CULTURE GOVERNMENT OF WEST

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

(H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmāsīs 1 (and) on the Tishyā full-moon 2 during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (tithi), and invariably on every fast-day.3

(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the

elephant-park ' (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (tithi) of (every) fortnight, on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmāsīs, (and) on festivals, bulls must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tishya, on Punarvasu, on the Chaturmasis, (and) during the fortnight of

(every) Chāturmāsī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

(L) Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).8

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं ऋहा (B) दुवाडस-
- 2 वसञ्चाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापिता लोकसा
- 3 हितसुखाये से नं अपहटा नं नं धंमवित पापोवा
- 4 (c) हेवं लोकसा हितसुखे ति परिवेखामि अय इयं
- 5 नातिसु हेवं पतियासंनेसु हेवं अपकरेसु

1 i.e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter); see Bühler, El, 2. 261 ff., and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli (N) and Jaugada (O).

² tisā (i. e. tishyā), instead of which three other versions read tisi (i. e. *tishī), is the full-

moon of the month Taisha or Pausha; see EI, 2. 264.

3 With the words dhuvāye chā anuposatham cf. anuposatham cha dhuvāye on the Sārnāth pillar, 1. 8.

For naga-vana see the Dhammapada, verse 324, and the Kautiliya, p. 50.

⁵ In the compound athami-pakha the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Bühler, EI, 2. 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34. 434.

6 According to the Kautiliya, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king's birthday and local festivals are

meant; see below, n. 8.

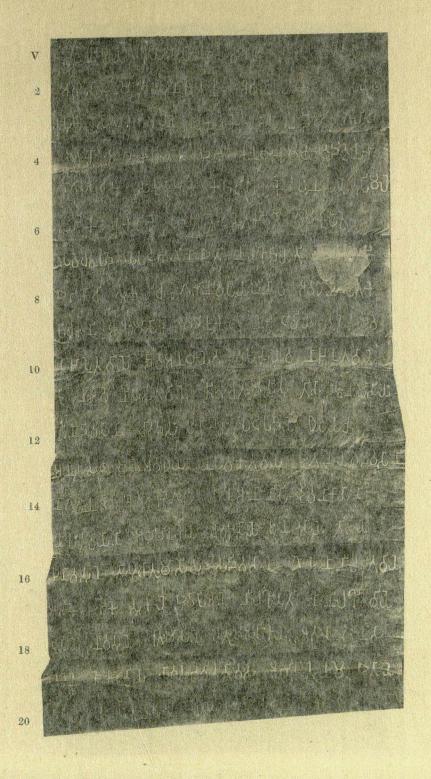
7 For gona, the Prākrit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. go, 'an ox', see Pischel's Grammatik,

8 The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the Kautiliya, p. 146 f. Cf. also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the Kautiliya, p. 407: [विजिगीपुर्नेयमवाय चयां] जारयेत्सर्ववयग्नमोचणं चातुर्मास्वयम्बानायां पौर्णमासीपु च चातूराचिकं राजदेशनवयेकेकराचिकं योगिवासवयं पुंत्रवीपधातं च प्रतिविधयेत; '[having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmāsyas during half a month, on full-moon days during four nights, on the king's birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).'



DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR; SOUTH FACE

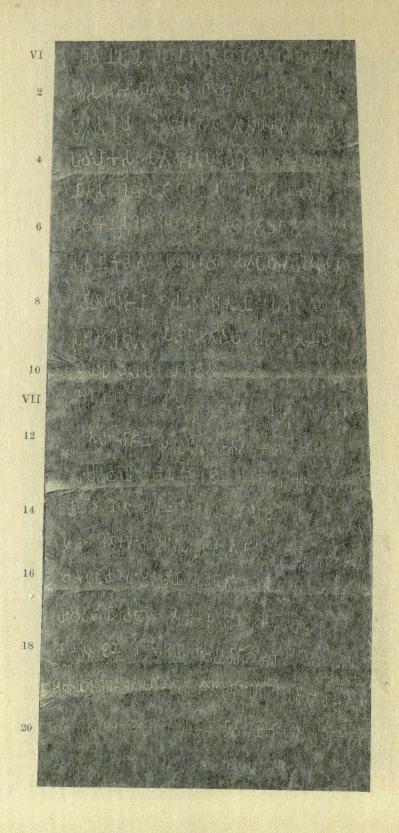




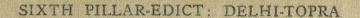


DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR; EAST FACE





SCALE ONE-SIXTH





ि किमं कानि सुखं अवहामी ति तथ च विदहामि (D) हेमेवा

त्र सवनिकायेसु पिटवेखािम (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता

8 विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचूपगमने

9 से मे मोख्यमते (G) सदुवीसतिवसश्यभिसितेन मे

10 इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता

1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam ahā (B) duvādasa-

· 2 vasa-abhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā

3 hita-sukhāye se tam apahatā tam tam dhamma-vadhi pāpovā

4 (C) hevam lokasā hita-[sukhe] ti pativekhāmi atha iyam

5 nātisu hevarii patiyāsainnesu hevarii apakathesu

6 kimam kāni sukham avahāmī ti tatha cha vidahāmi (D) hemevā

7 sava-nikāyesu pativekhāmi (E) sava-pāsamdā pi me pūjitā

8 vividhāya pūjāyā (F) e chu iyam at[a]nā 2 pachūpagamane

9 se me mokhya-mate (G) saduvisati-vasa-abhisitena me

10 iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

- (B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing 3 those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.
- (C) (Thinking): 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)', I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.
 - (D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes.7
 - (E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.8

² atunā Bühler; but see Fleet's note, IA, 13. 310.

With atha iyam of yathayidam, 'just as', in Childers' Pāli Dictionary.

A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of ve; cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

³ Kern (Faartelling, p. 92 f.) explained apahatā by a-prahartā, and franslated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 9. 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications: apahatā may correspond as well to *a-prahritvā (Skt. a-prahritva), and pra-hri may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in -tvā would be without parallel in the earlier dialect; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular nijhapayitā in the pillar-edict IV, M.

⁵ kimam (or kimmam as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of kimiti, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. kim, as Pāli sudam of Skt. svid. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18. 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34. 430. Bühler (EI, 2. 269) preferred to derive it from *kimva = kimiva.

⁶ See above, p. 35, n. 12,

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J.

GL

(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty), viz. visiting (the people) personally.

(G) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

A .- East Face of Pillar.

11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ये अतिकंतं

12 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इछिसु कथं जने

13 धंमविदया वदेया नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमविदया

14 विषया (C) एतं देवानंपिये पियदिस लाजा हेवं आहा (D) एस मे

15 हुथा (E) अतिकंतं च अंतंलं हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने

16 अनुलुपाया धंमविदया विदेया ति नी च जने अनुलुपाया

17 धंमवितया वितया (F) से किनसु जने अनुपरिपजेया

18 (G) किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमविदया विदेया ति (H) किनसु कानि

19 अभ्युंनामयेहं धंमविदया ति (1) एतं देवानंपिये पियदिस लाजा हेवं

20 आहा (J) एस मे हुथा (K) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसचिनि

21 अनुसासामि (L) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसित अभ्युंनिमसित

B .- Round the Pillar.

22 धंमविष्या च बाढं विद्याति (M) एताये मे छठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि धंमानुमिष्यिनि विविधानि छानिपतानि य ' ' ' सा पि बहुने जनिस आयता ए ते पिलयोविद्सिति पि पिविष्यिलसिति पि (M) लजूका पि बहुकेसु पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे छानिपता हेवं च हेवं च पिलयोवदाष

23 जनं धंमयुतं (0) देवानंपिये पियदिस हेवं आहा (P) एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने धंमधंभानि कटानि धंममहामाता कटा धंम 1 1 के केटे (Q) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाजा हेवं आहा (R) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि छायोपगानि होसंति पसुमुनिसानं अंवाविडका लोपापिता (S) अह-कोसिक्यानि पि मे उद्यानानि

24 खानापापितानि निंसिढया च कालापिता (T) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पसुसुनिसानं (U) ल · · · · · एस पटीभोगे

¹ Cf. the Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock-edict XIII, P. ² Cf. above, p. 120, n. 7.

³ Cf. the rock-edict VIII, E, and atana āgācha on the Rummindeī and Nigālī Sāgar pillars. Senart (IA, 18. 107 f.) translated atanā pachūpagamane by 'the personal adherence (to the sects)', and Bühler (EI, 2. 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.





नाम (v) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च मुखियते लोके (w) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती ऋनुपटीपजंतु ति एतद्या मे

- 25 एस कटे (x) देवानंपिये पियदिस हेवं आहा (Y) धंममहामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिषानं च सव ' ' ' डेसु पि च वियापटासे (Z) संघठिस पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव वाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे
- 26 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते '''' माता (AA) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव वियापटा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (BB) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाजा हेवं आहा
- 27 (CC) एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दानविसगिस वियापटासे मम चेव देविनं च सविस च मे ओलोधनिस ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटी ''''' हिद चेव दिसासु च (DD) दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति
- 28 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपिटपितये (EE) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपित च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकस हेवं विद्याति ति (FF) देवानंपिये प ' ' ' ' स लाजा हेवं ज्ञाहा (GG) यानि हि कानिचि मिमया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके छनूपटीपंने तं च छनुविधियंति (HH) तेन विद्या च
- 29 विद्यांति च मातापितिमु मुसुसाया गुलुमु मुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपरी-पतिया वाभनसमनेमु कपनवलाकेमु आव दासभरकेमु संपरीपितया (II) देवानंपिय '' यदिस लाजा हेवं आहा (JJ) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमविद्व विद्या दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निर्दितया च
- 30 (KK) तत चु लहु से धंमिनयमे निरुतिया व भुये (LL) धंमिनयमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (MM) अंनानि पि चु बहुक ' ' धंमिनयमानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निरुतिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमविं विंदता अविद्साये भुतानं
- 31 अनालंभाये पानानं (00) से एताये अथाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतृ ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिद्तपालते आलधे होति (QQ) सतिवसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिवि लिखापापिता ति (RR) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (SS) इयं
- 32 धंमलिनि अत अपि सिलायंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिलिटितिके सिया





A .- East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā hevam āhā (B) ye atikamtam
- 12 amtalam lājāne husu hevam ichhisu katham jane
- 13 dhamma-vadhiyā vadheyā no chu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vadhiyā
- 14 vadhithā (C) etam Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā hevam āhā (D) esa me
- 15 huthā (E) atikamtam cha amtaml[a]m¹ hevam ichhisu lājāne katham jane
- 16 anulupāyā dhamma-vadhiyā vadheyā ti no cha jane anulupāyā
- 17 dhamma-vadhiyā vadhithā (F) se kinasu jane anu[pa]tipajeyā 2
- 18 (G) kinasu jane anulupāyā dhamma-vadhiyā vadheyā ti (H) k[i]nasu kāni
- 19 abhyumnāmayeham dhamma-vadhiyā ti (I) etam Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā hevam
- 20 āhā (J) esa me huthā (K) dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini
- 21 anus a sami (L) etam jane sutu anupatīpajīsati abhyumnamisati

B .- Round the Pillar.

- dhamma-vadhiyā cha bādham vadhisat[i] (M) etāye me aṭhāye dhamma-sāvanāni sāvāpitāni dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni [ya].... [is]ā pi bahune janasi āyatā e te paliyovadisamti pi pavithalisamti pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukesu pāna-sata-sahasesu āyatā te pi me ānapitā hevam cha hevam cha paliyovadātha
- janam dhamma-yu[ta]m (O) [Dev]ānampiye Piyadasi hevam āhā (P) etameva me anuvekhamāne dhamma-thambhāni kaṭāni dhamma-mahāmātā kaṭā dham[ma] . ā . . . e kaṭe (Q) Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā hevam āhā (R) magesu pi me nigohāni lopāpitāni chhāyopagāni hosamti pasu-munisānam ambā-vaḍikyā lopāpitā (S) adha-[kos]ikyāni pi me udupānāni
- 24 khānāpāpitāni nimsi[dha]yā cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]ukāni tata tata k[ā]lāpitāni paṭībhogāye p[a]su-munisānam (U) [la]..... esa paṭībhoge nāma (V) vividhāyā hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi pi lājīhi mamayā cha sukhayite loke (W) imam chu dhammānupaṭīpatī anupaṭīpajamtu ti etadathā me
- esa kaţe (X) Devānampiye Piyadasi hevam āhā (Y) dhamma-mahāmātā pi me te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajītānam cheva gihithānam cha sava . . . [d]esu pi cha viyāpaṭāse (Z) samghaṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti ti hemeva bābhanesu ā[j]īvikesu pi me kaṭe
- 26 ime viyāpaṭā hohamti ti nigamṭhesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti nānāpāsamdesu pi me [ka]ṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti ti paṭivisiṭham paṭīvisiṭham
 tesu tesu [te] mātā 10 (AA) dhamma-mahāmātā chu me etesu cheva
 viyā[pa]ṭā savesu cha amnesu pāsamdesu (BB) Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā
 hevam āhā

² The pa of °pajeyā is inserted above the line.

³ Restore yathā pulisā.

4 ete (in one word) Senart and Bühler.

Restore dhamma-sāvane.
nimsidhiyā Bühler.

7 Restore lahuke chu.

8 Restore sava-pāsaindesu.

9 pi looks almost like ghi.

¹ Read aintalain, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

¹⁰ Restore te te mahāmātā. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13. 310) was prepared, the missing letters were still visible.

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

- (CC) ete cha amne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭāse mama cheva devinam cha savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahuvidhena ā[kā]lena tāni tāni tuṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭī ¹ hida cheva disāsu cha (DD) dālakānam pi cha me kaṭe amnānam cha devi-kumālānam ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭā hohamti ti
- dhammāpadānaṭhāye dhammānupaṭipatiye (EE) esa hi dhammāpadāne dhammapaṭīpati cha yā iyam dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[v]e cha lokasa hevam vaḍhisati ti (FF) Devānampiye [P....s.² 1]ājā hevam āhā (GG) yāni hi [k]ānichi mamiyā sādhavāni kaṭāni tam loke anūp[a]ṭīpamne tam cha anuvidhiyamti (HH) tena vaḍhitā cha

29 vadhisamti cha mātā-pit[i]su sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo-mahālakānam anupatīpatiyā bābhana-samanesu kapana-valākesu āva dāsa-bhatakesu sampatīpatiyā (II) Devānamp[iy . . . ya]dasi 3 lājā hevam āhā (JJ) munisānam chu yā iyam dhamma-vadhi vadhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhamma-niyamena cha nijhatiyā [cha]

30 (KK) tata chu lahu se dhamma-niyame nijhatiyā va bhuye (LL) dhamma-niyame chu kho esa ye me iyam kate imāni cha imāni jātāni avadhiyāni (MM) amnāni pi chu bahu[k]... dhamma-niyamāni yāni me katāni (NN) nijhatiyā va chu bhuye munisānam dhamma-vadhi vadhitā avihimsāye bhutānam

anālambhāye pānānam (OO) se etāye a[th]āye biyam kaṭe putā-papotike chamdamasuliyike hotu ti tathā cha anupaṭīpajamtu ti (PP) hevam hi anupaṭīpajamtam hi[da]ta-[pāla]te āladhe hoti (QQ) satavisati-vasābhis[i]tena me iyam dhamma-libi likhāpāpitā ti (RR) etam Devānampiye bāhā (SS) iyam

32 dhamma-libi ata athi silā-thambhāni vā silā-phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa chila-thitike siyā

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.
 - (C) Concerning this,8 king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 - (D) The following occurred to me.
- (E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

¹ Bühler (EI, 2. 274, note k) restored patīpādayamti, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was patīvedayamti; cf. pratīvedayamtu in the Jaugada rock-edict VI, D.

² Restore Piyadasi.

³ Restore opiye Piyadasi.

⁴ Restore bahukāni.

⁵ athäye Bühler.

⁶ The late Dr. Fleet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the de of Devānampiye, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word a[th]āye in section OO. This double kākapāda or caret (cf. Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangiṇī, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

⁷ Franke (GN, 1895, 537) attributes to *kathain* the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

⁸ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XI, D.





- (F) How 1 then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?
- (G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?
- (H) How could I elevate 2 them 3 by the promotion of morality?
- (I) Concerning this, king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (J) The following occurred to me.
- (K) I shall issue proclamations on morality,4 (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).
- (L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.
- (M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine) too, who are occupied with many people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.
- (N) The Lajūkas also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men,—these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner' exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.
 - (0) Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.
- (P) Having in view this very (matter),¹⁰ I have set up pillars of morality,¹¹ appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.
 - (Q) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
- (R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men, 12 (and) mango-groves 18 were caused to be planted.

¹ Senart (IA, 18, 302) explains kinasu = Pāli kenassu and Skt. kēna-svit; cf. Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. assu. For su = svit see above, p. 99, n. 14.

² With the optative °nāmayeham cf. [pa]ti[pāday]eham and ālabheham in the Dhauli separate edict I, B, and yeham in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.

³ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁴ Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to sāvāpayāmi, cf. iyam sāvane sāvāpite at Brahmagiri (l. 5), for which the Śiddāpura edict (l. 11) reads [iya]m sāvane sāvite, and the Rūpnāth edict (l. 3) sāvane kate. These three records and the Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, Maski, and Jaṭinga-Rāmēśvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the dhamma-sāvanāni to which Aśōka is alluding here.

⁵ See above, p. 120, n. 2. ⁶ See above, p. 95, n. 4.

With the locative bahune Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared punävasune in the pillar-edict V, ll. 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.

⁸ See above, p. 124, n. 1.

⁹ Cf. the Dhauli separate edict I, l. 12.

¹⁰ anuvekhamāne is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1013.

¹¹ As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46.90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.

¹² Cf. the rock-edict II, D.

¹³ In ambā-vadikyā and adha-[kvs]ikya (below, section S) the k of the two affixes -kā and -ika is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel i, as frequently at Kālsī; see there nātikya, pālamtikya, &c. The form ambā-vadikā occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, ambā (for the Sanskrit masculine āmra), seems to be used as feminine; cf. ābikā-bhati (=*āmrikā-bhriti) at Junnar (ASWI, 4. 97, No. 26). The second member, vadikā, is the regular Prākrīt equivalent of Skt. *vritikā (= vriti, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, vātikā, presupposes the form *vartikā; cf. Wackernagel's Altinā. Grammatik, I, p. 168.





Scale One-SIXTH

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA



(S) And (at intervals) of eight $k\bar{\nu}s^1$ wells were caused to be dug by me, and flights of steps (for descending into the water) were caused to be built.

(T) Numerous drinking-places 3 were caused to be established by me, here and there, for the enjoyment of cattle and men-

(U) [But] this so-called enjoyment (is) [of little consequence].4

(V) For with various comforts have the people been blessed both by former kings and by myself.

(W) But by me this has been done for the following purpose: 5 that they might conform to that practice of morality.

(X) Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(Y) Those 6 my Mahāmātras of morality too are occupied 7 with affairs of many kinds which are beneficial to ascetics as well as to householders, and they are occupied also with all sects.

¹ Fleet (JRAS, 1906. 401 ff.) showed that adha here represents Skt. ashtan, and not ardha. According to Hiuen-Tsiang, Bāṇa, and Kautilya (JRAS, 1912. 239), one yōjana = eight kōs = nine miles was considered a day's march of an army, while it would have been unnecessarily lavish and unpractical to sink wells and build rest-houses at distances of but little more than half a mile.

² Bühler read ninsidhiyā, which he rendered by 'rest-houses', connecting it with nishidiyā (from Skt. nishādatī) in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions; cf. also Arahata-nisidiyā-samīpe in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravēla, l. 15. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 852) compares with it the Ardhamāgadhī sedhi = Skt. *ślishti. As sedhi is synonymous with Skt. śrēni, he attributes to ninsidhiyā the sense of Skt. niśrayanī, 'a ladder, a flight of steps'. This meaning would fit the text admirably, but the actual reading of the pillar is ninsi[dha]yā, which would correspond to Skt. *niślishṭakā. For the change of śl to ms see Pischel's Grammatik, § 74, and for dh = original

sht cf. adha- = ashta- at the beginning of section S.

With apana cf. prapa in the Nasik cave-inscription No. 10, 1. 3 (EI, 8. 78), and in the Palitana plates of Simhaditya (EI, 11. 18, text l. 12). I cannot refrain from quoting the following description from F. Drew's charming work, The Northern Barrier of India (London, 1877), p. 99: 'At this time of the year the ground is dry, and all the way from Akhnur the road has been hot and thirst-bringing. A good charitable custom of the Hindus brings relief to the traveller. On many a spot in the hottest part, perhaps at the summit of one of the steep rises of the uneven road, will be found a hut where cool water kept in clean porous vessels is at the service of any who may ask for it. The man in charge is probably a Brahman, so that people of every caste can take water from his hands; he may have been placed there by some well-to-do Hindū, whose piety prompts him to this good work. It is the Brahman's business to bring the water from the nearest stream, which may be a long walk off, and distribute it to wayfarers. When the rains come, and water is to be found in every pool and little stream, the establishment will be no longer kept up.' The same charitable arrangement is evidently alluded to in the text of Aśōka's pillar-edict. The Hindūs are wonderfully conservative; e.g. the bullock-cart and the carrying-pole (Hindī bahangī, Dravidian kāvadi) figured at Bharaut (Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, plate 57; 41, fig. 1; 42, fig. 7; 45, fig. 5; 46, fig. 8) do not differ from those one sees at the present day.

A similar phrase occurs in the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, V, and below, section KK.

For athā = athāya see above, p. 22, n. 3. Although in the dialect of the pillar-edicts Skt. artha is generally represented by atha, the form atha (with dental th) occurs also in section OO of the edict VII. Michelson's explanation of etadathā (IF, 23. 248 f.) appears to me 'too bold', as he confesses himself.

6 The pronoun te seems to refer to section P, above.

Franke (VOJ, 9. 349 f.) has pointed out that viyāpaṭāse, which occurs twice in this section and once in CC, below, is the Prākrit equivalent of the Vēdic nominative plural in -āsaḥ. Cf. above, p. 87, n. 3.



(Z) Some (Mahāmātras) were ordered by me to busy themselves 1 with the affairs of the Samgha; 2 likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ājīvikas; 2 others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas; 4 others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different Mahāmātras (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations).

(AA) But my Mahāmātras of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as

well as with all other sects.

(BB) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers) 6 are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity 7 both here 8 and in the provinces.

(DD) And others of were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, to in order (to promote) noble deeds

of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz.¹¹ compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have

imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

² i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

4 i.e. the Jaina monks.

⁵ As remarked by Senart (IA, 18. 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the *Dharma-makāmātras* of sections Y and AA.

⁶ As at Shāhbāzgarhī (XIII, 8) and Mānsehrā (XIII, 9), mukha corresponds to Skt. mukhya. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. mukha, because in mokhya (= Skt. maukhya, Delhi-Töprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group khy is not assimilated. But Skt. mukha is always neuter, and the masculine mukha seems to be a fiction of the Kōśas. Thomas renders bahukā mukhā by 'many departments'; see JRAS, 1915. 99.

⁷ Kern and Bühler (EI, 2. 274) explained tuthāyatan[ā]ni by tushty-āyatanāni, 'sources of contentment', i.e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take āyatana as a synonym of pātra or tīrtha, and follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 853) in considering the first

member of the compound to be tushta in the sense of tushti.

8 viz. in Pātaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

9 Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

10 Cf. the Kālsī edict V, M, where Aśōka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before yā iyam we may have to supply dhamme, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it; cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 854.

¹ Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated *ime* by 'others'.

³ For the Ājīvika sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA



(II) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin speaks thus.

(JJ) Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by conversion.¹

(KK) But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence;

by conversion, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably.

(LL) Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable.2

(MM) But there are also many other moral restrictions which have been imposed

by me.

(NN) By conversion, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings (and) to abstention from killing animals.

(OO) Now for the following purpose has this been ordered, that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign and) as long as the moon and the sun

(shall shine),3 and in order that (men) may conform to it.

(PP) For if one conforms to this,4 (happiness) in this (world) and in the other

(world) will be attained.

(QQ) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-seven years.

(RR) Concerning this, Dövānāmpriya says.5

(SS) This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that 6 this may be of long duration.

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

1 '''' नं धंसेन विधाने 2 धमे '''''' 1[nam] dhammen[a] v[i]dh[āne]

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

(A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आ ' (B) धंमे साधु कियं ' ' मे ति (C) अपासिनवे वह कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाना पि मे

Literally: 'by inducing to meditate'. Cf. above, p. 69, n. 4. Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 122) has shown that in Buddhist Sanskrit works nidhyapti has the meaning 'reflection'.

² See the pillar-edict V.

dha[me]....

³ Cf. puta-papotike chaindama-sūriyike on the Sāinchī pillar, C, ā-chaindama-shūliyain in the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions (IA, 20. 364 f.), and ā-chandrārkam in Sanskrit inscriptions.

⁴ See above, p. 97, n. 3.
⁵ This section and the next one may have to be placed before section OO; see above, p. 133, n. 6.

बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अन्-गहें कटे आ पानदाखिनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहुनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता ' ' अनुपरिपजंतू चिलंगितिका च होतू ति (H) ये च ' ' ' सित से सुकटं कछती ति (A) De[vā]n[a]mpiye Piyadasi lāja¹ [hevam ā]..(B) dh[am]me s[ā]dh[u] k[iya]m ... [m]e ti (C) a[pā]sinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā 2 [pi me] 3 bahuvidhe dimne (E) du[pa]da-ch[a]tu[pa]desu pakhi-vālichale[su viv]i[dhe me anu] gahe kate ā pāna-dākhināye (F) a[m]nāni pi cha me bah[ūni kayānāni] 4 kaţāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyam dhamma-lipi li[khāpitā] anupațipajamtu chilsam-th]itika cha hot[u] ti (H) ye [cha] [sa]ti se sukatam ka[chha]tī ti THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आहा (B) क्यानंमेव दे ' ' कयाने करे ती (c) नो मिना पापं देखित इयं मे पापे करे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नाम अय चंडिये निटलिये कोधे माने इस्या कालनेन व हकं मा पलिअसियसं (G) ' वाढं टेखिये (म) इयं मे हिटतिकाये इयं मे पालतिकाये (A) Devānampiye Pi, si lāja 3 hevam āhā (B) kayānamm[eva de]..... 1 kayāne kațe ti 4 (C) no min[ā] pāpam dekhati iyam me pāp[e 5 kațe ti iyam va] āsinave nāmā ti (D) [du]pativekhe chu kho esā (E) hevam chu kho [esa 6 de]khiye (F) imani asinav[a-gamîni] nama atha chamd[i]ye ni[thu]li[y]e k[o]dhe 4 māne isyā kālanena [va] hakam mā palibha[sa]yi[sa]m (G) . . . bā[dham] 5 dekhiye (H) iyam me [hi]dat[i]kāye iyam me pālatikāye FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH 1 क चर्चति आलाधियतवे 2 तु अखये होति 3 '' लिहरवे हेवं ममा · · · ये (s) येन एते ऋभीता

¹ lājā Bühler.

³ lājā Bühler.

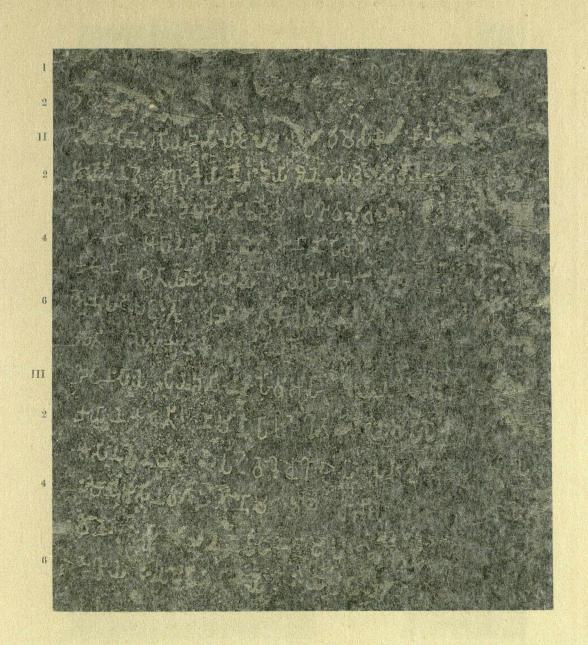
^{6 . .} sā Bühler.

^{2 -[}dā]nam Bühler.

⁴ ti Bühler.



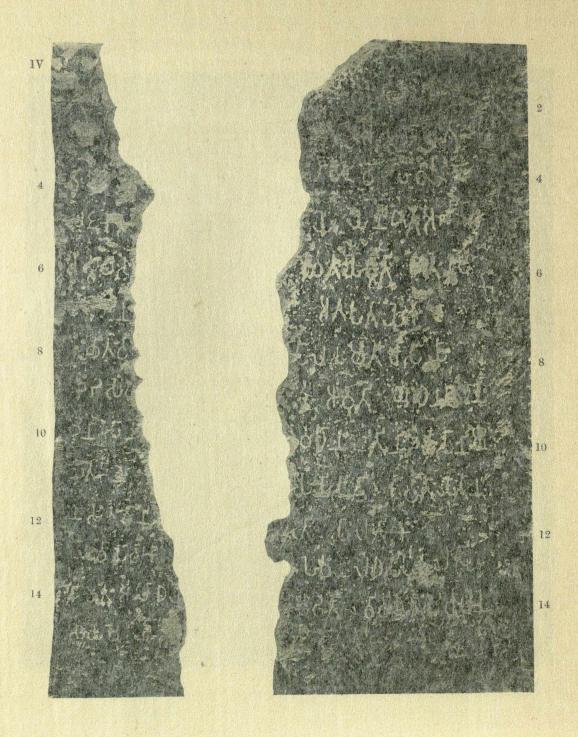
DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR; NORTH FACE



SCALE ONE-FOURTH



DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR; WEST FACE



SCALE ONE-FOURTH



FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH



6	अख्य सं ' ' ' ' पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे
7	लज्ञानं ' ' ' जनपतिये कटे
8	(K) इंडितवि : हालसमता च सिया
9	दंडसम ' ' ' ' में आवृति वंधनवधानं
10	मृनिसानं ' ' वधानं तिंनि दिवसानि से
11	योते दिने (M) पिसंति जीविताये तानं
12	नासंतं वा नि ' ' ' ' ' ति पालतिकं
13	उपवासं वा क ' ' ' हेवं निलुधिस पि कालिस
14	पालतं श्रालाधये : : : वढित विविधे धंमचलने
15	संयमे दान ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
1 2	Cl. 71 al. al. at C-31-33 p. 75.
3	·····. [ka]¹ chaghamti [ā]lādha[y]i[tave] ···· tu asvathe² [ho]ti
4	vi[ya] [1]i[ha]ṭave hev[aṁ mam]ā
5	[la]jūk[a] * ye (J) yen[a] ete a[bh]ītā
6	asvatha sam [pa]vataye[v]ū ti [e]te[na] me
7	[laj]ū[kā]n[am]ata-patiye kat[e]
8	(K) ichhitavi [h]āla-samatā ch[a] siyā
9	damda-sa[ma] [me] āvuti [ba]mdhana-[badh]ānam
10 11	munisā[nam]vadhānam timni di[va]sāni [m]e
12	y[o]te dimne (M) payisa[m]ti j[ī]v[i]tāye tāna[m] nāsamtam [v]ā ni ti pālatikam
13	u[pa]vāsam vā k[a] hevam niludhasi pi [k]ālasi
14	pā[la]tam ālādha[ye]vadhati vividhe dhamma-chal[a]ne
15	samyame dā[na]
	FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH
1.	'''' पोतके पि च कानि
2	· · · · · · के (D) विधकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
3	ं ं ं तिवये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नी
4	रुपितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातंमासीसु
5	निसायं पुनमासियं तिनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं
6	पटिपदा भुवाये च अनुपोसधं मछे अवधिये नो पि
7	विकेतविये (1) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनिस केवटभोगंसि
8	यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिकायानि नो हंतवियानी

¹ [lajūkā] Bühler.

² asva[the] Bühler.



9	(ग) खटांसपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये
10	युनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने
11	नो नील खितविये अजने एक के स्कले ए वा पि
12	अंने नीलिखयित नो नीलिखतिवये (E) तिसाये पुनावसुने
13	चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा लखने
14	
	नो ' ' विये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसञ्जभिसितेन मे एताये
15	अंतिलवाये पंनवीसित वंधनमोखानि कटानि
1	[potake 1 pi cha] k[ā]n[i]
2	ke (D) [vadh]i-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajī[ve]
3	ta[v]iye (F) dāve [a]naṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no
4	[jhāpe]ta[vi]ye (G) jī[v]ena j[īv]e no pusi[ta]viye (H) tīsu chātammāsīsu 2
5	[t]isāya[m] pu[mna]mā[si]ya[m] timni divasāni chāvudasam pamnadasam
6	p[a]tipadā dh[r]uvāye 8 cha anuposatham machhe avadhiye no pi
7	viketav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ga-van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi
8	y[āni amnāni] pi jīva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]mtaviyānī 4
9	(J) aṭham[i-pakhā]ye 5 [chā]vudasāye pam[na]ḍasāye tisāye
10	punāvasune tīsu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone
11	no nīlakhitavi[y]e ajake eļake o sūkale e vā pi
12	am[n]e nī[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]
13	chātummāsiye chātu[m]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane
14	no [v]iye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye
15	a[m]talikāye pamnavīsati bamdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
	SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH
1	ं ूपगमने से में मीख्यमते (G) सहु · · · · · · · · ·
2	ं िासतेन में इयं धंमलिपि लि ं ं ं ं
,	See appropriate to the model of the section (C) and the
1	ūpagamane se me mokhya-mate (G) sadu

2 isitena me iyam dhamma-li[pi] li

On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 124), portions of the preceding word avadhiyā are also visible.

² Read chātuin°.

³ dhuvāye Bühler. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 1.

^{4 °}yāni Bühler.

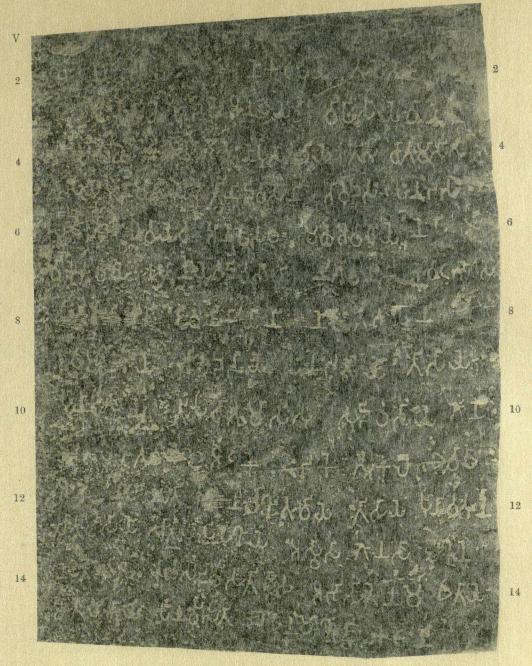
^{*} aṭham[ī]- Bühler.

⁶ edake Bühler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1911. 1088.



DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR; SOUTH FACE







III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

A .- East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसितवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि
- 2 लिखापित (C) हिट्तपालते दुसंपरिपादये अन्तत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय
- अगाय मुम्साय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुस्थिय धंमापेख
- 4 धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे विढत विढसित चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया च मिरुमा च अनुविधीयंति
- 5 संपरिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपियतवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन
- 6 धंमेन विधाने धंमेन मुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyam dhamma-li[p]i
- 2 likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusampaţipādaye amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāy[a]
- 3 agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha¹
- 4 dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita 2 vadhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyamti
- 5 sampatipādayamti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) hemeva amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyam dhammena pālana
- 6 dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukh[ī]yana dhammena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे
- 2 सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे करे

आ पानदिखनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये में अटाये इयं धमलिपि लिखापित हेवं

4 अनुपिटपजंतु चिलंघितीका च होतू ति (B) ये च हेवं संपिटपिजिसित से सुकटं कार्जित ति

1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache

socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe dimne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-

vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kate

ā pāna-dakhināye (F) a[m]nāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyam dhama-lipi likhāpita hevam

4 anupațipajamtu chilam-thitikă cha hotu ti (H) ye cha hevam sampațipajisati se sukatam kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) क्यानंमेव देखंति इयं मे क्याने कटे ति (C) नी मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
- 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपरिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये
- उ निठ्ठिये कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पिलिभसियसं ति (क) एस वाढं देखिये (म) इयं मे हिट्तिकाये इयंमन मे पालितकाये ति
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) kayānammeva dekhamti iyam me kayāne kate ti (C) no mina pāpam dekhamti iyam me pāpe kate ti

2 iyam va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupativekhe chu kho esa (E) hevam chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chamdiye.

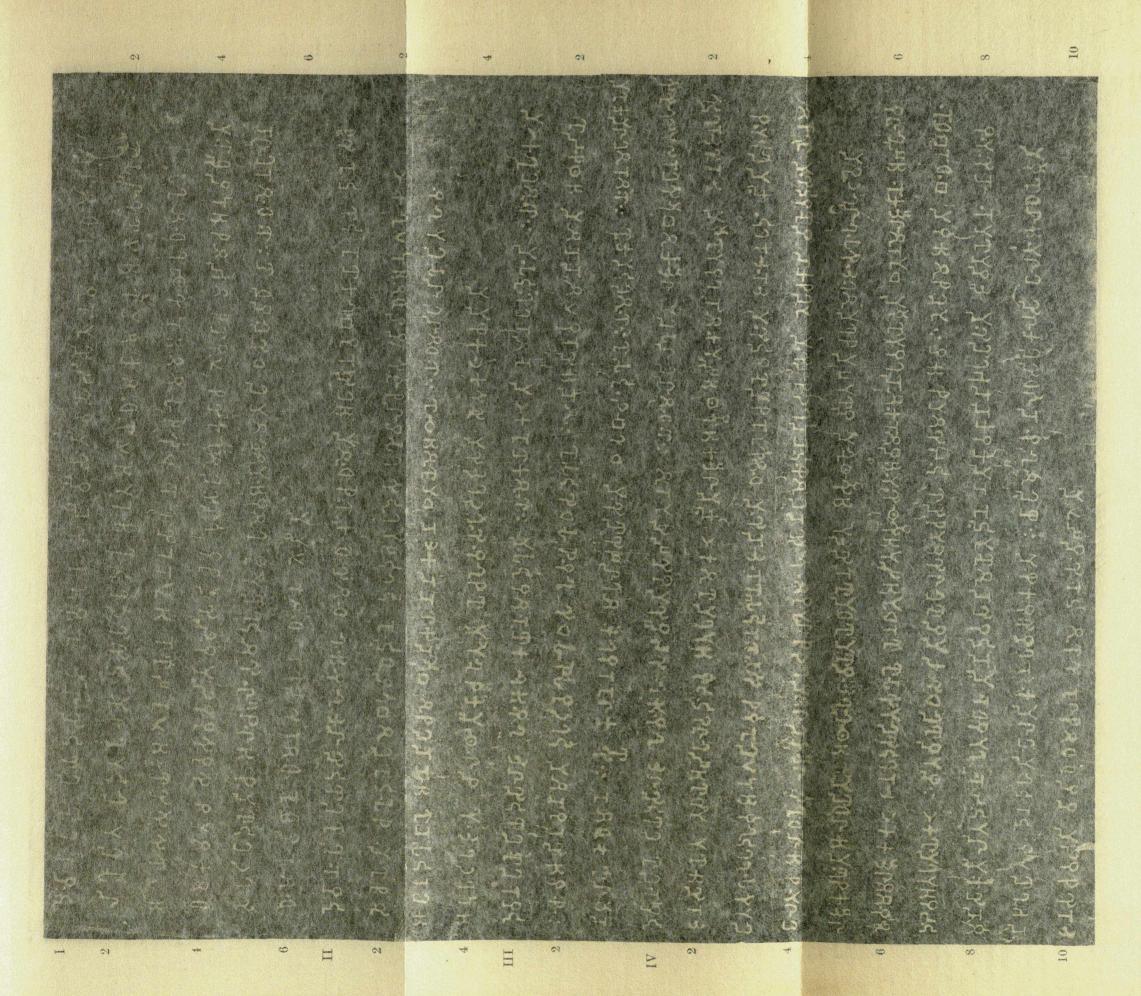
3 nithuliye kodhe mane isya kalanena va hakam ma palibhasayisam ti (G) esa badham dekhiye (H) iyam me hidatikaye iyammana me palatikaye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंषिये पियद्सि लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसितवसाभिसितेन में इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका में बहूसु पानसत्तसहसेसु
- 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वय अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
- हितमुखं उपदहेव अनुगहिनेव च (E) मुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं बिंति हिदतं च
- 4 पालतं च आलाधयेवु (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं







FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ



हैं लजूक चर्चात आलाधियतवे (1) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वये होति वियत धाति चयति मे पंजं मुखं पलिहटवे ति

हेवं मम लजून नट जानपद्स हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अङ्मिन कंमानि पवतयेवृ ति एतेन मे लजूनानं अभिहाले व

र दंडे व अतपतिये करे (E) इछितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवृति बंधनवधानं

मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका
 व कानि निरुपयसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व

9 निरुपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कहंति (N) इहा हि मे हेवं निल्धिस पि कालिस पालतं शालाध्येव ति

10 (0) जनस च वढित विविधे धंमचलने सयमे टानसंविभागे ति

1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvisati-vasābhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu

2 janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va d[a]mde va ata-patiye me kaṭe kimti lajūka

asvatha abhīta kammāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa

3 hita-sukham upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanam jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kimti hidatam cha

4 pālatam cha ālādhayevu (F) lajūkā pi laghamti paṭichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdamnāni paṭichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam

5 lajūka chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pamjam¹ sukham palihaṭave ti

6 hevam mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā samtam achhimana² kammāni pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānam abhihāle va

7 damde va ata-patiye kaţe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kimti viyohāla-samatā cha siya damda-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti bamdhana-badhānam

munisā[na]m tīlita-damdānam pata-vadhānam timni divasāni me yote dimne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisamti jīvitāye tānam nāsamtam va

9 nijhapayi[ta]ve dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavāsam va kachhamti (N) ichhā hi me hevam niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti

10 (O) janasa cha va[dha]ti vividhe dha[m]ma-chalane sayame dana-samvibhage ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसितवसाभिसितस मे इमानि पि जातानि अवध्यानि
- 2 करानि सेयय सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीसुखे गेलाटे जतूक
- 3 अंवाकिपिलिक दुक्ति अनिविक्सिके वेदवेयके गंगापुपुरके संकुजमके कफरसेयके

GL

- 4 पंनससे सिमले संडके ख्रोकपिंड पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे
- 5 ये पटिपोगं नो एति नो च खादियति (°) अजना नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व
- 6 अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो श्रापयितविये (F) दावे
- 7 अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो श्रापितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं

४ पुंनमासियं तिंति दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पिटपदं ध्वाये च अनुपोसणं मळे अवध्ये नी पि

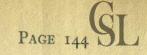
- 9 विकेतिविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनिस केवटभोगिस यानि अंनानि पि जीवनिकायानि
- 10 नो हंतवियानि (J) अठिमपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु
- 11 सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
- 12 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये ऋस्वस गीनस लखने नो कटविये
- 13 (L) यावसडुवीसितवसाभिसितस मे एताये श्वंतिलकाये पंनवीसित वंधन-मोखानि कटानि
 - 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitasa me imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni
 - 2 katāni seyatha suke sālika alune chakavāke hamse namdīmukhe gelāte jatūka
 - 3 ambā-kapilika duļi¹ anathika-machhe vedaveyake Gamgā-pupuţake samkuja-machhe kaphaţa-seyake
- 4 pamna-sase simale samdake okapimde palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade
- 5 ye paṭipogam² no eti no cha khādiy[a]ti (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkalī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā va
- 6 avadhya potake cha kāni āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukuţe no kaţaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve
- 7 anațhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātummāsīsu tisyam
- 8 pumnamāsiyam timni divasāni chāvudasam pamnaļasam apaṭipadam dhuvāye cha anuposatham machhe avadhye no pi
- 9 viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nik[ā]yāni

² Read patibhogain.

3 painnadasain Bühler.

¹ dudi Bühler; but see his Ind. Pal., § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.





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SCALE ONE-SIXTH

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ



- no hamtaviyāni (J) athami-pakhāye chāvudasāye pamnadasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu chātummāsīsu
 - 11 sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eļake i sūkale e vā pi amne nīlakhitaviye
- 12 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsiye chātummāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kataviye
- 13 (L) yāva-saduvīsati-vasābhisitasa me etāye amtalikāye pamnavīsati bamdhanamokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (△) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस
- 2 हितसुखाये से तं ऋपहर तं तं धंमविं पापीव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति परिवेखामि
- अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपक्रेमु किंमं कानि मुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि
- 4 (D) हमेव सवनिकायेमु परिवेखामि (E) संवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने
- 5 से में मुख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन में इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) duvā[da]sa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa
- 2 hita-sukhāye se tam apahaṭa tam tam dhamma-vadhi pāpova (C) hevam lokasa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi
- 3 athā iyam nātisu hevam patyāsamnesu hevam apakathesu kimmam kāni sukham āvahāmī ti tathā cha vidahāmi
- 4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsamḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyam atana pachūpagamane
- 5 se me mukhya-mute 2 (G) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita

IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

A .- East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) सड्वीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
- 2 धंमलिपि लिखापित (c) हिट्तपालते दुसंपिटपाद्ये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय
- अगाय पलीखाय अगाय मुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम

¹ edake Bühler.



- अनुसिषय धंमापेल धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वितत वित्तिति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे
- उक्सा च गेवया च मिर्मा च अनुविधीयंति संपिटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपियतवे
- 6 (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन
- 7 धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam ā[ha] (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyam
- 2 dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusampaţipādaye amnata agāya dhammakāmatāya
- 3 agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama
- 4 anusathiya dhammapekha dhamma-kamata cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva (E) pulisa pi me
- 5 ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyamti sampaṭipādayamti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave
- 6 (F) hemeva amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyam dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyana
- 7 dhammena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु किय चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु क्याने
- 2 दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पिख-
- वालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहें करे आ पानदिस्तिनाये (F) अंनािन पि च में बहुनि क्यानािन
- 4 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपरिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति
- 5 (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कड़ित
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiya 1 chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne
- 2 daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe dimne (E) dupadachatupadesu pakhi-
- 3 vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaţe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH



kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevam anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitīkā cha hotū ti

(H) ye cha hevam sampatipajisati se sukatam kachhati

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) क्यानंमेव देखंति इयं मे क्याने कठे ति (C) नो मिन पापं

2 देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस

(E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये

उ (म) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निवृत्तिये कीथे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं

4 मा पलिभसियसं ति (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हिद्तिकाये इयंमन मे पालितकाये ति

1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) kayānammeva dekhamti iyam me kayāne kate ti (C) no mina pāpam

dekhamti iyam me pāpe kaţe ti iyam va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaţivekhe chu kho

esa (E) hevam chu kho esa dekhiye

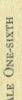
- 3 (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chamdiye nithūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakam
- 4 mā palibhasayisam ti (G) esa bāḍham dekhiye (H) iyam me hidatikāye iyammana me pālatikāye ti

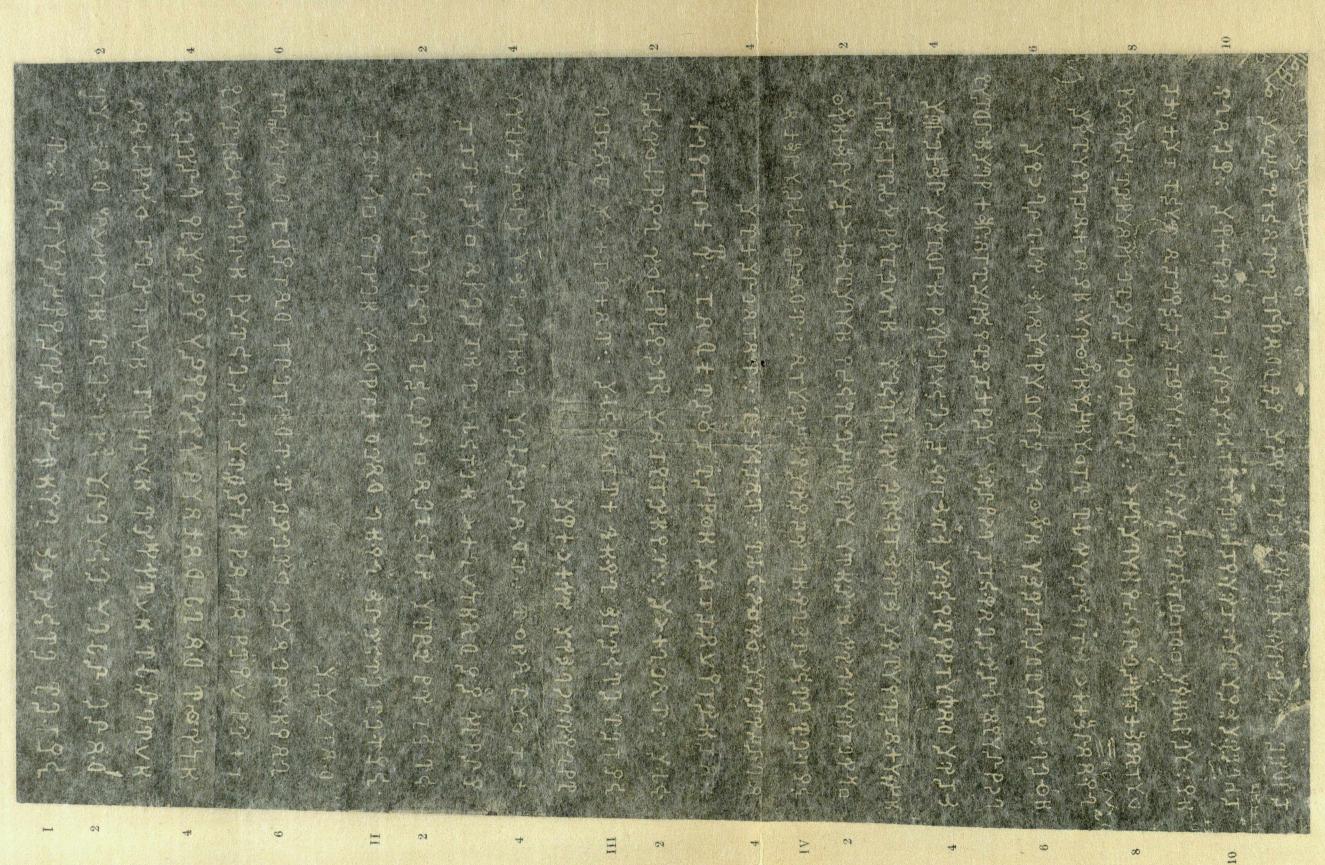
FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद्सि लाज हेवं ग्राह (B) सडुवीसितवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे
- 2 बहूमु पानसतसहसेमु जनिस आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपितिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वय
- अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस हितसुखं उपदहेवू अनुगहिनेवु च
 (E) मुखीयनदखीयनं

4 जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पालतं च आलाधयेव ति (F) लज्जा पि लघंति

5 पिटचिलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि में छंदंनानि पिटचिलिसंति (E) ते पि च कानि वियोविदसंति येन मं लजूक चर्घति आलाधियतवे







- 6 (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वेष होति वियत धाति चघित मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति
- 7 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वया संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति
- 8 एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (E) इक्षितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च
- 9 (L) शावा इते पि च मे शावुति बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिनि दिवसानि मे योते दिने (M) नातिका च कानि
- 10 निरुपियसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व निरुपियतवे दानं दाहंति पालितिकं उपवासं व कडंति (N) इछा हि में हेवं
- 11 निलुधिस पि कालिस पालतं आलाध्येवू ति (०) जनस च वढित विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me
- 2 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va damḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kimti lajūka asvatha
- 3 abhīta kammāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukham upadahevū anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanam
- 4 jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kimti hidatam cha pālatam cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti
- 5 paţichalitave mam (G) pulis[ā]ni pi me chhamdamnāni paţichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam lajūka chaghamti ālādhayitave
- 6 (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palihaṭave ti
- 7 hevam mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā samtam avimana kammāni pavatayevū ti
- 8 etena me lajūkānam [a]bhihāle va damde va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kimti viyohāla-samatā cha siya damda-samatā cha
- 9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti bamdhana-badhānam munisānam tīlita-damḍānam pata-vadhānam timni divasāni me [yo]te dimne (M) nātikā va kāni
- 10 nijhapayisamti jīvitāye tānam nāsamtam va nijhapayi[tav]e dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavāsam va kachhamti (N) ichhā hi me hevam
- 11 niludhasi pi [kālas]i pālatam ālādhayevū t[i] (0) janasa cha vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti



FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

1 (△) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसितवसाभिसितस में इमानि पि

2 जातानि अवध्यानि करानि सेयथा मुके मालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे

- 3 नंदीमुखे गेलारे जतून अंवाकिपिलिक दुकि अनरिकमछे वेदवेयके
- 4 गंगापुपुरके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके श्रोकिपंडे
- 5 पलसते सेतकपीते गामकपीते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभीगं नो एति न च खादियति
- 6 (C) अजना नानि एडका च मूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि
- 7 आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो रापयितविये (F) दावे अनटाये व

8 विहिसाये व नी ज्ञापितिवये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितिवये (E) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिसियं

पुंनमासियं तिनि दिवसानि चाबुदसं पंनळसं पिटपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसणं

मह्ये अवध्ये

10 नी पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनिस केवटभोगिस यानि श्रांनानि पि

11 जीवनिकायानि नो हंतवियानि (ग) खाठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनळसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने

तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलिखतिवये अजके एळके सूकले ए

वा पि अंने

- 13 नीलिखयित नो नीलिखतिवये (E) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासि-पखाये अस्वस गोनस
- 14 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसितवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतिलकाये पंनवीसित
- 15 वंधनमोखानि कटानि
 - 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitasa me imāni pi
 - 2 jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālika alune chakavāke hamse 3 namdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka ambā-kapilika duļi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
- 4 Gamgā-pupuṭake samkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake pamna-sase simale samdake okapimde

¹ dudi Bühler; but see his Ind. Pal., § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.



- palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati
- 6 (C) ajakā nāni edakā cha sūkalī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni
- 7 āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anaṭhāye va
- 8 vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātummāsīsu tisiyam
- 9 pumnamāsiyam timni divasāni chāvudasam pamnaļasam pampadam dhuvāye cha anuposatham machhe avadhye
- 10 no pi viketaviye (I) etäni yeva divasani naga-vanasi kevata-bhogasi yani amnani pi
- 11 jīva-nikāyāni no hamtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye pamnaļasāye ² tisāye punāvasune
- 12 tīsu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eļake 3 sūkale e vā pi amne
- 13 nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsiye chātummāsipakhāye asvasa gonasa
- 14 lakhane no kataviye (L) yāva-saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye pamnavīsati
- 15 bamdhana-mokhāni katāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद्सि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाट्टसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित
- 2 लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमविं पापीव (C) हेवं लोकस
- उ हितसुखे ति पिटिवेखािम अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकिरसु
- 4 किंमं कानि मुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेमु पटिवेखामि
- 5 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं ज्ञान पचूपगमने
- 6 से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) duvā[la]s[a-va]sābhisitena ⁴ me dhamma-lipi likhāpita
- 2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se tam apahaṭa tam dhamma-vadhi pāpova (C) hevam lokasa
- 3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi athā iyam nātisu hevam paṭyāsamnesu hevam apakaṭhesu
- 4 kimmam kāni sukham āvahāmī ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi
- 5 (E) sava-pāsamdā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyam atana pachūpagamane
- 6 se me mokhya-mute (G) saduvīsati-va[s]ābhisitona me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita

¹ pamnadasam Bühler.

² pamnadasāye Bühler.

³ edake Bühler.

SEPTER TRANSPORTED AND RELATIONS エラとう ハンく そんりゃのナビュナ ライ ガーン・リーション ハイレレイ おもともも すしにみよす じょんひょう カイナット・トナノイント し、およることがは、イローには、より人は、より人は、より人は、これには、 MARIE BYED WHILL ANTO BUBIES HOUSENHAFT おれんとも さんしょくとす グタケステステムのです ショルロフタ CLITY TEATER STEATING THAY AND THE FLACE STATES OF STATES OF STATES OF STATES THE TABLE DECEMBER INSIDE FORMAD A CHECK FORTILI LEAGUE HOSTOFILE HOLD LAUNT AND LEGAN 工作证人工的工人员工人工政策机工设入分司工行人发展的工作和设计人工 到江州公司。在各方的是是大台东西的大大多一个大工的大工的大工作工作工作 DOLEGI FEL すけん しんかりょうとはしせく ぶんちゃらずしたら しょうけん しょゆりく しゅうしゃ おのいしょくん しゃしくんエネ しゃれしゃの するようないというないない たっぱん しょうしん しょうりょうしょうしょうり delayed as a subject of the sale of the sa 6 988387 95 2949944 27 T8 - T D 8420



V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

A .- North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद्सि लाज हेव आह (B) सहुवीसितवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिट्तपालते
- 2 दुसंपटिपाद्ये छंनत छगाय धंसकामताय छगाय पलीखाय छगाय सुसूसाय छगेन भयेन छगेन उसाहेन
- 3 (D) एस चु खी मम अनुसिषय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुने सुने विदत विदसित चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च
- 4 गेवया च मिर्मा च अनुविधीयंति संपरिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपियतवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि
- 5 या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति
- 1 (A) Devānampiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva¹ āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate
- 2 dusampaţipādaye amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena
- 3 (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
- 4 gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyamti sampaṭipādayamti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) hemeva amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
- 5 yā iyam dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dha[m]m[e]na sukhīyana dhammena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) आपासिनवे वह क्याने दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चलुदाने पि मे
- 2 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेमु पिखवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कि आ पानदिखनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि क्यानानि कटानि
- उ (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपिटपजंतु चिलंपितीका च होतूं ति (H) ये च हेवं संपिटपिजसित से सुकटं कछती ति
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhudāne pi me



bahuvidhe dimne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kaṭāni

3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevam anupaṭipajamtu chilamthitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevam sampaṭipajisati se sukaṭam kachhatī ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) क्यानंमेव देखंति इयं मे क्याने कटे ति (O) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति

इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपिटवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (E) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अष चंडिये निठ्लिये

अवोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पिल्लभसियसं (G) एस वाढं देखिये (B) इयं में हिद्दितकाये इयंमन मे पालितकाये ति

1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) kayānammeva dekhamti iyam me kayāne kate ti (C) no mina pāpam dekhamti iyam me pāpe kate ti

iyam va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupativekhe chu kho esa (E) hevam chu kho esa

dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chamdiye nithūliye

kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakam mā palibhasayisam (G) esa bādham dekhiye (H) iyam me hidatikāye iyammana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदिस लाज हेवं आह (B) सहुवीसितवसाभिसितेन से इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका से बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु

जनिस आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहले व दंडे व अतपतिये से करे किंति लजूक

अस्वय अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवृ ति जनस जानपदस

हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोविदसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पालतं च

4 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पदिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि में छंदंनानि परिचलिसंति (E) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक

चर्चित आलाधियतवे (I) अया हि पर्ज वियताये धार्तिये निसिजित अस्वये होति वियत धार्ति चर्चित में पर्ज सुखं पलिहरवे ति हेवं मम लजून कर

जानपदम हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वधा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन में लज्जानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये करे

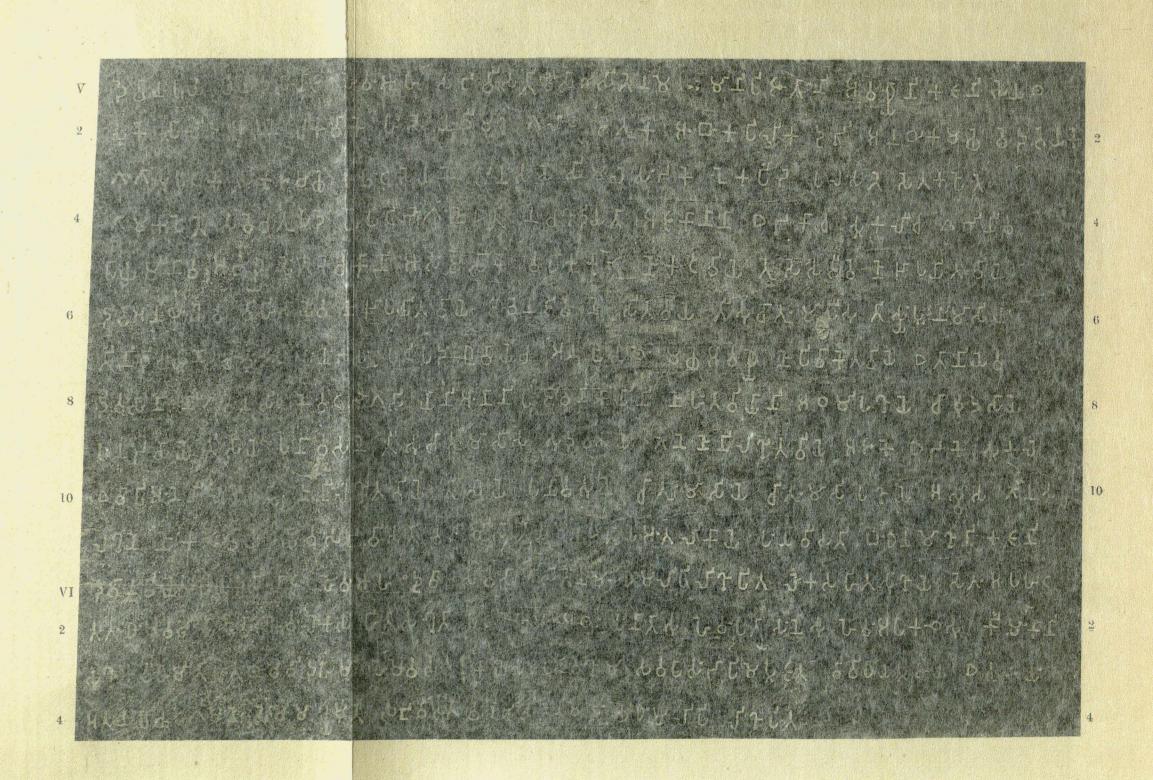
(E) इिंडितिविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवृति वंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं





DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE OF THE LETER ALLOW BY UT HAT BANK WOLLD'T BEAK ON A SOUT SELECTION The Little British Control of the Co 证证证证明的证据,但是是自己的证明,但是是是是自己的是一个。 TO HOUSE DO SELECTED BUT FLAFFOR NEEDS ON HELL SELECTION OF THE PARTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE P 11 CHAND - PROPERTY OF SHOULD SET WAS A SECURE OF THE FIRST OF SECURIOR SECURI DECEMBER OF THE DESIGNATION OF THE PROPERTY OF 111 TO BEAUTISTICS AND SECURE ASSESSED FOR THE VESTER ASSESSED. IN THE STATE OF TH thing elter and an american and the following living to fact for the factor of a contraction of the factor of the HAR LANGE OF FEMALE WESTERN DISTERNATION OF THE PROPERTY OF A SOLIT OF A SOLI THE HEALT OF THE STATE OF THE STATE OF THE STATE OF THE SECRET OF THE SE ELECTION OF THE LESS AND A SECTION OF THE LANGE OF THE SECTION OF THE REPORT OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE P FARMOUS TO THE PERSON OF THE SECOND SECTION OF THE PROPERTY OF





FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA



तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि निरुपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व निरुपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति

9 (N) इह्या हि मे हेवं निलुधिस पि कालिस पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च वढित विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसिवभागे ति

1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu

janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale 1 va damde va ata-patiye me kate kimti lajūka

asvatha abhīta kammāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa

3 hita-sukham upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukhīyanam jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kimti hidatam cha pālatam cha

ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti patichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdamnāni patichalisamti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam

lajūka

5 chaghamti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palihatave ti hevam mama lajūka kaṭa

jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā samtam avimana kammāni

pavatayevü ti etena me lajükānam abhihāle va damde va ata-patiye kațe

7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa ki[m]ti² viyohāla-samatā cha siya damḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti bamdhana-badhānam munisānam tīlita-damḍānam pata-vadhānam

timni divasāni me [y]ote dimne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisamti jīvitāye tānam nāsamtam va nijhapayitave dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavāsam va kachhamti

9 (N) ichhā hi me hevam niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

B .- South Face of Pillar.

(A) देवानंपिये पियद्सि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसितवसाभिसितेन से इमानि
 पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथ

सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलारे जतूक अंवाकिपिलिक दुळि

अनिविक्रमछे वेदवेयके

 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके छोकपिंडे पलसते सेनकपोते

4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पिटभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एळका च सूकली च गिमनी व

1613

¹ Read abhihāle.





- 5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतने च कानि आसंमासिने (D) विधनुनुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो ज्ञापितविये
- 6 (F) दावे अनठाये व विहिसाये व नी श्रापितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नी पुसितविये (E) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं
- तिनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनहसं पिटपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसणं मछे अवध्ये नो नि पि विकेतविये (1) एतानि येव
- हेतिवसानि नागवनिस केवरभोगिस यानि झंनानि पि जीवनिकायानि नो हंतिवयानि (J) अरुमिपखाये चाव्दसाये .
- णंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये अजने एळने स्कले
- 10 ए वा पि अंने नौलिखयित नो नोलिखतिवये (E) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस
- 11 लखने नी कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये छांतलिकाये पंनवीसित वंधनमोखानि कटानि
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-[va]sābhisitena me imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha
- 2 suke sālika alune chakavāke hamse namdīmukhe gelāţe jatūka ambā-kapilika duļi anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
- 3 Gamgā-pupuṭake samkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake pamna-sase simale samdake okapimde palasate seta-kapote
- 4 gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati (C) ajakā nāni elakā cha sūkalī cha gabhinī va
- 5 pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye
- 6 (F) dāve anathāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātummā[s]īsu tisyam pumnamāsiyam
- 7 timni divasāni chāvudasam pamnadasam patipadam dhuvāye cha anuposatham machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva
- 8 divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no hamtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye
- 9 pamnadasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake elake sūkale
- 10 e vā pi amne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsiye chātummāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
- 11 lakhane no kaţaviye (L) yāva-saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye pamnavīsati bamdhana-mokhāni kaţāni



SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

(A) देवानंपिये पियद्सि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाडसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट

तं तं धंमविं पापीव (c) हेवं लोकस हितमुखे ति परिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु

हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकरेसु किंमं कानि

मुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेमु पिटवेखामि
 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं

4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सहुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se tam apahaţa

tam tam dhamma-vadhi pāpova (C) hevam lok[a]sa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyam nātisu hevam patyāsamnesu hevam apakaṭhesu kimmam kāni

3 sukham āvahāmī ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-n[i]kāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsamdā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyam

4 atana pachūpagamane se me mokhya-mute (G) saduvīsat[i]-vasābhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद्सी लाजा हेवं ऋाहा (B) सडुवीसितवसाभिसितेन में इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) हिद्तपालते दुसंपिटपादये
- श्रुंनत ग्रुगाय धंमकामताय श्रुगाय पलीखाय श्रुगाय सुमूसाया श्रुगेन भयेन श्रुगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम श्रुनुसिया
- उक्ता च गेवया च मिक्तमा च छन्विधीयंति संपरिपादयंति च
- 4 अलं चपलं समाट्पयितवे (F) हेंमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन मुखीयना धंमेन गुति ति च
- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusampaṭipāda[y]e
- 2 amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāyā agena bhayena a[g]ena usāhena (**D**) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

GL

dhammapekhā dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhitā vadhisati ch[e]vā (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvidhīyamti sampatipādayamti cha

4 alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) hemmeva amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā [i]yam dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyanā dhammena [gut]i [ti 2 cha] 3

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

(A) देवानंपिये पियद्सी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे

वहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पिखवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहें करे आ पानदिखनाये (F) अंनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि करानि

3 (G) एताये में श्राठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता हेवं श्रनुपिटपजंतु चिलिटितीका च होतू ति (B) ये च हेवं संपिटिपिजिसित से सुकटं कछती ति

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me
- 2 bahuvidhe dimne (E) dupada-chatupadesu * pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni 5 kayānāni kaṭāni
- 3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevam anupaṭipajamtu chilaṭhitīkā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevam sampaṭipajisati se sukaṭam kachhatī ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

(A) देवानंपिये पियद्सी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) क्यानमेव देखित इयं मे क्याने करे ति (C) नो मिन पापकं देखित इयं मे पापके करे ति इयं वा आसिनवे नामा ति

1 (A) Devănampiye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) kayānameva dekhati iyam me kayāne kate ti (C) no mina pāpakam dekhati iyam me pāpake kate ti iyam vā āsinave nāmā ti

.

¹ hemeva Bühler.

² As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13. 310, note), the vowel i is attached before, not after the t.

³ chu Bühler.

⁴ The apparent Anusvāra after da of dupada- is probably accidental.

⁵ bahuni Bühler.





SCALE ONE-FIFTH





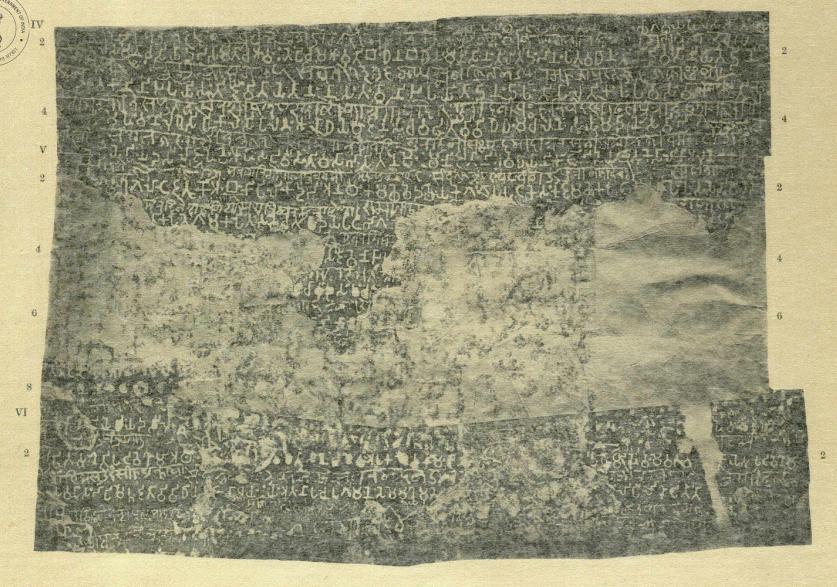
FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

1	· · · · · · · · कानं अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (E) इछितविये हि
	एस किंति
2	· · · · · लसमता च सिया दंडसमता च (L) आव इते पि च मे आवृति
	वंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिनि दिवसानि योते दिने (M) · · · का व कानि निक्पियसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निक्पियता
3	दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं वा कछंति
	(N) · · · हि मे हेवं निल्धिस पि कालिस पालतं आलाध्येवु (O) जनस च
4	वढिति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसिवभागे
1	[kānam abhihāle vā damde vā ata-pa]t[i]y[e kaṭe] (K) [i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e]
2	h[i e]s[a] k[im]t[i] 1, la-sama[t]ā cha 2 siyā da[m]ḍa-samatā cha (L) āva 3 ite pi cha me āvuti
	bamdhana-badhānam munisānam tīlīta-damdānam pata-vadhānam timni divasāni
	yote dimne
3	(M) [k]ā va kāni nijhapayisamti jīvitāye tānam nāsamtam vā nijhapayitā dānam dāhamti pālatikam upavāsam vā [ka]chha[m]ti
4	(N) [h]i me hevam niludhasi pi kālasi pālatam ālādhayev[u] (O) janasa cha
	vadhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge
	FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM
1	(A) · · · · · पिये पियद्सी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सड्वीसितवसाभिसितेन मे
Ī	इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथ सुने सालिका अलुने चकवाके
2	ं नंदीमुखे गेलारे जतूका अंबािकिपिलिका दुडी अनिविक्सके वेदवेयके
	गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफर ''' के पंनससे सिमले संड ''
3	· · · · · · · · · तक्योते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पिटभोगं नो · · · · · ·
	ना '''' पायमी ''
4	सजीवे नो भूतप
5	· · · · · · · ि चावुद्सं पंचद · · · · · · · ·
6	
7	
8	लखने नो कटविये (L) या ' ' ' ' ' '
0	

¹ Bühler omitted this line.

2	_
(

	(A) [p]iye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālikā alune chaka[v]āke [namdī]m[u]khe gelāṭe jatūk[ā]¹ ambā-kipilikā dudī² anaṭhika-machhe³ vedaveyake Gamgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake samkuja-machhe kaphaṭa k[e] p[a]mna-sase simale samda
3 4	[ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭ[i]bhogam [no] nā [p]ā[ya]mī sajīve no jhā[pa]
5	
6	[n]i
	[lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye] (L) [y]ā
	SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM
1	(A) विये पियद्सी ला तं वि पा हि पा
	(c) हेवं लोकस
2	हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अप इयं ' ं वं पत्यासंनेमु हेवं अपकरेमु
	किमं कानि '''''' विदहामि (D) हेवंमेव सव 'कायेसु पटिवेखामि
3	(E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचुपगमने
	से मे मुख्यमुते (G) लिपी लिखापिता ति
	(A) [p]iye [P]iyada[s]ī 1[ā] [dh]i [pā] (C) heva[m lokasa]
2	hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha [iya]m [va]m [paty]āsa[m]ne[su heva]m apaka[ṭh]e[su] kimam [k]ā[ni] [v]i[dah]āmi (D) hevammeva [sa]va
	[k]āyesu paṭivekhāmi
3.	(E) [sa]va-pāsamdā pi me pūjitā vividhāya [pū]jāyā (F) e chu iy[a]m atanā pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute (G) lipī 1 likhāpitā ti
	B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM
1	(A) देवानंपियषा वचनेना सवत महमता
2	वतविया (B) ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने
3	अंबावडिका वा शालमे व दानगहे व ए वा पि अंने
4	कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये घे नानि (C) हेवं ' न '
5	दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवलमातु कालुवाकिये



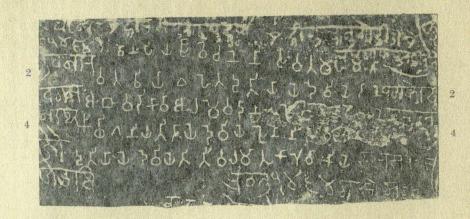
Scale One-FIFTH



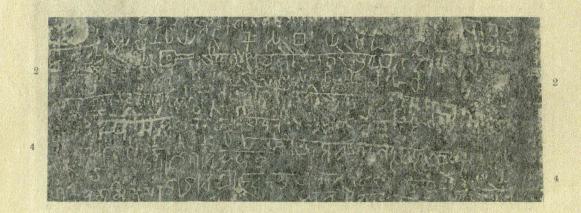
ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR; MINOR EDICTS



QUEEN'S EDICT



KAUSAMBI EDICT



SCALE ONE-FIFTH

QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM



(A) Devānampiyashā v[a]chanenā savata mahamatā 1

2 vataviyā (B) e hetā 2 dutiyāye devīye dāne

3 ambā-vadikā vā ālame va dāna-[gah]e [va a e vā pi a]mne

4 kīchhi ganīyati tāye deviye she nāni (C) [he]vam . . [na] . . 4

5 dutīyāye deviye ti Tīvala-mātu Kāluvākiye

TRANSLATION

- (A) At the word of Dēvānāmpriya, the Mahāmātras everywhere have to be told (this).
- (B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango-groves, or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these (shall) be registered (in the name) of that queen.
- (C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of Tivala,8 the Kāluvākī.9

C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- - 1 mahāmatā Senart and Bühler.

² heta Senart and Bühler.

3 vā Bühler.

* Restore perhaps vinati (= Skt. vijnapti); see JRAS, 1911. 1113.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 134, n. 13.

⁶ For the pronoun nāni see above, p. 127, n. 10.

With ganiyati cf. ganana or gananā in the rock-edict III, E.

⁸ Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that Tīvara occurs (a thousand years after Aśōka) as the name of a king of Kōsala; see Fleet's Gupta Inscrs., p. 293, and EI, 7. 103.

9 As stated by Bühler (IA, 19. 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may

be connected with the Vēdic gōtra of the Kārus.

10 °biya Bühler and Boyer,

11 mahamāta Bühler and Boyer.

12 na Bühler and Boyer.

13 chi ye Bühler.

14 bhokhati Bühler and Boyer.

15 va Bühler.

16 bhi khu nī Bühler.

¹⁷ [pa]chā Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add o at the end of the line.

18 The syllable dā is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 125.

19 ana[pe]sa Bühler, anavasasi Boyer.

20 avā° Bover.





TRANSLATION

- (A) [Dēvānām]priya commands (thus). (B) The Mahāmātras at Kosambī 1... (C) is made united.2 (D) should not be received 3 into the Samgha.
- (E) And also that monk or nun [who] shall break up the Saingha, should be caused to put on white robes 5 and to reside 6 in a non-residence.7

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR

- 1 ' या भेत' (C) ' घे '' मगे कटे भिख्नं च भिख्नीनं चा ति पुतप-पोतिके चंदमस्रियिके (D) ये संघं भाखित भिखु वा भिखुनि वा स्रोदाता-नि दसानि सनंधापयित अनावा-सिस वासापेतविये (E) इछा हि मे किं-ति संघे समगे चिलिश्वतीके सिया ति 1 ..[y]ā 8 bhe[ta]... (C)...[gh]e 10 mage 11 kațe [bhi*]khūna[m] cha 12 bhi[khun]īnam ch[ā] 13 ti [p]uta-pa-
- ¹ This ancient city (Kaušāmbī in Sanskrit) corresponds to the modern Kōsam; see Fleet's Gupta Insers., p. 2, and EI, 11. 141.

² Cf. the Sāmchī pillar, C.

³ lahiye may be derived from the root labh; cf. the gerundive avasayiye in 1.4 of this inscription, and in 1. 5 of the Sarnath pillar. Boyer (JA (10), 10. 121) connects lahiye with the root rak.

⁴ Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) has identified bhākhati with Skt. bhankshyati.

⁶ Boyer (p. 130) quotes a passage from Buddhaghōsha's Samantapāsādikā, in which Aśōka is stated to have given white robes (setakāni vatthāni) to the heretical monks whom he expelled; see Vinaya-pitaka, ed. by Oldenberg, vol. III, p. 312, with which Bigandet's Life or Legend of Gaudama (4th ed., 2. 139) agrees, and cf. Dipavainsa, VII, 53, and Mahāvainsa, V, 270. The proper colour of the robes of a Buddhist monk is yellow.

6 āvāsayiye is a gerundive formed from the causative āvāsayati, and corresponds to Skt.

āvāsya. Senart (CR, 1907. 28) appears to consider it an optative passive.

7 i.e. a residence unfit for members of the Saingha. Venis (JPASB, 3. 3) quoted Buddhaghösha's explanation of the term anāvāsa; see SBE, 17. 388, n. 1.

8 y[am] Bühler.

⁹ bhe[da] Boyer. Restore perhaps bhetave, as on the Sārnāth pillar, 1. 3.

¹⁰ The syllable ghe is almost certain; restore sample.

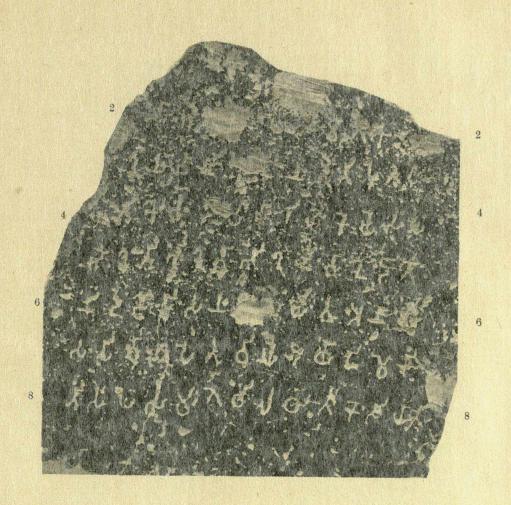
11 Restore samage, as in 1. 8.

12 [vā] Bühler.

13 [vā] Bühler, cha Boyer.



SAMCHI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



SAMCHI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



[po*]tike cham[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke1 (D) ye samgham

5 bh[ā]khati 2 bhikhu 3 vā bhikhuni vā odātā-

6 ni dus[ān]i sanam[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]-

7 sasi vā[sā]petaviy[e] (E) ichhā hi me kim-

8 ti samghe samage 4 chila-thitīke siyā ti

TRANSLATION

(A)

(B) [cannot] be divided.5

(C) The Saingha both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine).

(D) The monk or nun who shall break up the Saingha, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.

(E) For my desire is that the Saingha may be united * (and) of long duration.

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवा · · · · · ·
- 2 एल
- उ पाट ' ' ' ' ' ये केनिप संघे भेतवे (D) ए चुं खो
- 4 भिखू वा भिखुनि वा संघं भाखित से ओदातानि दुसानि संनंधापिया आनावासिस
- 5 आवासियये (E) हेवं इयं सासने भिषुसंघित च भिषुनिसंघित च विंन-पियतिवये
- (F) हेवं देवानंपिये आहा (G) हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवाति संमलनिस निखिता
- 7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निष्विपाय (H) ते पि च उपासका अनुपोसथं याव
- एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसियतवे अनुपोसणं च ध्वाये इिकके महामाते पोसणाये

³ bhikhū Boyer.

* sainghasa mage Bühler and Boyer; see JRAS, 1911. 168.

⁵ Cf. the Sārnāth pillar, C.

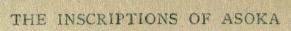
With this section cf. above, p. 160, n. 4, 5, 7.

¹ See JRAS, 1911. 167 f.

² bhokhati Bühler and Boyer.

⁶ Cf. putā-papotike chamdama-suliyike hotu ti in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, l. 31. Other instances of the Prākrit affix -ika are vadhanike and vejayike in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Kondamudi plates. See EI, 1. 6, text l. 9; 6. 87, text l. 5 f.; 6. 317, text, l. 8 f.

⁸ Cf. samaggo hi samgho.... phāsu viharati in the Pātimokkha, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; sukhā samghassa sāmaggī samaggānam tapo sukho in the Dhammapada, verse 194; samgho samaggo hutvāna tadākāsi uposatham in the Mahāvamsa, V; 274.



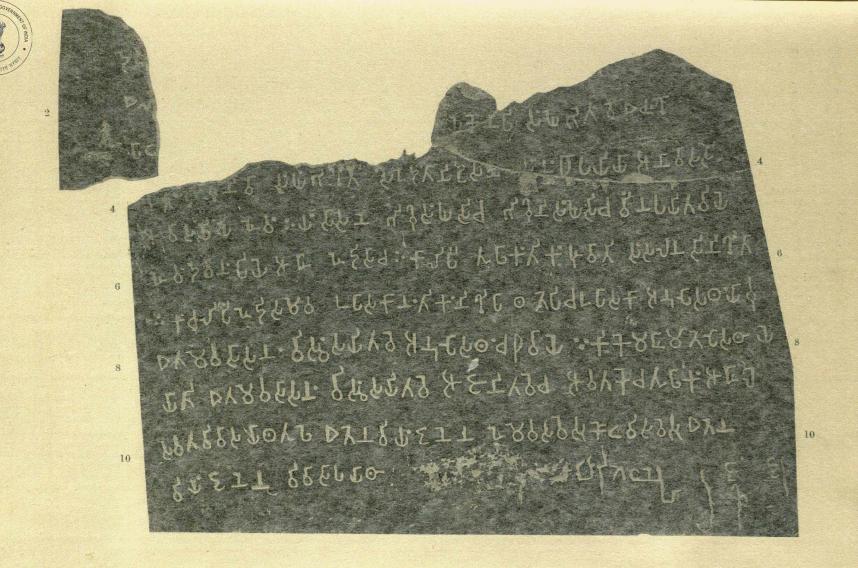


याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसियतवे आजानितवे च (I) आवते च तुर्पार्क आहाले

- 10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेसु कोटविषवेसु एतेन
- 11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा
- 1 (A) Devä 1
- 2 el.....
- 3 Pāṭa²..... ye³ kenapi samghe bhetave (D) e chum kho
- 4 [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṃghaṃ bh[ākha]t[i] s[e] odātāni dus[ān]i [sa]ṃnaṃdhāpayiyā ānāvāsasi 5
- 5 āvāsayiye (E) hevam iyam sāsane bhikhu-samghasi cha bhikhuni-samghasi cha vimnapayitaviye
- 6 (F) hevam Devānampiye āhā (G) hedisā cha ikā lipī tuphākamtikam huvāti samsalanasi nikhitā
- 7 ikam cha lipim hedisameva upāsakānamtikam nikhipātha (H) te pi cha upāsakā anuposatham yāvu
- 8 etameva sāsanam visvamsayitave anuposatham cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte posathāye
- 9 yāti etameva sāsanam visvamsayitave ājānitave cha (I) āvate cha tuphākam āhāle
- 10 savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyamjanena (J) hemeva savesu koṭa-vishavesu 6 etena
- 11 viyamjanena vivāsāpayāthā

TRANSLATION

- (A) Dēvā[nāmpriya]
- (B) Pāṭa[liputra]
- (C) the Samgha [cannot] be divided by any one.8
- (D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the Saingha, should be caused to put on 9 white robes and to reside 10 in a non-residence. 11
 - 1 These are the two first syllables of the title Devanampiya.
 - ² These are probably the two first syllables of the name Pāṭaliputa.
 - ³ Boyer ingeniously restores na sakiye.
- ⁴ The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read bhikhati, and Boyer bhokhati.
 - ⁵ The Sāṁchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read anāvāsasi.
- ⁶ Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from sa, and is probably meant for sha.
- This is the ancient name of the city of Paṭnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśōka. It is mentioned also in the Girnār edict V, M. The Sārnāth edict was probably addressed by the king to the Mahāmātras at Pāṭalīputra, as the Kauśāmbī edict to the Mahāmātras at Kauśāmbī.
- ⁸ With sanighe bhetave cf. sanighan bhindati, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s. v. bhindati; sanighan bhinditvā in the Fātaka, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6; sanaggassa sanighassa bhedāya in the Pātimokkha, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; Buddha-vachanam bhindimsu in the Dīpavamsa, VII, 54.
- ⁹ [sa]innaindhāpayiyā, instead of which the Sāmchī and Kaušāmbī edicts read sanaindhāpayitu, corresponds to Skt. sainnāhya; cf. Senart, CR, 1907. 28.
 - 10 For āvāsaviye see above, p. 160, n. 6.



SARNATH PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



- (E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the Samgha of monks and to the Samgha of nuns.
 - (F) Thus speaks Dēvānāmpriya:
- (G) Let one copy of this (edict) 1 remain 2 with you 3 deposited 4 in (your) office; 5 and 6 deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.
- (H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (posatha) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict; and invariably on every fast-day, every Mahāmātra (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it). 10
- (I) And as far as your district 11 (extends), dispatch ye (an officer) 12 everywhere according to the letter of this (edict). 13

1 Literally: 'one writing of this description.'

² Senart (CR, 1907. 30) explains huvāti as a subjunctive.

³ As remarked by Vogel (EI, 8. 170), tuphākaintikain stands for tuphākain aintikain, and upāsakānaintikain in 1. 7 for upāsakānain aintikain. Cf. E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 64, and Geiger's Pāli, § 71.

⁴ Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated ni-kship by 'inscribing'. Cf. the Raghuvamsa, VII, 65, where Mallinātha explains nikshēpita by lēkhita, and nikkhitta-vannam in the Śākuntala, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word nikhitā is placed after samsalanasi, and nikhipātha in the next sentence after upāsakānamtikam, it is more natural to take ni-kship in the sense of 'depositing'.

⁵ Senart (CR, 1907. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering samsalana (= Skt. samsarana) the

designation of some locality. Venis (JPASB, 3.4) translated it by 'place of assembly'.

⁶ As remarked by Senart (CR, 1907. 30), the double cha in hedisā cha ikā lipī and ikain cha lipim hedisameva co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the cha after te pi corresponds to the cha after anuposatham in 1. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

In the form *posatha*, which occurs also in the Fātaka (ZDMG, 48. 63), the initial u of Skt. upavasatha has been dropped. Cf. posaha in Pischel's Grammatik, § 141, and the artificial form pōshadha (Böhtlingk's two dictionaries, s. v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

8 With visvamsayitave cf. asvāsa[n]iyā in the Jaugada separate edict II, section J.

9 Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

¹⁰ Sections E to H do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sāmchī and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the Mahāmātras and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the Mahāmātras of Pāṭaliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pāṭaliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

¹¹ Kern pointed out that āhāla (spelt ahāla at Rūpnāth) corresponds to the well-known territorial term āhāra, 'a district'; see EI, 8. 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words tuphākain āhāle are contrasted with savesu koṭa-vishavesu in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word āhāra, 'a district', occurs, see Lüders' List of Brāhmī.

Inscriptions (EI, 10. Appendix), p. 214, s. v.

¹² As Thomas states (JA (10), 15. 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of vivasati is vippavasati; see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s.v. The verb vivāsayati (vivaseti in the Rūpnāth edict, l. 5) is the causative, and vivāsāpayati in section J a double causative, of vivasati. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated vivāsayati by 'making known'; but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAS, 1915. 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from vivasetaviye at Rūpnāth. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhauli, Z-CC; Jaugada, AA-DD), viz. mahāmātram.

13 Literally: 'by this letter'. The word vyanjana is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of



(J) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forts.

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानिषयेन षियद्सिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिसितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सच्चमुनी ति
- 3 (B) सिला विगडभी चा कालापित सिलायभे च उसपापिते
- 4 हिट भगवं जाते ति (c) लूंमिनिगामे उबलिके करे
- 5 अतुभागिये च
- 1 (A) Devāna[pi]yena Piyadasina lājina vīsati-vasābhisitena
- 2 atana agacha mahiyite hida Budhe jate Sakyamuni ti
- 3 (B) silā vigadabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpite
- 4 hida Bhagavam jāte ti (C) Lummini-gāme ubalike kate
- 5 atha-bhāgiye cha

TRANSLATION

- (A) When king Devanampriya Priyadarsin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot), because the Buddha Śakyamuni was born here.²
- (B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (?) 3 and caused a stone pillar to be set up, (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.4

'letter' as opposed to 'sense' (attha); see Childers, Pāli Dictionary, s. v. vyañjanam. In the rockedict III, E, it is coupled with hetu, 'reason'. A number of Pāli sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Neumann (ZDMG, 67. 345 f.), who rendered it by 'specification'. Senart (CR, 1907. 36) translates: 'with the text of my instructions', i.e. he takes the instrumentals etena viyamjanena in the sense of the sociative; cf. Speyer's Sanskrit Syntax (Leyden, 1886), § 59.

This seems to refer to outlying jungle tracts (perhaps in the Nepalese Tarāī) which were not fully pacified, but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forests' mentioned in the

Shāhbāzgarhī edict XIII, M.

² In the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (JRAS, 1876. 241), the Buddha himself is reported to have said: 'āgamissanti kho Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu-bhikkhuniyo upāsaka-upāsikāyo idha Tathāgato jāto ti.' In accordance with this quotation I connect the words from hida to ti with section A, while Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 486) joined them to B.

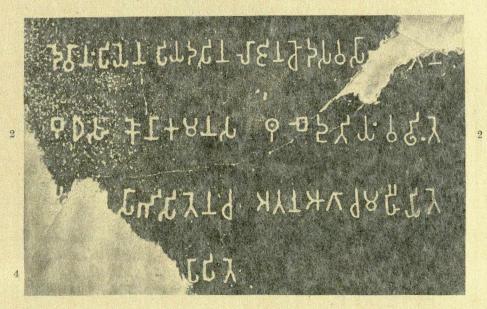
- ³ This is Charpentier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word vigadabhi; see IA, 43. 19 f. The syllable -bhi might certainly represent Skt. -bhrit; but, that vigada means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 20. 366, n. 14) and Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 477, 823) joined bhīchā into one word, and explained it by Skt. *bhittikā, 'a wall'. As, according to Pischel's Grammatik, § 49, 219, vigada is an Ardhamāgadhī form of Skt. vikrita, silā-vigada bhīchā might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But, as Charpentier (IA, 43. 17) remarks, the change of *bhittikā to bhīchā 'is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not dropped to such an extent at that early stage of Prākrit dialects.'
- * With the words hida Bhagavam jāte cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 389: 'asmin mahārāja pradēšē Bhagavān jātah.'





RUMMINDEI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION

NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



RUMMINDEI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



(C) (He) made the village of Lummini 1 free of taxes, 2 and paying (only) an eighth share (of the produce).3

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन 2 बुधस कोनाकमनस युवे दुतियं विदते
- 3 (B) ' ' साभिमितेन च छातन आगाच महीयिते
- 4 '''' पाणिते
- 1 (A) Devānampiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bh]i[si]t[e]n[a]
- 2 Budhasa Konakamanasa thube dutiyam vadhite
- 3 (B) sābhisitena tha atana āgācha mahīyite
- 4 pāpite *

TRANSLATION

- (A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadaršin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the Stūpa of the Buddha Könākamana 6 to the double (of its original size).
- (B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

¹ In the Nidānakathā (fātaka, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54), the site of the Buddha's birth is called Lumbini-vana. For other forms of the name see Charpentier in IA, 43. 18. The word Lummini survives in the modern designation Rummindēī; see V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1.

² For ubalika = Skt. *udbalika see Barth, Journal des Savants, 1897, p. 73, n. 2; Bühler, EI, 5. 5; Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 478 f.; Sir Charles Lyall, id. 850 f.; and Thomas (id. 1909. 466 f.), who

quotes the similar term uchchhulka from the Kautilīya.

³ The Divyāvadāna (p. 390) reports that Aśōka spent at Lumbinī-vana 100,000 (gold pieces). In accordance with this legend, Barth (loc. cit.), Bühler (EI, 5. 5), and Neumann (ZDMG, 68. 721 f.) took atha = Skt. artha and translated atha-bhāgiya by 'partaking of riches'. Fleet (JRAS, 1908. 479 f.) explained atha-bhāga by Skt. ashta-bhāga, 'an eighth share', which the king is permitted by Manu (VII, 130) to levy on grains. In the Kauṭilīya (p. 116, l. 2 from bottom) chaturtha-pañcha-bhāgika is actually used with the meaning 'paying a fourth or a fifth share (of the produce)'. I therefore agree with Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 391 f.) in believing that -bhāgiya must mean 'paying a share', and not, as Fleet thought, 'entitled to a share'. In the case of the village of Lummini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity. For the affix -iya (= Skt. -ika) see above, p. 124, n. 4.

⁴ Bühler restored vīsati-vasābhisitena, as on the Rummindēī pillar, l. 1.

⁵ Bühler restored silā-thabhe cha usapāpite on the strength of 1. 3 of the same inscription.

⁶ This mythical Buddha is called Könägamana by the Southern Buddhists (Konägamena at Bharaut; IA, 21. 229, No. 30), and Kanakamuni or Könäkamuni by the Northern ones; see

Kern's Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 64.

With dutiyam vadhite cf. diyadhiyam vadhisati (or vadhisiti) at Sahasrām, section I, and in the corresponding sections of the other minor rock-edicts. Previous translators rendered dutiyam by 'for the second time'.





FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) सातिरकेवानि अहितयानि व य सुमि प्रकास सके (C) नी चु वाहि पक्ते (D) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं सघ उपेते

2 बाढि च पकते (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि ग्रमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकमिस हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महतता

पापोतवे खुदकेन

3 पि पकमिनिना सिकिये पिपुले पा स्वगे आरोधेवे (म) एतिय अठाय च सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति अता पि च जानंतु इय पकरा व

4 किति चिरितिके सिया (1) इय हि अते विद्य विदिसिति विपुल च विदिसिति अपलिधियेना दियदिय विदिसत (1) इय च अते पवितसु लेखापेत वालत (E) हथ च अपि

5 सालाउभे सिलाउंभिस लाखापेतवय त (L) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक तुपक आहाले सवर विवसेतवाय ति (M) खुठेना सावने कटे (N) २०० ५० ६ स-

6 त विवासा त

1 (A) Devānampiye heva[m] āhā (B) sāti[ra]kekāni¹ adhati[y]āni va² ya sumi prakāsa [Sa]k[e]³ (C) no chu bādhi pakate (D) sātileke chu chhavachhare⁴ ya sumi haka[m] sagh[a] up[e]te

bādhi ch[a] pakate (E) yā [i]māya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni m[i]s[ā] kaṭā (F) pakamasi hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha esā mahatatā p[ā]potave

khudakena 8

1 sāti[le]kāni Senart and Bühler; read sātirekāni.

² This seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*, which is the reading of the Bairāṭ, Brahmagiri, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions.

² The first akshara of prakāsa looks like $p\bar{a}$; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read $p\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ (which he considered a mistake for hakā, i. e. hakam) [sava]ke. The reading [Sa]k[e] was suggested to me by the new Maski rock-inscription, which reads Bu[dha]-Śake.

As the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for savachhare; see IA, 37. 23, and JRAS, 1910. 145 f.

5 chu Bühler.

6 y[i] Bühler.

⁷ Three other versions of this edict read pakamasa.

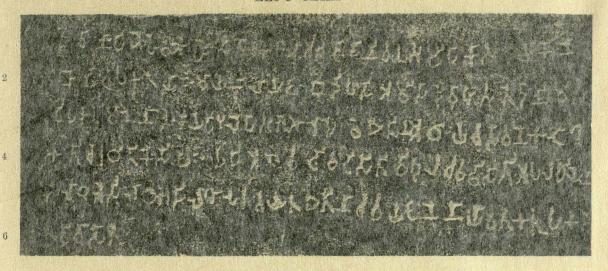
⁸ Senart and Bühler add the two syllables hi ka. I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.



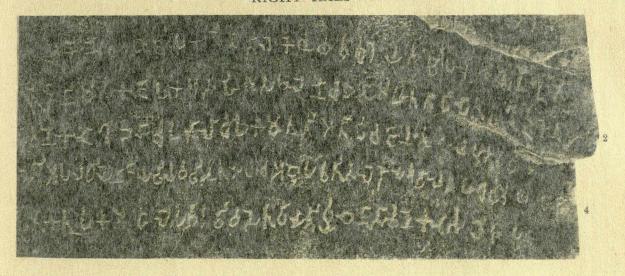
RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION



LEFT HALF



RIGHT HALF



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION



- pi pa[ka]mam[i]nenā¹ sakiye pipule² pā³ svage ārodheve⁴ (H) etiya aṭhāya cha sāvane kaṭe kb[u]dakā cha uḍālā cha pakamatu⁵ ti atā pi cha jānamtu iya⁶ paka[rā² va]
- kiti chira-thitike siyā (I) iya hi athe vadhi vadhisiti vipula cha vadhisiti apaladhiyenā diyadhiya vadhisata (I) iya cha athe pavatis[u] lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi
- 5 sālā-ṭh[abh]e 10 silā-ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya 11 ta 12 (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka tupaka 13 ahāle savara 14 vivasetavā[ya] 15 ti (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane kaṭe (N) 200 50 6 sa-
- 6 ta vivāsā ta 16

TRANSLATION

- (A) Dēvānāmpriya speaks thus.
- (B) Two and a half years 17 and somewhat more (have passed) since I am openly a Śākya. 18
 - (C) But (I had) 19 not been very zealous.20
- (D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited 21 the Saingha 22 and have been very zealous.
 - 1 parumaminena Bühler.

2 Read vipule.

- ⁸ Read pi, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.
- 4 arodhave Bühler; read aradhe[ta*]ve.
- 6 in a Count and Diblos

5 pakamaintu Senart and Bühler.

- 6 iyam Senart and Bühler.
- ⁷ Senart proposes to read pakame; cf. the Śiddāpura and Sahasrām rock-inscriptions.
- 8 Read vadhisiti.
- ⁹ Bühler and Senart correct hidha. Instead of it, the context seems to require yata (= Skt. yatra); but this change would be so violent that it cannot be seriously entertained.
 - 10 Read silā-, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler; -thubhe Bühler.
 - 11 Read likhā°.

12 Read ti.

- 18 Read perhaps tuphākam, as on the Sārnāth pillar, l. 9.
- 14 Read savata, as on the Sarnath pillar, l. 10.
- 15 °viya Senart, °vā[yu] Bühler; read vivāsetaviye and cf. vivāsayātha at Sārnāth, 1. 10.
- 16 Read ti.

¹⁷ As was first remarked by Oldenberg (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xxxviii, note, and ZDMG, 35, 474, note), adhatiya is the Pāli addhatiya, 'two and a half'.

- 18 Instead of this, the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura versions read upāsake, 'a lay-worshipper', but the Maski version reads Bu[dha]-Śake. On the Rummindēr pillar the Buddha himself receives his well-known epithet Śākyamuni. Varāhamihira uses the tribal name Śākya in the sense of 'a Buddhist'; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s.v. In the Kautilīya the word Śākya has the same meaning; see Shama Sastri's Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor Jolly kindly informs me, the Munich MS. reads श्वाजीवनादीन, which is meant for श्वाचाजीवनादीन; the editio princeps (p. 199, l. 3 f.) has श्वाः । जीवनादीन.
 - 19 The word husain is inserted in the Mysore versions.
- The Mysore versions add 'for one year'. Thomas (JA (10), 15.515 f.) and Sylvain Lévi (id. 17.121 f.) take pakamati in the sense of 'travelling about'. But the various readings of the Sahasrām and Bairāṭ edicts suggest that pakamati has to be understood as a synonym of palakamati, 'to exert one's self, to be zealous'; see Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 993, and cf. the rock-edict VI, L and N, and X, C and E. In section G the participle pa[ka]mam[i]nenā (Rūpnāth) or palakamamīnenā (Sahasrām) corresponds to dhama-yute[na], 'devoted to morality', at Maski, E.

²¹ Bühler translated up[e]te by 'entered'; see IA, 6. 156, and EI, 3. 140. I adopt Senart's very cautious rendering, which is more natural and supported by Buddhist tradition; see IA, 20. 234.

22 i. e. the Buddhist clergy.





- (E) Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men) 1 in Jambudvīpa, 2 have now been made (by me) mingled (with them). 8
 - (F) For this is the fruit of zeal.
- (G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank 4 (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.⁵
- (H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued,⁶ (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers ⁷ may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.
- (I) For, this matter * will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half. 10
- ¹ Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 124 f.) first showed that misā represents Skt. miśrāh; but his translation of devā by 'kings' is inadmissible. The word devā is not used anywhere else in the Aśōka edicts except in the title Devānampriya, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which the word rājā is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911. 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7. 438 ff.) still upholds Bühler's view that misā stands for Skt. mrishā, which is represented by musā in Pālī, in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's Grammatik, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, 1. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds misam-deva and ammisam-deva at Sahasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamāgadhī form musam,—it would create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound misibhūtā at Maski would offend against the Vārttika on Pāṇini, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final ā of indeclinables to ē (cf. Mahābhāshya on I, I, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words misā devehi, 'mingled with the gods', in the Mysore edicts, by 'ont ête (rēduits à apparaître comme) faussement (mis au nombre) des dieux', and to consider the instrumental devehi an ablative partitive (?).

² i. e. in India.

- ³ As I have shown in JRAS, 1913, 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśōka had exhibited to his subjects in effigie the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *Dharma*. The word devā corresponds to divyāni rūpāni in the Girnār edict IV, B.
 - ⁴ As the Brahmagiri version suggests, mahatatā corresponds to Skt. mahātmatvāt.

⁵ Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

- ⁶ Fleet (JRAS, 1909. 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15. 510) were of opinion that the few following words: 'let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous' represent the text of an address delivered by Aśōka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (511) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by etiya aṭhāya, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of the Rūpnāth edict itself.
- ⁷ According to the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

⁸ i.e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśōka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda; see section J.

9 With vadhi[m*] vadhisiti cf. dhamma-vadhi vadhitā in the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, JJ

and NN.

10 Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.

RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION



- (J) And cause ye this matter 1 to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.2
- (K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here,3 it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.4
- (I) And according to the letter of this (proclamation) 5 (you) must dispatch (an officer) 6 everywhere, as far as your district 7 (extends).
 - (M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.8
 - (N) 256 (nights) (had then been) spent on tour.10

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (△) देवानांपिये हेवं आ '''' चिंगि सवळलानि । इं उपासके मुमि। (०) न चु बाढं पलकंते
- 2 (D) सवछले साधिके। अं ' ' ' ' ते (E) एतेन च अंतलेन। जंबुदीपसि। अंमिसंदेवा। संत
- ¹ Instead of the nominative iya cha athe we should have expected the accusative ima cha atham, as at Sahasrām, l. 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture lekhāpetaviye ti for lekhāpeta vālata; but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.
 - ² Literally: 'in consequence of an occasion' (vārataḥ); see JRAS, 1911. 1116.
 - ³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.
 - * Cf. the Delhi-Topra pillar-edict VII, SS.
 - ⁵ See above, p. 163, n. 13.
- ⁶ See above, p, 163, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911. 1106) translated vivaseti by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth edict; see JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.
 - 7 Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11.
- ⁸ Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms vyutha and vivāsa, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15. 512 ff. The instrumental vy[u]thenā, which depends on sāvane kate, must refer to Aśōka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (tupaka, 1. 5); see JRAS, 1909. 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37. 22) in supplying mayā.
- The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the Nirvāna of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15. 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word lāti = Skt. rātri, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word sata, 'a hundred', see Thomas, ibid., p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911. 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word lāti at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 1301 ff., 1911. 1091 ff., and 1913. 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 119 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 41. 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, 2. 225 f., and R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti, 22. 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916. 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7. 434 f.), who takes lāti = Skt. rati, as at Kālsī, VIII. F.
- ¹⁰ In JRAS, 1910. 1309, I interpreted the word vivāsā, which corresponds to vivuthā at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.

GI

अनुनिसा मिसंदेव कटा। (म) पल '''' इयं फले (G) नी ''' यं महतता व चित्रये पावतवे। खुदकेन पि पल-

अप्राचे इयं सावाने। खुदका च उडाला चा प-

- 5 लक्मंतु श्रंता पि च जानंतु । चिलिठितीके च पलाकमे होतु । (1) इयं च श्रिटे विद्याति । विपुलं पि च विद्याति
- 6 दियाढियं अवलिधियेना दियिढियं विद्यपित । (J) इयं च सवने विवृथेन (E) दुवे सपंना लाति-
- 7 सता विवुधा ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इम च अउं पवतेसु लिखापयाथा (M) य ' वा अ-
- 8 चि हेता सिलाचंभा तत पि लिखापयच ति
- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye he[vam] [[ā]]¹ [[iyāni savachhalā]][ni | a]m upāsake sumi | (C) na chu bāḍham [palaka]m[t]e

2 (D) sav[a]chhale ² sādhi[ke] [[1 am]] [[te]] (E) [ete][[na cha amta]]lena 1

Jambudīpasi 1 ammisam-[de]vā³ 1 samta ⁴

3 munisā [m]isam-deva [[kaṭā | (F) pala]] [[iyam phale (G) [n]o]] [[yam]] mahatatā va chakiye pāv[a]t[a]ve | khudakena pi pala-

4 kamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]ag ... [k]iye [ā][lā]] [[ve]] [i] (H) se etāye ath[ā]ye iyam sāvāne [i khudakā cha uḍālā chā pa-

[la]kamamtu amtā pi ch[a] jānamtu i chila-thit[īke] cha p[a]l[ā]kame hotu i (I)
iva[m] cha [athe] vadhisati i vipulam pi cha vadhisati

6 diyādhiyam aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]dhiyam vadhisati ı (J) iyam [[cha savane]] [v]ivuthena (K) duve sapamnā lāti-

7 satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6 (L) ima cha aṭhaṁ pavatesu [l][ikhā][pa]yāthā (M) ya... [vā] a-

8 th[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata pi 10 [likhāpayatha t]i

¹ The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

The top of va is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable vin in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22, 299), the group dva, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910, 147), it is already impossible because the da would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the va would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading sadvachhale, combined with the actual blunder chhavachhare at Rūpnāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśōka's inscriptions for a long time.

³ Read amisain-.

sam[tā] Bühler.

⁸ Restore suage chakiye.

⁶ Read savane.

^{7 - [}th]itik. Bühler.

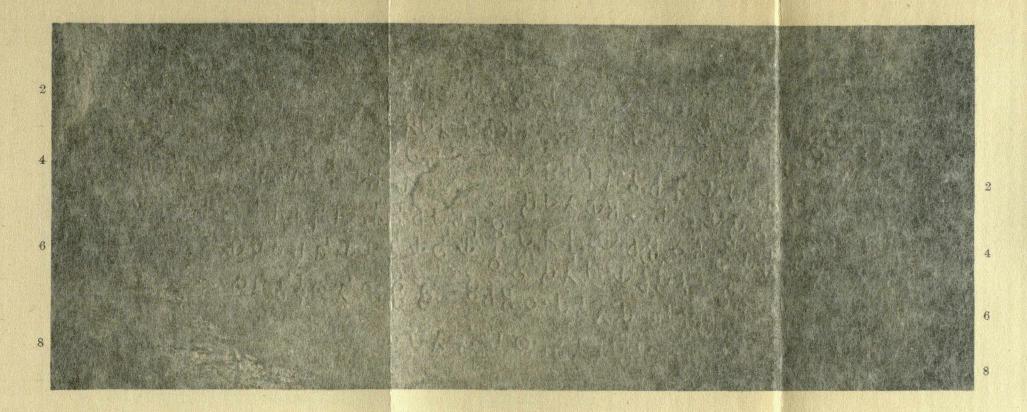
⁸ palakame Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Restore yata.

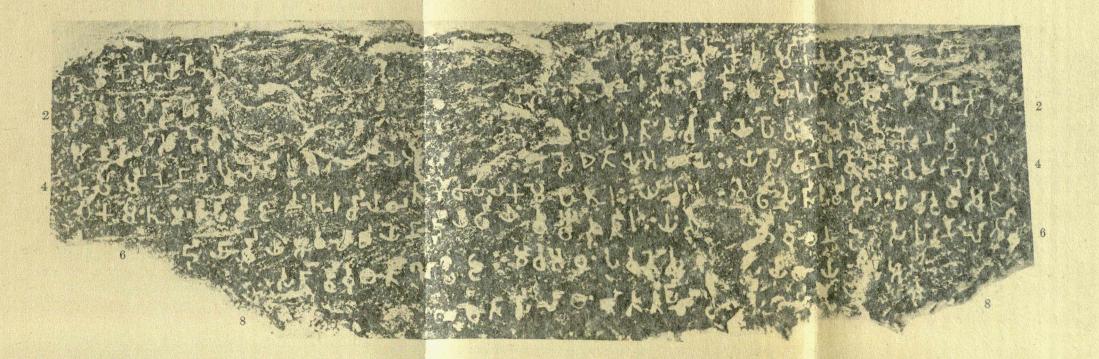
¹⁰ The syllable pi was entered above the line.

SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION





FROM MR. BEGLAR'S PHOTOGRAPH



FROM AN INKED ESTAMPAGE

SCALE ONE-FOURTH

OUT TO THE PROPERTY OF MODA

SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION

GL

TRANSLATION

- (A) Dēvānāmpriya [speaks] thus.
- (B) years since I am a lay-worshipper (upāsaka).

(C) But (I had) not been very zealous.

(D) A year and somewhat more (has passed) since

(E) And men in Jambudvipa, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.

(F) [For] this is the fruit [of zeal].

- (G) cannot 1 be reached by (persons of) high rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.
- (H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.
- (I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.

(J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour.

(K) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour,2—(in figures) 256.3

(L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.

(M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

¹ For chak, a variant of the root śak, see above, p. 97, n. 4.

² Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520, note) compares the word vivuthā (corresponding to vivāsā at Rūpnāth) with vyushṭam, a division of time which is mentioned in the Kauṭilīya, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter ma have the sense of $vv\chi\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\sigma$, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśōka's time both vivutha and vivāsa apparently meant 'a civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twenty-four hours from headquarters'.

³ The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520), who discovered in it the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that pannā is a recognized Prākrit form of panchāsat, and that expressions like dvē shatpanchāse rātri-satē are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. ekam rattim vippavasati, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' Pāli Dictionary, p. 581.

HIT HO	अंता पि च जानंतु ति चिलठित '''' लं पि विदस्ति '''''
8	दियद्वियं विद्यति
1	(A) Devānāmpiye āh[ā] (B) s[ā]ti
2	vasān[i] ya hakam¹ upāsake (C) [no chu] bādham
3	am mamayā saghe ² [u]payāte [bā]dha cha
	Jambudipasi amisā na devehi [m]i [ka]masa esa l[e]
	(G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]taneva chakiye kamaminenā
	vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādheta[v]e (H)kā cha [u]d[ā]lā chā ⁵ [pala]kamatu [t]i
7	[am]tā pi cha jānamtu ti [ch]ila-thit lam pi vadhisati
	diyadhiyam vadhi[sa]ti

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) प्रियदिस लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादेतूनं आहा अपावाधतं च पासु-विहालतं चा
- 2 (B) विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधिस धंमिस संघसी ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च (C) ए केचि भंते
- अभगवता बुधेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (D) ए चु खो अंते हिमयाये दिसेया हेवं सधंमे
- 4 चिलिटितीके होसती ति. अलहामि हकं तं वातवे (E) इमानि भंते धंम-पिलयायानि विनयसमुक्तसे
- 5 ञ्चलियवसाणि ञ्चनागतभयानि मुनिगाणा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिने ए चा लाघुली-
- 6 वादे मुसावादं ऋधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंमपलियायानि इछामि
- 7 किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा छाभिषितं सुनेयु चा उपधालयेयू चा
- (F) हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतेनि भंते इसं लिखापयामि अभिप्रेतं मे जानंतू ति
- 1 (A) Pr[i]yadas[i]⁶ l[ā]jā Māgadhe⁷ saṃgham abhivāde[tū]nam ⁸ āhā ap[ā]bādhatam cha phāsu-vihālatam chā
- 2 (B) vidite v[e] bhamte āvatake h[a]mā Budhasi dhammasi samghasī ti gālave o cham prasāde 10 cha (C) e kechi 11 bhamte

2 sa[m] ghe Bühler.

3 °dīpasi Bühler.

4 The syllable mi was entered above the line.

5 cha Bühler.

6 Piya° Senart.

¹ haka Bühler.

⁷ Māgadham Senart; but the e of dhe is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anusvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.

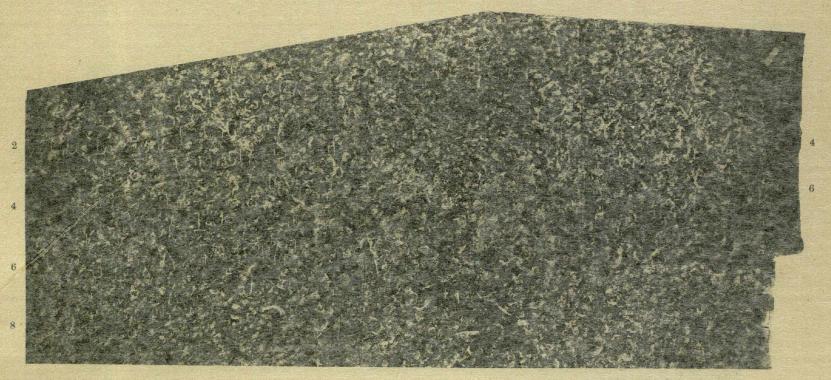
⁸ abhivadanam Senart; but see JRAS, 1909. 727.

⁹ galave Senart.

¹⁰ pasāde Senart.

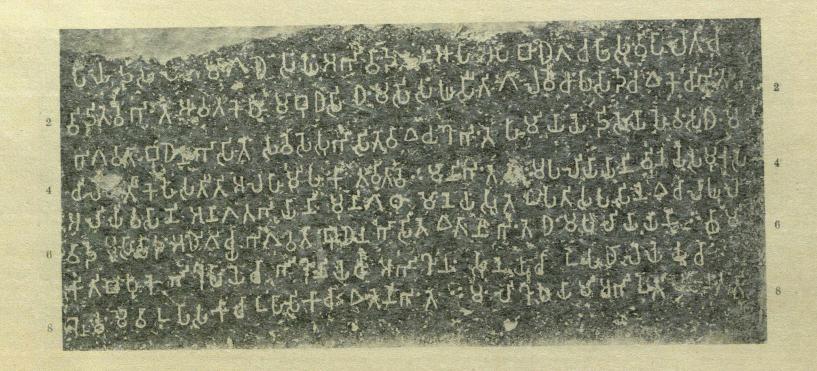


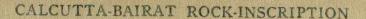




SCALE ONE-NINTH









bhagavatā Budhe[na] bhāsite sarve¹ se subhāsite vā (D) e chu kho bhamte hamiyāye diseyā hevam sadhamme

chil[a-thi]tīke hosatī ti alahāmi hakam ta[m] v[ā]tave 2 (E) imāni bhamt[e dha]mma-

paliyāyāni Vinaya-samukase

5 Aliya-vasāṇi ⁸ Anāgata-bhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatisa-pasine e chā Lāghulo-

6 vāde musā-vādam adhigichya bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite etāni bhamte dhamma-paliyāyāni ichhāmi

kimti bahuke bhikhu-[p]āye chā bhikhuniye ch[ā] abhikhinam sun[e]yu chā upadhāl[a]yeyū chā

8 (F) hevammevā upāsakā chā upāsikā chā (G) eteni bhamte imam likhā[pa]yāmi abhipretam 10 me jānamtū 11 ti

TRANSLATION

- (A) The Māgadha king Priyadarśin, 12 having saluted the Saingha, 13 hopes they are both well and comfortable. 14
- (B) It is known to you, Sirs, how great is my reverence and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma, 15 (and) the Sampha. 16
- (C) Whatsoever, Sirs, has been spoken by the blessed Buddha, all that is quite well spoken.
- (D) But, Sirs, what would indeed appear to me 17 (to be referred to by the words of the scripture): 'thus the true *Dharma* will be of long duration', 18 that I feel bound to declare.
- (E) The following expositions of the Dharma, Sirs, (viz.) (1) the Vinaya-samukasa, (2) the Aliya-vasas, (3) the Anāgata-bhayas, (4) the Muni-gāthās, (5) the Moneya-sūta,

1 save Senart.

² vatave Senart.

3 -vasāni Senart.

⁴ This word is quite distinct, and the reading adhigidhya proposed by Michelson (IF, 27, 194 f.) is impossible.

5 etāna Senart.

6 bhakhuniye Senart.

⁷ sunayu Senart.

⁸ upādhāleyeyu Senart.

9 Read etenā.

¹⁰ abhihetam Senart; but the horizontal stroke attached to pa is probably intended for r. Cf. aprakaranamhi in the Girnār edict XII, l. 3.

11 ma jänamta Senart.

12 Cf. e.g. rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro in the Vinaya-pitaka (passim); rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu at the beginning of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta (JRAS, 1875. 49); and rājā Pasenaji Kosalo in a Bharaut inscription (IA, 21. 232, No. 58).

18 i.e. the Buddhist clergy.

¹⁴ Literally: 'pronounces both (their) being in good health and (their) being (in the enjoyment) of pleasant life'. Cf. at the beginning of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*: 'appābādham appātankam lahutthānam balam phāsu-vihāram puchchha', and see Neumann's translations of the Majjhimanikāya (2. 617, note) and Dīgha-nikāya (2. 216, n. 3).

15 i. e. the Buddhist doctrine.

16 These are the so-called 'three jewels'; see Childers' Pāli Dictionary, s. v. ratanam.

17 Kern (IA, 5. 257) explained diseyā as the optative of the Pāli dissati = Skt. drišyatē; cf. JRAS, 1909. 728.

¹⁸ As suggested by the late Professor Hardy (JRAS, 1901. 314), these words seem to contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.

19 vasa is a defective spelling for vanisa; see IA, 41. 39.

GI

(6) the *Upatisa-pasina*, and (7) the *Lāghulovāda* which was spoken by the blessed **Buddha** concerning falsehood, —I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस असोकस '''' अढित

 2 '' नि वषानि। अं सुमि बुधशके (C) ''''' ''' ' 'तिरे '''

 3 '' मि संघं उपगते उठ '''' ' मि उपगते (D) पुरे जंबु

 4 ''' सि ये अमिसा देवा हुमु ने दानि मिसिभूता (E) इय अठे खुद

 5 केन पि धमयुतेन सके अधिगतवे (F) न हेवं दिखतिवये उडा

 6 लवे व इम अधिगछेया ति (G) खुदके च उडालके च वत

 7 विया हेवं वे कलंतं भदके से अ '''' ' तिके च विढ

 8 सिति चा दियितयं हेवं ति

 1 (A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa Asok[a]sa [a]dh[a]t[i]

 2 ... ni vashā[ni] । am sum[i] Bu[dha]-Śake (C) [t]ire

 3 ... [m]i sama [a] u[pa]gate [uth] m[i] u[pa]gate (D) pure Jambu

 4 ... s[i sye amisā devā husu] te [dā]n[i] misibhūtā (E) iya a[the khu]da
- ¹ For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, Vinaya-pitaka, Introduction, p. xl, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, 11. 159 f.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 639 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 52. 634 ff.; Bloch, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, Vinaya-samukasa, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (Buddhist Bibliography, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmananda Kosambi (IA, 41. 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the Anguitara-nikāya, Nos. 4-6 in the Suita-nipāta, and No. 7 in the Majjhima-nikāya.
- ² Senart fills up this break by vachanena adhikāni. As the instrumental vachanena would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading sāvane (or sāsane) (B) adhikāni.

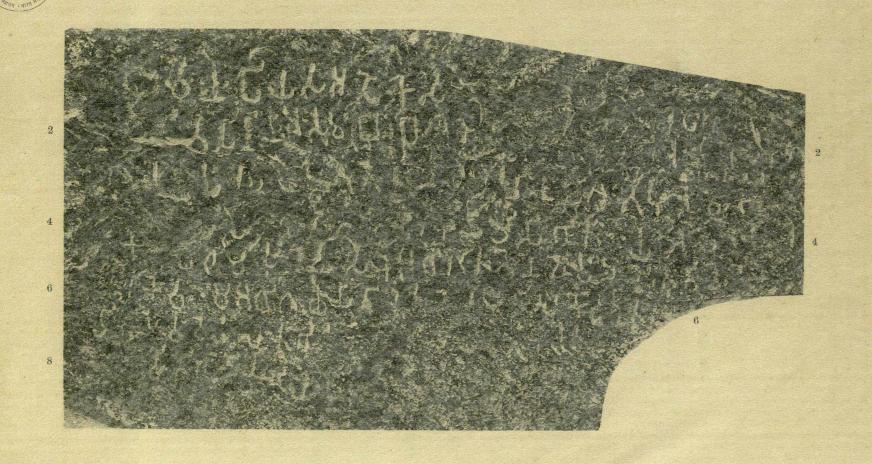
³ Restore adhatiyāni. ⁴ vasāni [ya]m am Krishna Sastri.

⁵ bum [pā] sake K.S. The point after bu does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that 'the letter pā appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between upāsake and Budhupāsake. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write upāsake, which is the reading of Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura. On second thoughts he changed upā to Budha and added Śake, which corresponds to [Sa]k[e] at Rūpnāth. The abnormal shape of the dha of Budha is due to its having been corrected from pā.

6 Restore sātireke am sumi and, before these three words, perhaps samvachhare.

⁷ Restore perhaps uthānam cha sumi upagate, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: bādham cha me pakamte. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore bādham cha sumi upagate.

8 Restore Fainbudīpasi. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.



Scale One-eighth

MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION



ke[na pi]¹ dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevam dakhitaviye [uḍā]-

6 lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha ud]ālake cha vata-

7 viyā hevam ve kalamtam bha[dak]e [se a]2..... t[i]k[e]3 cha va[dhi]-

8 siti chā diya[dhi]yam he[vam] ti*

TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of Dēvānāmpriya Aśöka.

(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a Buddha-Śākya.

(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the Sangha and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in Jambudvīpa, have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.6

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,' this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half'.

VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

1 (A) मुवंगिगिरीते अयपुतस महामातागं च वचनेत इसिलिस महामाता आरोगियं वतविया हेवं च वतविया (B) देवाणंपिये आग्रापयित

2 (c) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि य हकं ' ' ' सके (D) नी तु खी बाढं प्रकंते हुसं एकं सवछरं (E) सातिरेके तु खी संवछरें

अयं मया संघे उपयीते बाढं च मे पकंते (म) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना मुनिसा जंबदीपिस

4 मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले (H) नो हीयं सक्ये महात्पेनेव पापीतवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन पि

5 पकमि '' खेख विपुले खगे सक्ये आराधेतवे (I) एतायठाय इयं सावखे सावापिते

6 '''' महात्पा च इमं पक्तमेयु ति अंता च मे जानेयु चिरितिते के च इयं

Restore perhaps se athe chira-thitike.

² [the ti] K. S.
⁴ diyadhiya h[e]sati K. S.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 167, n. 18.

7 For the nominative singular absolute kalamtam see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, ve

(= Skt. vah), is originally an oblique case of the plural.

¹ A[i] K. S.

⁶ Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to pra-kram or parā-kram and to dharma-yukta; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.

पक * * * * (1) इयं च ऋठे बिहिसिति विपुलं पि च विहिसिति ऋवरिधया दियहियं

विहिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूथेन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) से हेवं **टेवा**णंपिये

- आह (N) मातापितिस सुसुसितविये हेमेव गहस प्राणेस दुह्यतव्यं सर्च
- वतिवयं से इमे धंमगुणा पवतितविया (0) हेमेव अंतेवासिना 10
- शावरिये अपचायितविये जातिकेस च कं य ' ' रहं पवितितविये 11
- (P) एसा पोराणा पिकती दीघावसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस किटिविये 12
- (R) चपडेन लिखिते लिपिकरेगा 13
- (A) [S]uv[a]mnagirīte¹ ayaputasa mahāmātānam cha vachan[e]na Isilasi mahāmātā ārogiyam vataviyā hevam cha vataviyā (B) Devāņampiyo ānapayati

(C) adhikāni adhātiyāni v[a]sāni ya hakam sa[ke]2 (D) no tu kho bādham prakamte husam ekam savachharam (E) sātireke tu kho samvachharem 4

yam mayā samghe upayīte bādham cha me pakamte (F) iminā chu kālena amisā samānā munisā Jambudīpasi

mis a devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyam phale (H) no hiyam sakye mahatpeneva pāpotave kāmam tu kho khudakena pi

paka[m]i . . nena vipule svage sakye ärädhetave (I) eft ayathaya iyam savane sāvāpite

..... mahāt pļā cha imam pakame yu tļi amtā cha mai jāneyu chirathitike cha iyam

[paka] 8 (J) iyam cha athe vadhisiti vipulam pi cha vadhisiti avaradhiya diyadhiyam

[vadh]isiti (K) iyam cha sāvan[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena (L) 200 50 6 (M) se hevam Devanampiye

āha (N) mātā-pitisu susūs[i]taviye hemeva garu[su] prāņesu drahyitavyam 9 sacham

10 vataviyam se ime dhamma-gunā pavatitaviyā (0) hemeva amtevāsinā

āchariye apachāyitaviye fiātikesu cha [ka]m 10 ya . . raham 11 pavatitaviye 11

² Restore upāsake, as at Siddāpura.

4 Read samvachhare; sa[m]vachhar[a]m Bühler.

3 pakamte Bühler.

5 paka[mami]nena Bühler; read pakamaminena and cf. the Sahasram edict, 1. 3 f. 6 The Śiddāpura version reads yathā khu[dakā cha].

7 Read me.

8 The Śiddāpura version reads pakame hoti (hotu at Sahasrām).

garut vam Bühler. 10 k[u?] Bühler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.

11 Restore yatharaham and cf. the Siddapura version, I. 20, and the Jatinga-Rameśvara version, l. 18.

¹ This word looks almost like Suvenna°, but the Siddapura version reads Suvanna° distinctly.

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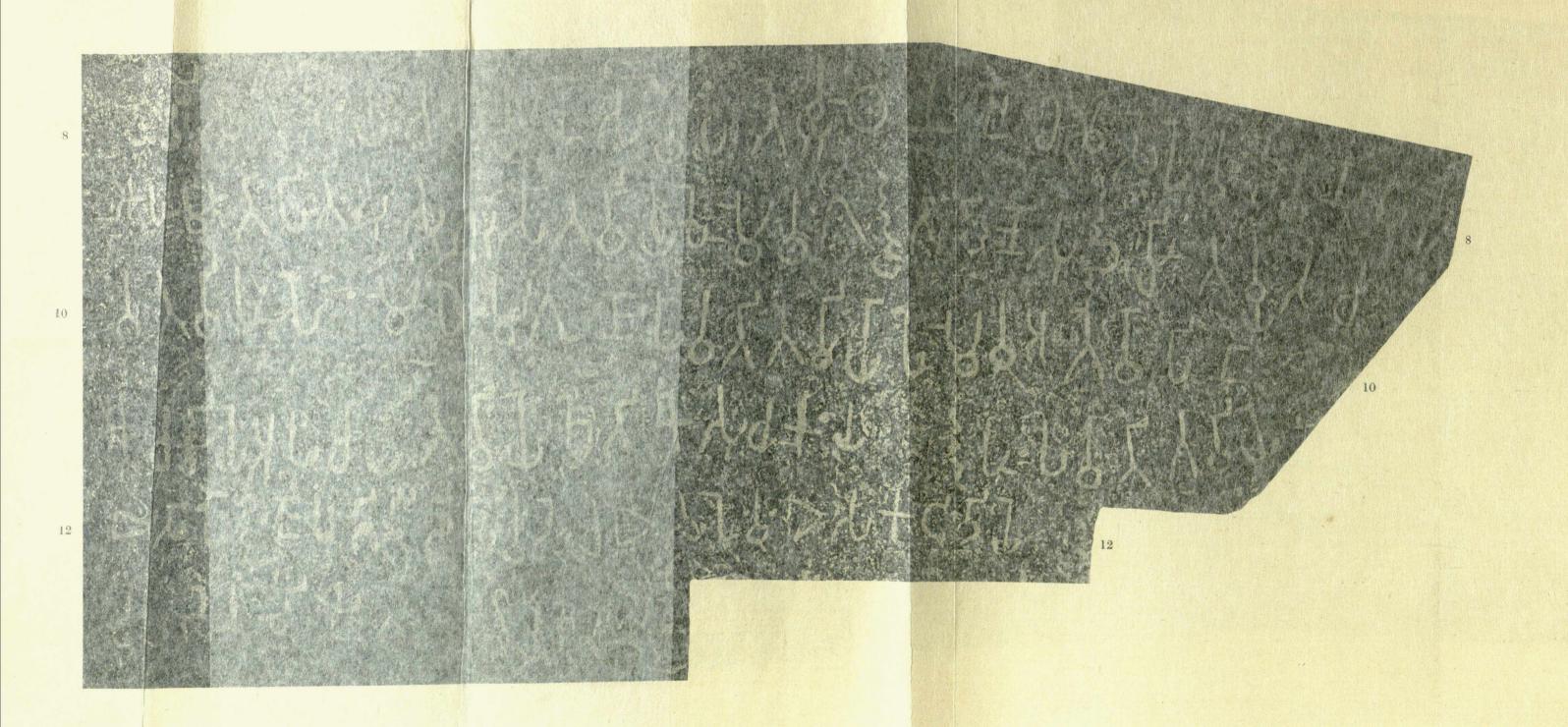


SCALE ONE-TENTH



BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION; LOWER HALF

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SCALE ONE-TENTH

BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION



(P) esā porā[n]ā pa[k]itī d[īgh]āvuse¹ cha esa (Q) hevam esa kaṭiviye²

13 (R) Chapadena likhite 3 li[pi]karena 4

TRANSLATION

(A) From Suvarnagiri,⁵ at the word of the prince (āryaputra)⁶ and of the Mahāmātras, the Mahāmātras at Isila must be wished good health ⁷ and be told this:

(B) Dēvānāmpriya commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am) a lay-worshipper (upāsaka).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year.9

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the Sangha and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in Jambudvipa, being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods.¹⁰

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued, 11 [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner, 12 and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration.

(J) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.

(K) And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.

¹ d[igh]āvuse Bühler.

² Read kataviye.

3 li[kh]it[am] Bühler.

4 This word is written in Kharōshthī characters.

This place seems to have been the capital of the province administrated by the Āryaputra and his Mahāmātras. Bühler (EI, 3. 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a Kumāra and his Mahāmātras resided at Tōsalī. The separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa were addressed by the king to the local authorities themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the Suvarnagiri province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at Isila. In Fleet's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarnagiri by Aśōka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sōnagiri, near Rājagriha in Bihār; see JRAS, 1909. 998. H. Krishna Sastri connects Suvarnagiri, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around Maski, which abounds in ancient gold-workings; see his remarks on the Maski edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara; see Constable's Hand-Atlas of India, plate 34, C, b.

6 Bühler (VOJ, 12. 75 f.) traced the word ayyaputta, 'a prince', in the Fataka, vol. VI, p. 146 f.

7 Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

8 The word sumi is added in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts.

The words 'for one year' are missing at Rüpnāth and Sahasrām. As Senart (JA (8), 19-481 f.) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Aśōka inscriptions, because they imply that the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura edicts, Aśōka had been an upāsaka (or Śākya, as the Rūpnāth and Maski edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the Saingha. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.

¹⁰ For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.

11 Cf. the Delhi-Toprā pillar-edict VII, K and M, and above, p. 168, n. 6.

12 With imain supply pakamain; cf. vadhi[in*] vadhisiti in the Rūpnāth edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.

1612

Metal of India

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



- (L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).1
- (M) Moreover, Dēvānāmpriya speaks thus.2
- (N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues must be practised.
- (0) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.
 - (P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.
 - (Q) Thus one must act.3
 - (R) Written by Chapada the writer.

VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

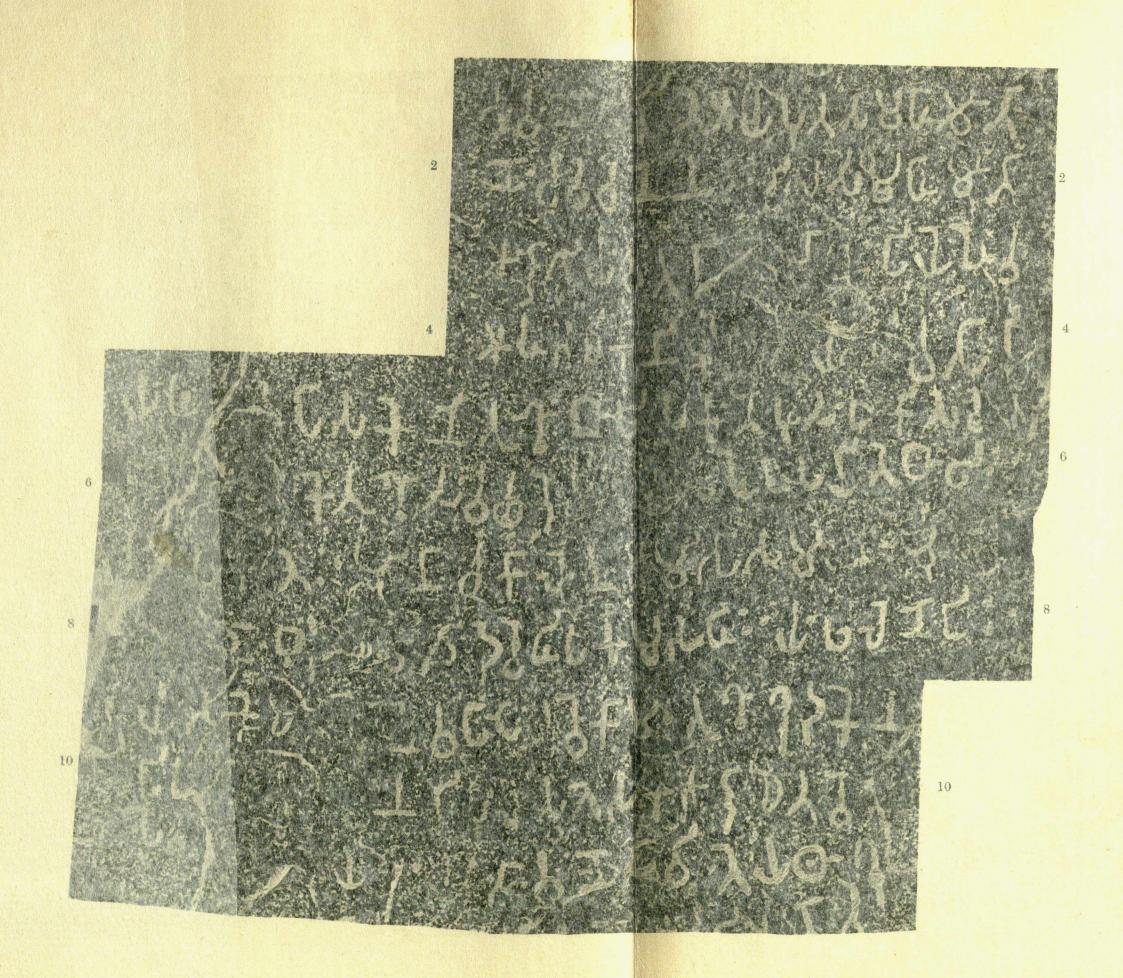
	VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION
1	(A) सुवंग्गगिरीते अयपुतस महामाता-
2	णं च वचनेन इसिलिस महामाता
3	आरोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिये हेवं
4	आह (c) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि
5	य हवं उपासके (D) नो तु खो बाढ पकंते हुसं एकं सवछ '
6	
	(E) सातिरेके तु खो संवद्धरे यं मया संघे उपयीते वाढं
7	च मे पक्ते (म) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना मु
8	ं जंबुद ं ं ं मिसा देवेहि (G) पक्षमस हि इयं फले म) नो हि इ-
9	य सके म ' ' नेव पापोतवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन
10	पि प ' ' ' न विपुले स्वगे सँके आरोधतवे
11	(I) से ''' य इयं सावरो साविते यथा खु-
12	दका च महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति छाता च
13	'''' चिरिटितीके च इयं पकमे होति
14	(J) ' ' ' विदिसिति विपुलं पि च विदिसिति ऋ
15	· · · · · · · · यिंदयं विदिसिति (K) इयं च साविणे
16	· · · · · · · · (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) मा · · · · · · सितविये
17	'''' दितव्यं शचं वत '' यं इसे धंमगु
18	ं अवस्यि अपचायितविये सु
19	· · · · · · · · (0) एसा पोराणा · · किती दीघा नुसे च (P) हेमेन · ·
	ंतेविसिने च
20	श्राचरिये '''' यारहं पविततव '''' म ''
21	· · · · · · · स तथा कटविये (R) चप ' · · · · · ·

¹ Cf. section J of the Sahasrām edict.

² This section is omitted in the Śiddāpura and Jaṭinga-Rāmēśvara versions.

 $^{^3}$ At the beginning of this section, the Jaținga-Rāmēśvara version inserts : 'This is the morality of Dēvānāmpriya'.





Scale One-ninth





SCALE ONE-NINTH

SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION



1100	(A) Suvamnagirite ayaputasa mahamata-
2	ņam cha vachanena I[s]ilasi mahāmātā
3	ārogiyam vata[v]i[yā] (B) [Dev]ā[na]mpiye hevam
4	āha (C) adhikāni a[ḍhā]t[i]y[āni] vasāni
5	ya ha[kam u]pāsake (D) no tu kho bādha pakamte husam ek[am] sa[vachha] 1
6	(E) [sätire]ke tu kho samvachhare [yam mayā sam]ghe upayīte bādham
7	[cha me] p[akam]te (F) i[m]inā chu kālena [a]misā samā[nā] mu
8	Jambu[d] [mi]sā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyam phale (H) no [h]i i-2
9	ya sake [ma][ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmam tu kho khudakena
10	pi [pa] na [v]ipul[e] svage sak[e] ārādhetave
11	(I) [s]e ya [iya]m sāvaņe sāvite yathā khu-
12	[dakā cha ma]hātpā cha imam [pa]kameyu ti atā 3 cha
13	[chira]-thi[t]īk[e] cha iyam pakame hoti
14	(J) va[dh]isiti vipu[la]m p[i] cha vadhisiti [a]
15	[yadhiya]m vadhisiti (K) i[ya]m [cha] sā[va]ņe
16	
17	[hyi]tavyam śa[cha]m va[ta] [ya]m im[e] dhamma-gu
18	(N) [heme]va [a]m [ācha]riye apachāyitaviye su
19	(0) [es]ā [p]o[r]ā[ṇā][ki]tī dī[ghā]vu[se] cha (P) heme[va]
	m[t]evisine 6 cha
20	āchariy[e]m
21	sa ' [ta]thā kaṭaviye (R) Chapa
22	[na] ⁸
	VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSCRIPTION
1	(A) · · · · · · · तान च व · · · · ·
2	इसि विया (B) देवान
3	····· य हकं · · · · · ·
4	स्रो बाढ · · · · · · · (E) · · तिरेके · · · · · · ·
5	यं ' या ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
6	स
7	हि इयं ' ' ' ' ' '
8	
9	
10	·····च ··· विस ·
	' पर्ल पि ' ' ' ' ' यहियं ' ' ' ' ' '
11	યુભ 14 યાંહ્ય
	¹ samva Bühler. ² Bühler omitted i ³ amtā Bühler.

^{4 -}thitīke Bühler.
6 . . [te]vāsine Bühler. Read amtevāsine.
8 This syllable is in the Kharōshṭhī alphabet.

hot[u] Bühler.
 esa Bühler.



THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



12	(K) इं ' ' सावण ' ' ' ' थन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) हमव
13	मातापितुसु ' ' ' सितविये हेमेव ' ' ' न ाे सु
14	'' ह्यितव्यं सचं वतवियं से इसे '''''
15	हेवं पविततिवया (N) स्वञ्जं न ते सतयस
16	तविय हेमेव आचरिये अंतेवासिना
17	'''' राखा पिकती ''' सितविया '''' विये
18	ं चरिये अ ं ं ं आचरियश जातिका ते ं यथारहं पव-
19	तितविये (O) एसा पोराणा पिकती दीघा '' च (P) हेमेव श '' ने 'ा '
20	च य ' ' ' विततिविये (६) हेवं धंसे देवाणंपिय '
21	ं वं कटविये (R) · · · डेन लिखितं
22	' ' पिनरेश
1	(A) [t]āna [cha va]
2	Isi [vi]yā (B) Dev[ā]n[a]
3	······ ya hakaṁ · · · · · · ·
4	kho bādha (E) ti[reke]
5	[ya]m[yā]
6	[na]
7	'[h]i i[yam]
8	
9	
10	[cha][dhi]s
11	[p]ulam pi[ya]dhiyam
12	(K) i s[āvaṇe] [th]e[na] (L) 200 50 6 (M) [heme]va
13	[mā]t[ā]-pitusu [s]itav[i]y[e] he[m]e[va] [na] . ā . es[u]
14	hy[ita]v[y]am sacham vataviyam [se] i[me]
15	hevam pa[va]titaviyā (N) [svaa]m na te s . t . va[s]
16	taviya ² hemeva āchari[ye] amtevāsin[ā]
17	····.[r]āṇā paki[tī]sita[v]iy[ā][v]i[y]e ³
18	chariy[e] a 4 [ā]char[i]yaśa ñātikā te ya[thāraha]m [pava]-
19	titaviye (0) esā [po]rā[ṇā pa]kitī 5 d[īgh]ā cha (P) [he]me[va] śa e . ā
20	[cha] ya vati[tav]iye (Q) hevam [dhamm]e 6 Devāņampiy 7
21	[va]m kaṭaviye (R) dena [likhita]m
22	[pika]reṇa ⁸

¹ e Bühler.

² I am unable to make out the meaning of the opening words of this section.

³ . i[v]e Bühler.

⁴ am Bühler.

⁵ [pak]iti Bühler.

⁶ hevam [m]e Bühler.

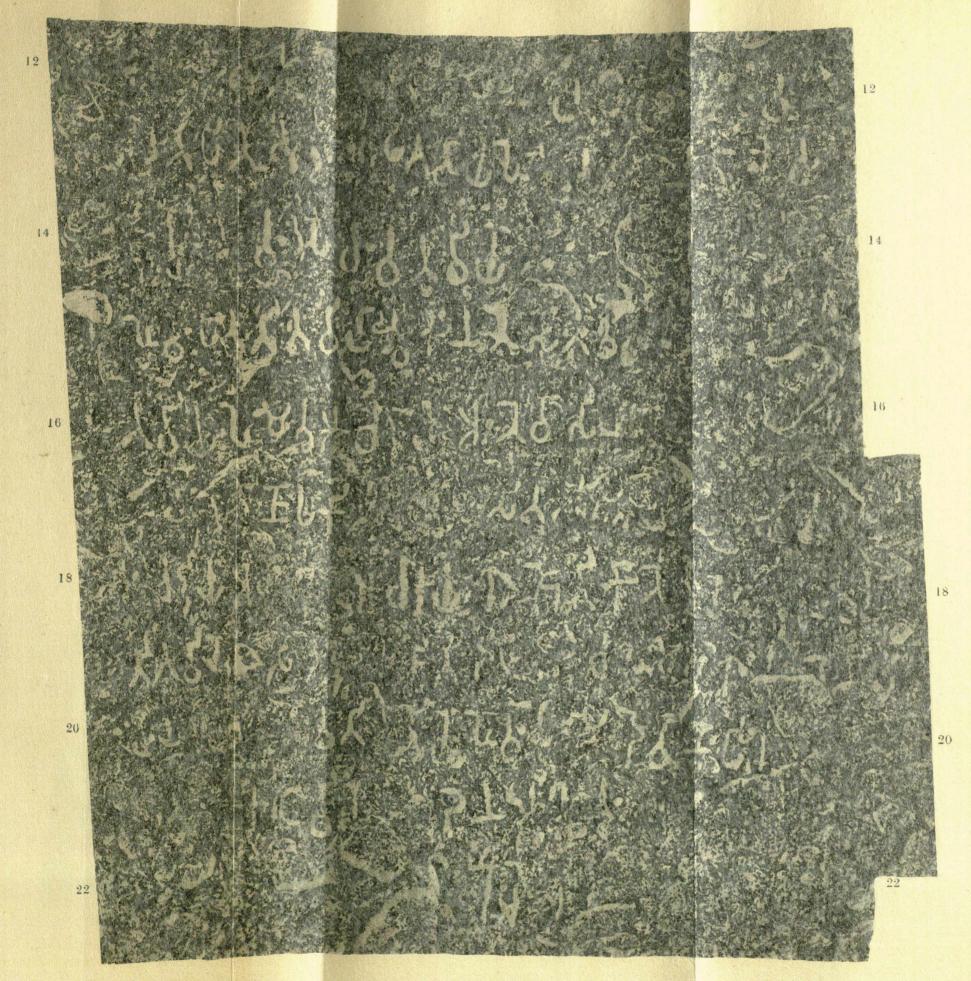
⁷ °pi[y]e Bühler.

Restore °piyasa.

⁸ This word is written in Kharōshṭhī characters.







Scale One-Eighth







SCALE ONE-EIGHTH



FIRST CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL



IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदिसना दुवाडसवसाभिसिनेना
- 2 इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आजीविकेहि
- 1 läjinä Piyadasinä duvädasa-[vasäbhisitenä] 1
- 2 [iyam Nigoha]-kubhā¹ di[nā ājīvikeki]¹

TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Banyancave 2 was given to the Ajīvikas.3

SECOND CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- 1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-
- 2 इसवसाभिसितेना इयं
- **3** कुभा खलतिकपवतिस
- 4 दिना आजीविकेहि
- 1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvā-
- 2 dasa-vasābhisitenā iyam
- 3 kubhā Khalatika-pavatasi
- 4 dinā [ājīvi]kehi 4

TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this cave in the Khalatika mountain was given to the Ājīvikas.

² This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the

beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Dasaratha (IA, 20. 364 f.).

⁴ The bracketed letters are effaced; cf. above, n. 1. In the first of the three Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word äjīvikehi;

see the plate in IA, 20. 365, D.

¹ The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.

³ The Ājīvika sect was founded by Gōśāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvīra. Kern, with whom Bühler sided, considered the Ājīvikas to have been a Vaishṇava sect; see IA, 20, 361 f. This view was combated by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 21, 399 ff., and IA, 41, 90, 286 ff. Cf. Neumann's translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, 2, 248, n, 139, and Charpentier in JRAS, 1913, 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājīvikas' in Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.



THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA



THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

- । लाज पियद्सी एकुनवी-
- 2 सतिवसाभिसिते जलघो-
- उ सागमधात मे इयं कुभा
- ध सुपिये ल ः ः ः ि दि-
- 5 7
- 1 läja Piyadasī ekunavī-
- 2 sati-vasā[bh]isi[t]e ja[lagh]o-
- 3 [sāgama]thāta [me] i[yam kubhā]
- 4 su[p]i[y]e Kha 1 [di]-
- 5, nā. 2

TRANSLATION

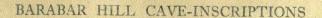
When king Priyadarsin had been anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Kha[latika mountain] was given by me ³ for (shelter during) the rainy season.⁴

Restore Khalatika-pavatasi in accordance with the second inscription on p. 181, above.

² The end of the inscription is marked by a svastika and a dagger, and by a fish below them.

3 This pronoun may refer to an unnamed donor or, with a clumsy change in the construction, to the king himself. In either case the words lāja to osite are nominatives absolute.

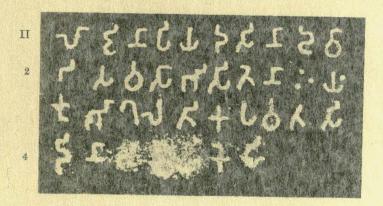
⁴ Literally: 'for the sake (athāta = Skt. arthatah in the sense of arthāya?) of the approach of the roar of waters'. Cf. vāsha-nishidiyāye, 'for a dwelling during the rainy season', in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f., and EI, 2. 274).

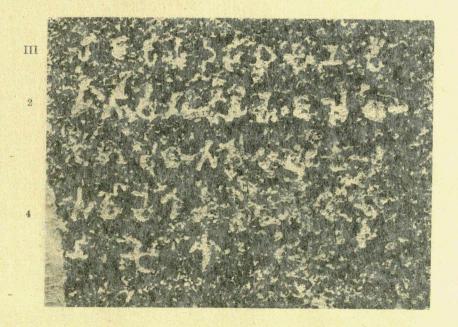
















APPENDIX: SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST ROCK-EDICT

Gir. (A) iy[am] dhamma-lipī	Devānampriyena
Kāl. (A) iyam dhamma-lipi	Devānampiyenā
Shāh. (A) [aya] dhrama-dipi	Devanapriasa
Mān. (A) ayi dhra[ma]-dip[i]	Devanam[priye]na
	a]tasi [D]e[v]ā[na]mp[iy]
	atasi Devānampiyena
2 () 3 miles and a second partial galaxies partial galaxies and a second partial galaxies and a	Devanampiyena
Gir. Priyadasinā rāñā lekh[ā]pitā (B) [i]dha na	kimchi jīvam ārabhitpā
Kāl. Piyadas[i]nā [lekhit]ā (B) [h]idā no	到1.5周光镜 张金 (J. 1881年) "我的"***********************************
Shāh. raño likhapitu (B) hida no	
Mān. Priya[draśina rajina li]khapita (B) hi[da] no	
Dhan	[i]vam ālabhitu
Fau. Piyadasinā lājinā likhāpitā (B) hida no	
January Marine Marine (D) Inda 110	Richini jivani alabin[t]u
Gir. prajūhitavyam (C) na cha samājo katavy	o (D) bahukam hi dosam
$K\bar{a}l$. pajohitaviye (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviy	
Shāh. [p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ia] kaṭava	
	ve (D) bahu[ka] hi [dosha]
	(7) 1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-
Fau. pajohitaviye (C) no pi cha samāje kaṭaviy	re (D) bahukam hi dosam
Gir. samājamhi pasati Devānampriyo Priyadasi	rājā (E) asti
Kāl. samājasā Devān[am]piye Pi[ya]dasī	lājā dakhati (E) athi
Shāh. sa[maya]spi Devaṇapriy[e] Priadraśi	ray[a da]khati (E) [a]sti
Mān. [samajasa Devanampriye] Priyadraśi	raja [da]kha[ti] (E) asti
Dhau. [samā]ja [d]	(E)
Jau. samājasa drakhati Devānampiye Piyadasī	lājā (E) athi
The second of the second secon	iaja (Z) atini
Gir. pi tu ekachā samājā sādh	u-matā Devānampriyasa
	[u]-matā Devānampiyasā
	mate Devanapiasa
2 January C Sasta	nu]-mata Devanapriyasa
E. E	hu-matā Dev
~ Fi Pelity le Communicipal plane	
r charya samaja saun	u-matā Devānampiyasa

→ /•/						
mostr.	Priyadasino		purā	mahānas[a	A CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY O	ānampriyasa
Kāl.	Piyadasis[ā]	lājine (F)	[p]ule	mahānasas		ānampiyasā
Shāh.	Priadraśisa	raño (F)	pura	mahana[sa		vana]pr[i]asa
Mān.	Priyadraśi[sa]	rajine (F)	pura	maha[nasa]si [Dev	vana]pri[ya]sa
Dhau.	[Piyadasine	laj[ine] (F)		[mah]		
Fau.	Piyadrasine		puluvam	mahā[nasa]si Dev	ānampiyasa
Gir.	Priy[a]dasino	rāño anu	divasam	bahūni	prāṇa-sata-sa	hasrāni
Kāl.	Piyadasisā	lājin[e] anu	divasam		pāta-sahasān	
Shāh.	Priadrasisa	raño anu	divaso	bahuni	pra[na]-śata-s	sahasani
Mān.	Pri[yadra]śisa	rajine anu	idiva[sa	ba]huni	praņa-śa[ta]-	sahas[r]ani
Dhau.	Piy[a]			. [n]i	[p]āna-[sa]ta	
Fau.	Piyadasine	lājine anu	ndivasam	bah[ū]ni	pāna-sata-sah	n[a]sāni
Gir.	ārabhisu s	ūpāthāya ((G) se aja	yadā	ayam dl	ha[m]ma-lip[ī]
Kāl.			HELLOCAL AND SAND HELLOCAL PROPERTY OF THE PERSON OF THE P]āni ya[da		hamma-lipi
Shāh.			CONTROL OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR	ani yada		hrama-dipi
Mān.				[d		nrama-dipi
Dhau.			G) se a[j	A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR		ha]m[ma]-lipī
Fau.			(7) se aja			namma-lipī
Gir.	likhitā	tī eva	prāṇā	ārabhare		iya dvo
Kāl.	lekhitā tadā	timni yevā	pānāni	alabhi[ya		duve
Shāh.	likhita tada	trayo vo	praṇa	hamñamt		majura
Mān.	likhi[ta] ta[da]	ti[ni] y[eva]	pra[na]ni			du[v]e [2]
Dhau.	likhitā	tim		[āla]bh[iy]	
Fau.	likhitā	timni yeva	pānāni	āla[m]bhi	yamti	duve
Gir.	morā eko	mago	so pi	r	nago na	dhruvo
Kāl.	majūl[ā] eke	mige	se pi		nige no	dhruve
Shāh.	duv[i] 2 mrug		so pi		nrugo no	dhruva[m]
Mān.	majura [e]k[e		s[e] p[i		nrig[e] no	dhruvam
Dhau.						
Fau.	majūlā eke	mige	se pi	chu n	nige no	dhuvam
<u> </u>	177					
Gir.	(H) ete pi	trī	prāṇā		a ārabhisa	
Kāl.	(H) e[t]āni pi	ch[u] tini	pānā[n]i]isa[m]ti
Shāh.	(H) eta pi	prana	trayo		a arabhiśa	
Mān.	(H) [e]tani pi	chu [tini]	praṇani		o ara[bhi]	
Dhau.		[t]imni	pānāni			hiyisa[m]t[i]
Fau.	(H) etāni pi	chu timni	pānāni	pachhā r	o āla[bh]i	yisamti

SECOND ROCK-EDICT

	(A) sarvata	vijitamhi	Devānampriyasa	Piyadasino	rāño
Kāl. Shāh.	(A) sav[a]tā (A) sav[r]atra	vijitasi vijite	Devānampiyas[ā] [De]va[nam]priyasa	Piyadasis[ā] Priyadrasisa	lājine
	(A) sa[vatra (A) [sa]vata	vi]jitasi [v]i[ji]tasi	Devanapriyasa [D]e[v]ānampiyasa	Priyadrasisa Piyadasi[ne	rajine
	(A) savata	vijitasi	Devānampiyasa	Piyadasine	lājine

SECOND ROCK-EDICT

		SECOND	ROCK	LDICI			
Gir.	evamapi prac	hamtesu	yathā	Chodā	Pādā	Satiyaput	:o ~ _
Kāl.	ye cha amt	ā de la	[a]thā	Chodā	Pam[di]yā	Sātiyaput	
Shāh.	y[e] cha [a]n	ita	yatha	[Choda]	Pamdiya	Satiyaput	
Mān.	ye cha ata		atha	[Choda]	Paſmdilya	Sa[ti]ya[p	
Dhau			[athā]		L. A. A.		
Fau.	e vā pi amt	i :	athā	Choḍā	Pamdiyā	Satiyapu[
Gir.	Ketalaputo ā Tar	ıbapamıı .	Amtiyal	02	Yona-rājā	ye vā	pi
Kāl.	Ke[lala]puto Tai	nba[pa]mni	Amtiyo	ge [n]ām	STATE OF THE PERSON OF THE PER		amne
Shāh.	Keradaputro Tai	hbapamni .	Amtiyo[k]o nama	Yona-raja	ye cha	amñe
Män.		m]bapani	[A]tiyog	ge nama	Yona-[raja] ye cha	[a]
Dhau.			[t]iyo	ke nāma	Yo[na]-laja		[p]i
Fau.		ī .	Amtiyol	te nāma	Yona-lājā	[e] vā	pi
							7.
Gir.	tasa Amtiy[a]kas	[a] sāmīp[a	ım] r	ījāno sa	rvatra De	vānampriy	asa
Kāl.	tas[ā A]mtiyogas	i sā[ma]r	ntā lā	[j]āno [s	a]vatā Dev	vānampiya	sā
Shāh.	tasa Amtiyokasa	samami	ta. ra	ijano sa	vratra De	vanampriya	asa
Mān.	sa[gas		ra	[jane sa]vratra	priya	asa
Dhau.	[ta]sa Amtiyo[ka]s			jāne sa		evā[namp]i	
Fau.	tasa Amtiyokasa	sāmami	tā lā	jāne sa	vata De	vānampiye	na
	*						
Gir.	Priyadasino rāño	dve	chikie		manusa	ı-chikīchhā	cha
Kāl.	Piyadasisā lājine		chikis	STATE THE PARTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY.		-chikisā	chā
Shāh.	Priyadrasisa raño		chik[i		[ṭa] manuśa	ı-chikisa	
Mān.	Priyadraśisa rajine	[duve 2]	chikis	a [ka]	a manuśa	-chik[isa	cha]
Dhau.	P[i]yadasi[nā]					[s]ā	cha
Fau.	Piyadasinā lāji	• • • • • •				[ch]ikisā	cha
<u> </u>							
Gir.	pasu-chikīchhā ch			cha yār			cha
Kāl.	pasu-chikisā chi	是15世界以前的 17世界 18世界 18世界 18世界	ACCOUNT OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR		manusopa		chā
Shāh.	pa[śu-ch]ikisa [ch	THE PARTY OF THE P		ni	manuśopa		cha
Mān.	paśu-[chi]kisa ch	LONG THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY			manu		cha]
Dhau.	p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā] ch			ān[
Fau.	pasu-chikisā ch	(B) osad	hānı	āni	munisopa	gāni	100
7.							
Gir.	paso[pa]gāni cha					arāpitāni	cha
Kāl.	pasopagāni chā	a[ta]tā	THE RESERVE THE PARTY OF THE PA		The last term of the control of the	h]ālāpitā	chā
Shah.	paśopakani cha					arapita	cha
Mān.	pa[kani cha					ha]rapi[ta	THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE
Dhau.	pasu-opagān[i] cha	atata				nā]lāpit[ā]	cha
Fau.	pasu-opagāni cha	atata.	na	athi :	sava[ta] .		•
<i>a</i> :							
Gir.	ropāpitāni cha (C			ini cha	phalāni ch		The state of the s
Kāl.) [e]vamevā	i mula	ini chā	phalāni ch	$\bar{a} = a[ta]t[$	ā]
Shāh.	vuta cha						
Mān.) e[va]meva		ani [cha]	phalani [c	ha] a[tra	a]tra
Dhau.	[lo]pāp[i]tā [cha] (C)	mū[IJ.		• 1	
Fau.					. , ch	a atata	

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मारत सर्वाः					
Gir.	nāsti sarvata	hārāpitāni cha	rop[ā]pitāni	cha (D) pa	ımthesü küpä
Kāl.	nathi savatā	hālāp[i]tā chā	lopāpitā		afglesu [lu]khāni
Shāh.		LL'Iba	yopapica	[6,1]4 (2) 111	algicial finitiani
Mān.	Fra lat: Factoral	m banada da	г т.	1 (7)	r
	[na]sti [savra]t		ro[pa]pita		a[geshu] ruchhani
Dhau.			lo[p]āpitā	cha (D) m	a[g]e[su udu]pānāni
Fau.	nathi s[a]vatra	ı hālāpitā cha	lopāpitā	cha (D) m	agesu udupānāni
Gir.	cha khānāpitā	vrachhā ch	a ropāpit[ā]	paribhogāya	pasu-manusānam
Kāl.	lopitāni				pasu-munis[ā]nam
Shāh.			A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR		
Mān.					re paśu-manuśanam
		i]			
Dhau.	Selection of the select		lopā[p]itāni	p[a]tibhogāy	e[na]m
Fau.	khānāpitāni	lukhāni cha			
		THIRD 1	ROCK-EDI	CT	
Ci	(A) D				
Gir.	(A) Devānampi		r[ā]jā ev	vam āha	(B) dbādasa-
Kāl.	(A) De[vā]nam		lājā h[e]vam āhā	(B) du[v]āḍasa-
Shāh.	(A) Devanamp	riyo Priyadraśi	raja	ahat	i (B) badaya-
Mān.	(A) Devanapri	re Priyadraśi		va a[ha	
Dhau.	(A) Devānamp			evam āhā	
Fau.	(A) Devā[na]m				
Jan.	(22) Deva[na]in	prye r ryadasi	lājā h	evam āhā	(B) duvādasa-
Gir.	vāsābhisitena		· [] · · · · · ·		
			ñ[a]pitam (d		vijite mama
Kāl.	v[a]sābhisitena		napayite (vijitasi [mama]
Shāh.	vashabh[i]si[ten	a] [a	napi[tam] (C) savatra	ma[a] vijite
Mān.	vashabhisetena	me iyam [a	mapayit]e (C) savrat[r]a	vijitasi
Dhau.	vasābhisitena		nāp[ay]i (d		v]i[j]it[a]si m[e]
Jau.	vasābhisitena		7		· 1.D1. [c]
		iyani [c			
Gir.	yutā cha rājūk	cha prādesila	a aha nasinah	ما من من ما	
Kāl.			e cha pamen	asu pamen	asu vāsesu
				ha[s]u pamch	
Shāh.	yuta rajuke			a]shu pamch	ashu 5 vasheshu
Mān.	ta [ra]ju	· · pradeśik	e [paṁ]c	hashu pam[cl	nashu] 5 vashesh[u]
Dhau.	yut[ā] la[j]u	k]e	pamch	asu pamch	
Fau.		cha pād[e]sik	e cha pamch	asu pamch	
-					
Gir.	anusamy[ā]na[m	n]iyātu	etāyeva atha	āya imāya	dhammanusastiya
Kāl.	[a]nusa[m]yānan		etāye vā a[th		dhammanusathiyā
Shāh.	anusamyanam				
Mān.			etisa vo kara		dhrammanuśastiye
	anusa[m]yana[m		etaye va athi	raye imaye	dhramanuśastiye
Dhau.	anusayānam	nikhamāvū			
Fau.	anusayānam	nikhamāvū			
		-			
Gir.	yathā añāya	pi kammāy[a	7		
Kāl.	yathā am[nāy				
Shāh.	[tha] añaye	pi krammaye			
Mān.	ya[tha] añaye				
		pi krama[ne]			
Dhau.	athā amnāye			imā[y]e [dh	am]mānus[ath]iy[e]
Fau.	athā amnāye	pi kamma[n]	e		

2	of WDIA •		THIRI	O ROCK-	EDICT			(8)
一年 一	Cir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	(D) sādhu māta (D) sadhu mat (D) [sadhu mat (D) [s]ādh[u] māt	a]-pi[tu]shu	sususā suśrush [s]u[śru su[s]ūs	mita-s na mitra- usha mitra [ā m]	samst[u]t -sa[m]stu 	ñātīnam nātikyān[am] a-ñatikanam ita-ñatikanam nātisu s] nātisu	n cha n cha
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	bāmhaṇa-samaṇān baṁbhaṇa-sama[n bramaṇa-[śra]maṇ bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇ baṁbhaṇa-samane baṁbhaṇa-samane	ā]nam [chā a[nam] ana[m] hi	i] sādhu d sadhu d	[ā]ne pān [pra lane prau lāne jīves	ānam]ņanam pana su	ādhu anārar anālari [anara [anara anālari [a]nālar	nbh[e] m]bho]bhe nbhe
	Gir. Käl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Fau.	apa-vyayata sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yā sadhu apa-vayata sadhu apa-[va]yata sādhu apa-viy[a]t[sādhu	tā [a]pa-[bha apa-bha a apa-bha[c	a]m[ḍa]t[ā] ṇḍata lata]	sādhu (E) sādhu (E) sadhu (E) sadhu (E) sādhu (E)	palisā pari parisha	pi cha y [pi] y	utāni utani utani
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	[ga]nanasi anap[ga]nanasi aṇape ga[ṇa]nasi [aṇap	a]yisamti l esamti va]yisa[ti] va[ay]is[a]ti	hetuvatā hetuto he[tute] [he]tut[e]	chā viya cha vari cha vi[ya ch[a] vi[y	mjanato mjanat[e manato amja]nato amja] amjanate	chā cha cha	
			FOURT	H ROCK-	EDICT			K
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	(A) atikātam (A) atika[m]tam (A) atikratam (A) atikratam (A) atikamtam (A) atikamtam	amt[a]ram a[m]ta[la]m amtaram ata[ram] amtalam amtalam		vasa-sat	āni itani [ta]ni āni	vadhito v[adh]it[e] vadhito vadhite vadhite vadhite	eva vā vo vo va va
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau.	prāṇāraṁbho pā[nā]laṁbhe praṇaraṁbho praṇaraṁ[bh]e pānā[la]ṁbhe	vi[h]isā vihisa vihi[sa]	chā bhut cha bhut cha bhut	tānam tānam ta[na]m tanam tānam	ñātīsu nātinā ñatina ñatina nātisu	a[s]ampra asam[pa]ti asampaṭip asapa[ṭ]ipa asampaṭip	ip[a]ti ati ati

Jan.	pānālambhe				
Gir.	brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānam	asampratīpatī	(B) ta	aja	Devānampriyasa
Kāl.	samana-b[am]bhananam	asampaṭipati	(B) s[e]	ajā	Devānampiyasā
Shāh.	śramana-bramanana[m]	a[sam]patipati	(B) [so	aja	Devana]mpriyasa
Mān.	śrama[na]-bramanana	asa[m]patipati	(B) se	aja	[De]vanapriyasa
Dhau.	samana-bābha[ne]su	asampatipati	(B) se	aja	Devānampiyasa
Fan.			(B) se	aja	Devānampiyasa
		_ 1 _			

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188	SYNOPTICAL TEXTS
Gir.	Priyadasino rāño dhamma-charaṇena [bhe]rī-ghoso aho
Kāl.	Piyadasine lājine dhamm[a]-chal[an]enā bheli-ghose aho
Shāh.	Priyadrasisa [raño] dhrama-charanena bheri-ghosha aho
Mān.	Priyadrasine rajine dhrama-[cha]ra[ne]na bheri-ghoshe aho
Dhau.	
Fau.	Piyadasine lājine dhamma-chalanena bhe[l]
Gir.	dhamma-ghoso vimāna-darsaṇā cha hasti-da[sa]ṇā cha agi-kh[a]mdhāni
Kāl.	dhamma-ghose vimana-dasan[ā] [ha]thini agi-kamdh[ā]ni
Shāh.	dhrama-ghosha vimanana[m]draśanam [a]stina joti-kamdhani
Mān.	dhama-ghoshe vimana-draśana asti[ne] agi-kamdhan[i]
Dhau.	dhamma-[gho]sam vimāna-dasanam hathīni [a]gi-kamdhāni
Fau.	
Gir.	cha [a]ñāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janam (C) yārise
Kāl.	amnāni chā divyāni lupāni dasayitu jana[sa] (C) [ā]disā
Shah.	añani cha divani rupani drasayitu janasa (C) yadisam
Mān.	aña[ni cha] di[vani] rupani draseti janasa (C) [a]dise
Dhau.	amnāni cha [di]vi[y]āni lūpān[i] dasayitu munisānam (C) ād[i]se
Fau.	divi[y]āni lūpāni drasayitu munisānam (C) ādise
Gir.	bahūhi v[āsa]-satehi na bhūta-puve tārise aja vaḍhite
Kāl.	ba[h]u[hi v]asa-[sa]tehi nā huta-puluve tādise ajā vadhite
Shāh.	bahuhi vasha-satehi na bhuta-pruve tadise aja vadhite
Mān.	bahuhi vasha-śa[tehi] na [hu]ta-pr[u]ve tadiśe [a]ja vadhite
Dhau.	
Fau.	bahūhi vasa-sate
Gir.	Devānampriyasa Priyadasino rāno dhammānusastiyā anāram[bh]o
Kāl.	Devānampiyasā Piyadasine [1]ājine dhammanusathiye a[n]ālambhe
Shāh.	Devanampriyasa Priyadrasisa raño dhrammanusasstilya anarambho
Mān.	[De]vanapriyasa Priyadraśine rajine dhramanuśastiya anarabhe
Dhau.	[De]vānampiyasa Piy[a]dasine lājin[e] dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā an[āla]mbhe
Fau.	dhammānusathiyā anālambhe
Gir.	prāṇānam avihīsā bhūtānam natīnam sampatipatī bramhaṇa-samaṇānam
Kāl.	pānānam avihisā bhutānam nāti[nam] sampatipati bambha[na-sa]manānam
Shāh.	prana[nam] avihisa bhutanam natina[m] sampa[ti]pati [bra]mana-śramanana
Mān.	pranana avihisa bhutana natina sampatipati bamana-śramanana
DI	and the state of the second section of the state of the second section of the sec

Gir.	sampațipatī	mātari pitari [s]usrusā	thaira-susrusā	(D)	esa	añe
Kāl.	sampaṭipati	mātā-pitisu sususā		(D)	ese chā	i amne
Shāh.	sampațipati	mata-pitushu	vudhana[m]suśrusha	(D)	e[ta]	añam
Mān.	sa[m]patipati	mata-pitushu suśru[sha]	vudhrana [su]śrusha	(D)	eshe	añ[e]
Dhau.	sampatipati	m[ā]t[i]-pitu- susūsā	vu[dha]-susūsā	(D)	esa	amne
Fau.				(D)	esa	amne

sampaṭipat[i sama]na-b[ā]bhanesu

[sampa]

avihisā bhūtānam nātisu

avihisā bhūtānam nātisu

Dhau. pānānam

Jau. pānānam

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT



A A	
Gir.	cha bahuvidhe [dha]mma-charane va[dhi]te (E) vadhayisati cheva
Kāl.	
Shāh.	cha bahuvidham dhrama-charanam vadhitam (E) vadhisati cha yo
Mān.	cha bahuvidhe dhrama-charane vadhrite (E) vadhrayisati yeva
Dhau.	cha ba[h]uvidhe dh[a]mma-chalane vadhite (E) vadhayis[a]ti cheva
Fau.	cha bahuvidhe dhamma-chalane vadhite (E) va[dhay]i
-	
Gir.	Devānampriyo [Pri*]ya[da]si rājā dhamma-[cha]raṇam idam
Kāl.	Devānampiy[e] Piyadasi lāja ima[m] dha[m]ma-chalanam
Shāh.	
	Devanampriyasa Priyadrasisa raño dhrama-charanam ima[m]
Mān.	Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja dhama-[cha]raṇa ima[m]
Dhau.	Devānampiye Piyada[s]ī l[ā]jā dhamma-chalanam imam
Fau.	
Gir.	(F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā cha Devānampriyasa
Kāl.	(F) putā cha kam natāle chā panātikyā ch[ā] Devānampiyasā
Shāh.	
Mān.	(F) [putra] pi cha ka natare cha panatika De[va]napriyasa
Dhau.	(F) putā pi chu nati [panati] [cha] Devānampiyasa
Fau.	
C:	70 ' 1 ' - ~
Gir.	Priyadasino raño [pra*]vadhayisamti idam [dha]mma-charanam
Kāl.	Piyadasine lājine [pa]v[a]dhayisamt[i ch]ev[a] dhamma-chalanam
Shāh.	Priyadraśisa raño pra[va]dh[e]śamti [yo] dhrama-charaṇam
Mān.	D: 1/2
Dhau.	Piyadasine lājine pavadhayisamti yeva dhamma-chalanam
Fau.	Piyadasine lājine pavadhayi[sa]m[t]i [y]e[va] dhamma-cha[la]
Gir.	Fire correcte leads that and it of the
	āva savaṭa-kapā dhammamhi sīlamhi tisṭamto [dha]mmam
Kāl.	i[mam] āva-kapa[m] dhammasi s[ī]lasi chā chithit[u] dhammam
Shāh.	ima[m ava]-kapa dhrame śile cha tithiti dhramam
Mān.	imam [a]va-kapam dhrame śile cha [chi]thitu dhra[mam]
Dhau.	
	imam ā-k[a]pam dhammasi [s]īlasi ch[a ch]i[th]itu [dhammam]
Fau.	
-	
Gir.	anusāsisamti (G) [e]sa hi seste kamme ya dhammānusāsanam
Kāl.	ya dilammanasanam
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
Shāh.	anuśaśiśamti (G) eta h[i s]retham k[r]ama[m] yam dhraman[u]śaśana[m]
Mān.	anu[śa]śiśamti (G) eshe hi srethe a[m] dhramanuśaśana
Dhau.	[a]nus[ā]sisam[t]i (G) esa h[i] se[the kam]me yā dhammānusāsanā
Fau.	
J coios	
Gir.	(H) dhamma-charane pi na [bha]vati asīlasa (I) [ta] imamhi
Kāl.	/ 770 11
Shāh.	/ 77\ 11 1 F. 7
	(H) dhrama-charana[m] pi cha na bhoti asilasa (I) so imisa
Mān.	(H) dhrama-[cha]ra[ne] pi [cha] na hoti aśi[la]sa (I) se imasa
Dhau.	(H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no hoti asīlasa (I) se imasa
Fau.	(H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i
,	t , moleji , , , , ,

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Gir.		ha sādhu (7) e[t]āya athāya ida[m]
Kāl.		hā sādhu (子) et	
Shāh.		ha_ sadhu (牙) eta	aye athaye ima[m]
Mān.		ha] sadhu (F) eta	
Dhau.		$h[a] s\bar{a}[dh\bar{u}]$ (%) et	[āy]e [aṭhāy]e iyam
Fau.			
Gir.	lekhāpitam imasa atha[sa] v[a	a]dhi yujamtu hīni	ch[a no] lochetavyā
Kāl.	likhite imas[ā] a[tha]s[ā] va		ch[a] mā alochayisu
Shāh.	nipistam imisa athasa va		cha ma lo[ch]e[sh]u
Mān.	li[khi]te e[ta]sa [athra]sa va		cha ma [alo]chay[i]su
Dhau.	likhite imasa athasa vac	dhī yujamtū hīni	cha mā alochayisū
Fan.		[hī]ni	
Gir.	(K) dbādasa-vāsābhisitena	Devān[a]mpriyena	D.:_ 1 :
Kāl.	(K) duv[ā]das[a]-vas[ā]bhisitenā	Dev[ā]namp[i]yen[ā]	Priyadasinā rāñ[ā] Piyadasinā lājinā
Shāh.	(K) badaya-vashabhisitena	Devanampriyena	Piyadaśinā lājinā Priyadraśina raña
Mān,	(K) duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena	Devanapriyena	Priyadrasina rajina
Dhau.	(K) duvādasa vasāni abhisitasa	Devānampi[ya]sa	Piyadasine lājine
Fau.			
Gir.	idam lekhāpitam		
Kāl.	idam lekhāpitam lekhitā		
Shāh.	ñanani hi[da] nipesitam	有种的现在分类	
Mān.	iya[m] likhapite		
Dhau.	yam [idha] likhite		
Jau.			

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	(A) D[e]vānampriyo (A) Devānampiye (A) Devanapriyo (A) De[vanam]priyena (A) [Dev]ānampiye (A) Devā[na]mpiye	Piyadasi rājā Piyadasi lājā Priyadrasi raya Priyadrasi raja Piyadasī lājā Piya[da] .	evam eva[m] eva[m] h[eva]m	āha ahā hahati aha āhā	(B) kalāṇam (B) kayāne (B) ka[la]na (B) kalaṇa[m (B) kayāne	[ṁ]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	dukale (C) e ādil		se duka so du[k se duka	arani alam sa]ram aram alam	karoti (D) ti kaleti (D) si karoti (D) ti karoti (D) ti kal[e]ti (D) si	e o am
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	mayā bahu kalāṇ mamayā bahu kayān maya bahu kalaṁ maya bahu [ka]ya me b[ah]uke kayān	te kaț[e] (E) t[a ki[t]ram (E) tan ane [ka]țe (E) [tan le kațe (E) tan	ma]m[ā n maa]ṁ ma[a]	putra putra [p]ut[ā]		le] o [e] [i]

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT

FINDIA	FIFTH ROCK-EDICT
Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	cha param cha tena y[a] me [a]pacham āva samvaṭa-kapā [chā] palam [chā] tehi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapam cha para[m] cha [tena y]e me apacha vrakshamti ava-kapam cha para cha t[e]na ye apatiye me [a]va-[ka]pam
Dhau. Fau.	[va]m cha t[e]na ye apatiye me ava-kapam va palam cha te
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	anuvatisare tathā so sukatam kāsati (F) yo tu eta desam tathā anuvaţisa[m]ti s[e] s[u]kaţam kachham[t]i (F) e chu het[ā] desam tatha ye an[u]vaţiśamti te s[u]kiţa[m] kashamti (F) yo chu ato kam tatha anuvaţiśati se sukaţa ka[sha]ti (F) ye [chu] atra deśa tathā anuvatisamti s[e] sukaţam kachh[am]ti (F) e heta d[esa]m
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	pi hāpesati so [du]katam kāsati (G) sukaram hi pāpa[m] pi hāpa[y]i[sat]i s[e] dukaṭam kachhati (G) p[ā]pe hi nāmā supadālaye pi hapeśadi so dukaṭam kashati (G) papam h[i] sukaram pi hapeśati se dukaṭa kashati (G) pape hi nama supadarave pi hāpayisat[i] se dukaṭam kachhati (G) pā[p]e hi [nāma] supadālaye
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	(H) atikātam amtaram na bhūta-pruvam dhamma-mahāmātā nāma (H) se atikamtam amtalam no huta-puluva dham[ma]-mahāmatā nāmā (H) sa atikratam atara no bhuta-pruva dhramma-ma[ha]ma[tra] nama (H) s[e] atikrata[m] a[m]tara[m] na bhuta-pruva dhrama-[ma]hamatra nama (H) s[e] at[ikam]tam amtalam no hūta-puluvā dhamma-mahāmātā nāma (H) se [a]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Fau.	(I) ta m[a]yā traidasa-vāsābhi[s]i[tena] dhamm[a]-mahāmātā katā (I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā mamayā dhamma-mahāmāt[ā ka]t[ā] (I) so todaśa-vashabhisitena maya dhrama-mahamatra kiṭa (I) se treḍaśa-va[sha]bhisitena maya dhrama-mahamatra kaṭa (I) se tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena me dhamma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭā
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Fau.	(%) te sava-pāsamdesu vyāpatā dhāmadhistānāya
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	vadhiyā hi[da]-sukhāye vā dhamm[a]-yutasa cha Yona-K[a]mbo[ja]-vadhiya hida-sukhaye cha dhrama-yutasa Yona-Kamb[o]ja-vadhriya hida-sukhaye cha dh[r]ama-yutasa Yona-Kamboja-Vadhriya hita sukhāye cha dhamma-yutasa Yona-Kamboja-Vona-Kamboja-Vona-Kamboja-Vona-Kamboja-Vona-Kambocha-

Dhau. [va]dhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhamma-yutas[a]

Fau.

Yona-Kambocha-

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प्रयोग रे.	
Gir.	Gamdhārānam Ristika-P[e]tenikānam ye vā pi a[m]ñ[e ā]parātā
Kāl.	Gamdhālānam e vā [pi] amne apalamtā
Shāh.	
Mān.	Gadharana Rathika-Pitinikana ye va pi añe aparata
Dhau	
Fau.	in p. dimes aparama
Gir.	(E) bhatamarana va
Kāl.	(K) bhatamayesu va
Shāh.	
Mān.	(K) bhatamayeshu bramanibheshu anatheshu vudheshu [hita]-
	(K) bha[ṭa]mayeshu bramanibhyeshu anatheshu vudhreshu hida-
Dhau	
Fau.	
Gir.	[su]khā[ya dhamma]-yutānam apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te (L) ba[m]dhana-
Kāl.	sukhāye dhamma-yutāye apalibodhāye viyapaṭā te (L) bamdha[na]-
Shāh.	sukhaye [dhram]ma-yutasa apalig[o]dha vap[a]ta te (L) badhana-
Mān.	su[khaye] dhrama-yuta- apalibodhaye viya[p]uta te (L) badhana-
Dhau.	sukhāye dhamma-yutāye a[pa]libodhāye viyā[pa]tā se (L) bamdhana-
Fan.	
Gir.	badhasa paṭividhānāya . ,
Kāl.	[badha]sā paṭividhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]ye chā eyam anubadh[ā]
Shāh.	
Mān.	badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanay]e apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba badha[sa] paṭivi[dhanay]e apalibodhaye mokshay[e cha iyam] anubadha
Dhau.	
Fau.	[ba]dhas[a] p[a]ti[vidhānā]ye apalib[o]dhāye mokhāye cha iya[m] anubamdh[a] mokhāye
Jun.	
Gir.	[p]rajā katābhīkāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te
Kāl.	
Shāh.	
Mān.	Tell .
Fau.	p[aj]ā [t]i [va ka]ṭābhīkā[le] ti va mahālake ti va viyāpaṭā se
Jan.	
Circ	(M) Petalinute also believes 1
Wal	(M) Pāṭalipute cha bāhirasu cha
Kāl.	(M) hid[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā naga[l]esu s[a]ves[u olodha]n[esu]
Shāh.	(M) ia bahireshu cha nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu
Mān.	(M) hida bahireshu cha nagaresh[u] savreshu [o]rodhaneshu
Dhau.	(M) hida cha bāhilesu cha nagalesu savesu s[a]vesu olodhanes[u]
fau.	
G:	
Gir.	· · · · [y]e vā pi me añe
Kāl.	bhā[tina]ni cha ne bh[agi]ni[nā] e vā [pi] amn[e]
	bhratuna cha me spasana cha ye va pi amñe
	bhatana cha spas[u]na [cha] ye va pi añe
Dhau.	[me] e vā pi bhāt[ī]nam me bhaginīnam va amnesu vā
Fau.	e [v] \bar{a}

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT

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	1:)	FIFTH ROCK-EDICI
य •भा	Gir.	ñātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayam dhamma-nisrito ti va
	Kāl.	nātikye savatā viyā[pa]ṭā (N) e iyam dhamma-nisite ti vā
	Shah.	ñatika savatra viyaputa (N) y[e] ayam dh[r]ama-niśite ti va
	Mān.	ñatike savratra viyapata (N) [e] iyam dhrama-nisito to va
	Dhau.	[nāt]i[su sava]t[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (N) e iyam dhamm[a-n]isite ti va
	Fau.	
	-	
	Gir.	
	Kāl.	dāna-suyute ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[i]jitas[i] mamā [dha]mma-
	Shāh.	dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata vijite maa dhrama-
	Mān.	dhramadhithane ti va dana-samyute ti va savratra vijitasi maa dhrama-
	Dhau.	dhammādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyam dha[m]ma-
	Fau.	
	Gir.	[t]e [dha]mma-mahāmātā (O) etāya athāya ayam dhamma-
	Käl.	yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhamma-m[a]hām[a]tā (0) etāye aṭhāye [i]yam dhamma-
	Shāh.	yu[ta]si viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye aṭhaye [a]yi dhrama-
	Mān.	yutasi vaputa [te] dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye athraye ayi dhrama-
	Dhau.	yutasi viyāpatā ime dhamma-mahām[ā]tā (O) [i]m[ā]ye athāye iyam dhamma-
	Fau.	yutasi viyapata inic dhamma manantajia (0)[i]m[ajyoutinayo iyam amamma
	jan.	
	Gir.	lipī likhitā
	Kāl.	lipi lekhitā chi[la]-thitikyā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu
	Shāh.	dipi nipista ch[i]ra-thitika bhot[u] ta[tha] cha [m]e p[r]aja anuvatatu
	Mān.	dipi likhita chira-thitika hotu tatha cha me praja anuvatatu
	Dhau.	lip[i] li[kh]i[tā] chila-thitīk[ā ho]tu t[athā] cha me pa[jā anu]vatatu
	Fau.	
		SIXTH ROCK-EDICT
	Gir.	(A) [Devā] [s]i rājā evam āha (B) atikrāt[a]m amtara[m]
	Kāl.	(A) Dev[ā]nampi[y]e Piyadas[i] lājā hevam āhā (B) atikamtam amtalam
	Shāh.	(A) Devanampriyo Priyadrasi raya eva ahati (B) atikratam amtara
	Mān.	(A) Devanapriye Priyadrasi raja [e]va[m] aa (B) atikratam ataram
	Dhau.	(A) Dev[ānaṃp]iye Pi[yada]sī lājā [he]vaṃ [ā]hā (B) atikaṁ[taṁ a]ṁ[ta]laṁ
	Fau.	(A) [na]mpiye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) atikamtam amtalam
	Jan.	(21) [majnipiye 11 yadasi 165a nevani ana (27) asimani ana
	Gir.	na bhūta-pru[v]. [s].[v][l]. atha-kamme va paṭivedanā vā
	Kāl.	no huta-puluv[e] sav[a]m kalam atha-k[am]me [v]ā [pat]i[veda]nā vā
	Shāh.	na bhuta-pruvam sava[m] kala[m] atha-kramam va pativedana va
	Mān.	na huta-pruve [sa]vram kala athra-[krama] va [pa]tivedana va
	Dhau.	no [h]ū[ta]-puluve s[a]vam kālam atha-ka[m]me va [pa]tiveda[n]ā va
	Jan.	no hūta-puluve savam kālam aṭha-kamm[e] paṭivedanā va
	<u>a:</u>	
	Gir.	(C) ta mayā evam katam (D) s[a]ve kāle bhumj[a]mānasa me
	Kāl.	(C) s[e] ma[may]ā hevam kaṭe (D) s[a]vam kālam adamānas[ā] me
	Shāh.	(C) ta[m] maya eva[m] kiṭa[m] (D) savram kalam aśamanasa me
	Mān.	(C) ta maya evam kiṭam (D) savra kalam aśatasa me
	Dhau.	(C) se mamayā kaṭe (D) sa[va]m [kālam] [māna]sa me
	Fau.	(C) se mamayā kaṭe (D) savaṁ kālaṁ [sa m]e
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Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau Fau.	olodhanasi gabhāgālas[i] va[chas]i h. orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi va. orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi va. amte olodh[a]nasi ga[bhā]g[āla]si v[achas]i	va vinītamhi cha uyānesu vin[itasi u]y[ānasi] vinitaspi uyanaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi [v]inītasi [u]y[ā]n[asi] vinītas[i] uyānasi
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	[sava]t[ā paṭive]dakā aṭha[m] k. savatra paṭivedaka aṭham savratra pa[ṭ]i[ve]da[ka] athra a. [cha sa]vata paṭivedakā janasa	ne [ja]nasa paṭivedetha janasāvedetu janasa paṭivedetu janasa paṭivedetu aṭhaṁ [pa]ṭived[a]yaṁtu aṭhaṁ praṭivedayaṁtu
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	[m]e (E) sa[va]tā [ch]ā ja[nas]ā i. me (E) savatra cha ja[na]sa i. me (E) savratra cha janasa ii. m[e] ti (E) sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]nasa	athe karomi atham kachhāmi hakam ath[r]a karomi athra kar[o]mi aham atham kalāmi h[aka]m[ka]m
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	. (F) yam pi cha kichhi mukhato anape u. (F) am pi cha ki[m]chhi mukh[a]te ānapa	yā]mi [ha]kaṁ dā[pakaṁ] v[ā] yami a[haṁ] dapa[ka] va mi ahaṁ dapakaṁ va y[ā]mi dāpakaṁ v[ā]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	[sāvakaṁ] vā ye vā punā mahāmat[e]hi a z. śravaka va ye va p[a]na mahamatrana a z. śravakaṁ va ye va puna mahamatrehi a z. [sā]v[a]kaṁ vā e vā mahām[āteh]i a	chāyi[ke] aropitam bhavati [tiyāyike ālopite h]o[t]i [cha]yika a[ro]pitam bhoti chayike aropite hoti tiyāyike ālopite hoti [t]i[yā]yike [ā]lopite hoti
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Fau.	taye athraye viva[de] nijha[t]i va satam taye athraye vivade nijati va samta	par[isha]ye a[na]taliyena palisāyā āna[m]taliyam
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	pațivedetaviye me savratra savra ka	(G) hevam anapayite $(a \mid G)$ eva anapita $[m]$ la (G) evam anapita lam (G) heva $[m]$ me

¹ The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) savatra cha atham janasa karomi a[ham] (F) yam cha kichi mukhato anapemi aham dapaka[m] va śravaka va ye va pana maha-

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

मिले / ूर्								D.
Gir.		nāsti hi			inamhi	atha-samtī		va
Kāl.		nathi hi			in[a]sā	atha-samtil		chā
Shāh.		[na]sti hi			anas[i]	atha-sa[m]	STATE OF THE PARTY	cha]
Mān.		nasti hi		In City of the Control of the Contro	anasi]	ath[r]a-sa[cha
Dhau.		nath[i hi			āna]si	atha-samtī		cha
Fau.	anusathe (H)	nathi hi	me 1	tose uțhā	inasi	ațha-samtīl	an[ā]y[a]	cha
Gir.	(I) katavya-ma	te hi	me sa	[rva]-loka-l	nitam	(7) tasa	cha puna	a
Kāl.	(I) kat[a]viya-n			a]va-loka-h		(7) t[asā	ch]ā [p]u	
Shāh.	(I) kaṭava-mata			va-loka-hit		(7) ta[sa	chal	
Mān.	(I) kataviya-ma	te hi	me sa	vra-loka-h	ilte	(7) [ta]sa	chu puna	a
Dhau.	(I) kataviya-m[at]e hi		va-loka-hit	A PROPERTY OF STREET,	(7) tasa	cha pana	a
Fau.	(Z)	1	me sa	va-loka-hit	e	(F) tasa	cha pana	
Gir.	esa müle		alsa			cha	(V) nacti	hi
Kāl.	es[e] mule	usţānam uţh[āne]	cha	atha-samt			(K) nāsti (K) [na]thi	hi
Shāh.	mulam etra	uthanam		atha-samt			(K) [na]till (K) na[sti]	hi
Mān.	eshe mule	uthane		athra-sati	THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE		(K) nasti	hi
Dhau.	iyam müle	[u]thān[e	cha	a]tha-sam			(K) nathi	hi
Fau.	iyam müle	uthane	cha	atha-sam		The state of the s	(K) nathi	hi
j an.	iyani mare	uçnanc	Cira	ațiia-saini	Highia	Clia	(21) Hattii	***
Gir.	kammataram	sarva-loka	-hitatpā	. (<i>L</i>) ya	cha	kimchi	parākramār	nî
Kāl.	kam[ma]talā	sava-lo[ka	AND THE RESERVE THE PARTY OF THE PARTY.	BE REPORTED THE PROPERTY OF TH		kichhi	palakamām	
Shāh.	k[r]amatara[m]	sava-loka-l	ALL HONOR STREET, STRE			kichi	parak[r]ama	
Mān.	kramatara	savra-loka	CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE	(L) ya[[kichhi]	pa[rakra]ma	
Dhau.	kammata	[sa]va-lo[k				· 自然 (1) · 自然 (2) ·	p[a]lakamāi	
Fau.	k[am]matalā	sava-loka-l	ASSEMBLE OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY.			kichhi	palakamā	
Gir.	aham kimti	bhūtānam	ānam	nam gac	hheyam	idha	cha nāni	
Kāl.	hakam kiti	bhutānam			ham	hi]da	cha [kā]	ni
Shāh.	kiti	bhutanam	anani		acheyan	STATE OF THE PARTY	cha sha	
Mān.	aam k[i]t[i]	bh[u]tanam	STATES AND ADDRESS OF THE		ham]	ia	cha she	
Dhau.	hakam kimti	bhūtānam	HURSELS IN THE WAY TO SELECT		a[m]	ti [h]i[d	a] cha [k]ăi	n[i]n
Fair.	hakam		STREET, STREET]iyam yeh	The state of the s	ti hida	cha kāni	A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR
			W. 2.					
Gir.	sukhāpayāmi	paratrā	cha	svagam	ārādh	ayamtu	(M) t	ta 1
Kāl.	sukhāyāmi	palata	chā	svagam	ālādh		(M) s	100
Shāh.	sukhayami	paratra	cha	spagram	aradh		(M)	
Mān.	sukhayami	paratra	cha	spagra	a[ra]d		ti (M) s	se -
Dhau.	sukhayāmi	pal[a]ta	cha	svag[am	A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR	ayamtū	ti (M)	
Fau.	su[kha]yāmi	palata	cha	svagam	The state of the s	ayamtū	ti (M)	

matranam achayi[k]am aropita[m] bhoti t[a]ye athaye [v]ivade sa[m]tam nijati va parishaye anamtariyena pativedetavo me.

On p. 12 above, l. 7, place ta after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, l. 11, read '(M) Now, for the following purpose', &c.

1		7		
	(Y	Y	
V		X		
	L	/		

Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	etāya athāya etā[y]eṭhāye etaye aṭhaye etaye athraye et[ā]y[e aṭhāye etāye aṭhāye	ayam iyam ayi iyam i]yam i[ya]m	dha[m]ma-li dhama-lipi dhrama dhrama-dipi dhamma-lipi dhamma-lipi		lekhāpitā lekhitā nipista likhita likhitā likhitā	kimti chir chila-thitil chira-thitil chira-thitil ch[i]la-th[i] chila-thitik	ka bhotu ka bhotu ka hotu]tīkā hotu
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.		me putr	a-dāle ra nataro ra nata]re	cha.	prapotrā papotā [t]ā	pal par par me pal	uvataram akamātu rakramamtu ra[kra]mate lakama[m]t[ū]]lakamamtu
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Fau.	sava-loka-hitāya sava-loka-hitā[ye] sava-lo[ka-hita]ye sa[vra-lo]ka-hitaye [sava-loka]-hitāye sava-loka-hitāye	(N)	dukaram dukale [du]kara dukare dukale dukale	[t]u ch[tu cha chu chu	u] [kh]o kho	idarh iyarh imarh iyarh i[ya]rh	añatra anat[ā] añat[r]a [a]ñatra aṁnat[a] aṁnata
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	agenā palaka agre parakr	ra]mena amena					

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	(A) Dev (A) Dev (A) Dev (A) [D]	vānampiyo vānampiye vanampriyo vanapriyo evānam[p]	o iye	Piyada Piyada Priyasi Priyada Piy[a]d	si raśi lasī	rājā lājā raja raja lājā lājā	sarvata [savat]ā savatra savratra savata savata	ichhati [i]chhati ichhati ichhati ichhat[i ichhati	save pāsamdā sava-[pāsa]mda savra-[p]rashamda savra-pashada sava-p]āsam[dā] sava-p[ā]samdā
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	vaseyu vas[e]vu vaseyu vaseyu [va]sevū va[s]e	ti	(B) (B) (B) (B)	save [sa]ve save savre save [sav]e	hi hi hi h[i	te te te te t[e te	sayan sa[ya sa]ya	na[m] ne]ma	a bhāva-sudhim bhāva-sudhi bhava-śudhi [bha]va-śu[dh]i [bh]āv[a]-sudhī bhāva-[su]dhī
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	cha chā cha [cha cha cha	ichhati ichhamti ichhamti ichham]ti ichhamti ichhamti		(C) ji (C) ji (C) ji (C) ji (C) n (C) n	ane ano ane nun[tu [ch]u chu chu chu ch[a cha	uchāvud uchavud uchavud u]ch[ā]v	cha-chhaṁdo chā-chh[a]ṁde cha-chhaṁdo cha-chhade v[u]cha-[chha]ṁ[d]ā cha-chhaṁdā

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1	97	J	9

		SEVENTH R	OCK-EDICT		192
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau Jau.	uchāvucha-lā[g]e (Z uchavucha-rāgo (Z uchavucha-rāge (Z uchāvucha-lāgā (Z	b) te sarvam va b) te savam c) te savam va c) te savram va c) te savram c) te savam va c)	eka-de eka-de eka-de ek[a]-	es[a]m pi k[a]chh esam va pi kashan esam va pi kashan de[sam va kachha	nam[t]i nti i mi]ti
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau Jau.	(E) [v]ipule pi	pi dāne chu dān[e] chu dane ch[u] dane chā dāne chā [d]ā[ne]	yasa nāsti asā nathi yasa nasti yasa nasti asa n[athi	sayame bhāva-su sayama bhava-śu sayeme bhava-śu sa]yame [bh]āva-s	sudh[i] dhi ti
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau Jau.	kiṭanata	daḍha-bhati[t]ā d]iḍha-bhatitā driḍha-bhatita driḍha-bhatita	cha nichā chā ni[che] niche cha niche cha nīche cha nīche	bādham bādham padham badham bādham [b]ādham	
		EIGHTH RO	OCK-EDICT		
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau	(A) a[ti]kratam	a[m]talam ataram ataram	rājāno Devānampiyā Devanampriya Devanapri[ya] lāj[ā]n[e]	vihāra-yātām [vihāla-yātam vihara-yatra vihara-yatra v[i]h[ā]la-yātam	nāma] nama nama nāma

Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau.	(A) atikamtam (A) atikratam (A) a[ti]kratam (A) [atika]m[ta]m	a[m]talam ataram ataram amt[ala]m	Devānamp Devanamp Devanapri[lāj[ā]n[e]	riya [ya]	[vihāla-yāt vihara-yatr vihara-yatr v[i]h[ā]la-y	ra nama
Fau.						
Söp.	** * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	*				
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau. Sōp.	ñayāsu nikhamisu nikramishu nikramishu [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u]	(B) eta (B) hidā (B) atra (B) ia (B) [ta	magavyā migaviyā mrugaya mrigaviya miga]viy[ā] . [v]i[y]ā	añāni amnār añani añani a[m]n: [a]mn	cha cha āni ch[a	ediśani ediśani edisāni
Gir. Kāl.		umsu Isu	(C) so (C)	Devāna Devāna		Piyadasi Piyadasi

(C) so

(C) s[e]

(C) se

(C) se

nam

nam

Devanampriyo

Devanap[r]iy[e]

Devānampiye

Devānampiye

Priyadraśi P[r]iyadraśi

P[i]y[a]dasī

[Piya]

abhuvasu

huvamti

huvamti

husu

Shāh. abhiramani

Dhau. a[bh]i[1]āmāni

Fau. [m]āni

abhiramani

Mān.

Sop.

	1.	31101	IICAL II	LAIS			9
भारत	Frir.	rājā dasa-varsābhisito sari	nto ayāya	a 9	Sambodhim	(D) ten	esā
	Kāl.		ntam nikha	mithā S		(D) ten	
	Shāh.	raja daśa-vashabhisito sata	am nikra	mi S	Sabodhi	(D) ten	ada
	Mān.	raja daśa-vashabhisite sari	nta[m] nikra	mi S	Sabodhi	(D) ten	ada
	Dhau.	lājā d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e	[n]ikl	nami S		(D) [t]e	
	Fau.	[dasa]					
	Sop.		nikha	amitha S	Sa		
	Gir.	dhamma-yātā (E) etayam	hoti	hambon			
	Kāl.	dhamma-yātā (E) [h]etā	iyam hoti		a-samaṇānaṁ -baṁbhanānaṁ	dasaņ	
	Shāh.	dhramma-yatra (E) atra	iyam hoti				
	Mān.	dhrama-yada (E) atra	iya hoti		a-bramaṇanam		
	Dhau.	dha[mma-yātā] (E) [tat]esa	[ho]ti		-bramaṇana -bābhanānaṁ	dra[śa	DO TO SHOW I SHOW I SHOW I
	Fan.	[tā] (E) [ta]tesa	hoti				a]n[e]
	Sop.						
	Sop.	(<i>L</i>) neta	iyam [ho]ti	bam[bh	a]		
	a.		Type general				
	Gir.	cha dane cha thairanam		CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF T	ımna-pațividhă		cha
	Käl.	chā dāne cha vudh[ā]nam			ımna-pați[v]idl		chā
	Shāh.	danam vudhana[m]			ıña-p[r]ațividh		cha
	Mān.	dane cha vudhrana			ĭa-paṭivi[dhane		cha]
	Dhau.	ch[a] d[āne] cha v[u]dhānam			lamna-p[a]țivio		cha]
	Jan.	cha dāne cha vuḍhānam			mna-pațiv[i]dh		[cha]
	Sōp.	vuḍhānam	dasane [cha] hira	uinna-pațividhă	ine	cha
	Gir.	jānapadasa cha janasa	daspanar	'n	dhammanus[alstī	cha
	Kāl.	[jā]napadasā [ja]n[a]sā			dhammanusa		chā
	Shāh.	[jana]padasa janasa	draśana		dhramanuśas		
	Mān.	janapadasa janasa	draśane		dhramanuśas		cha
	Dhau.	[jāna]padasa janasa	[dasa]ne	cha	dhammanu[s		[cha]
	Fau.						F3
	Söp.				[dha*]mmanu		
	C.	The man manifestable also	4-1	173	- 11		
	Gir. Kāl.	dhama-paripuchhā chā dhama-palipuchhā	tadopayā		esā bhuya		
	Shāh.		tatopa[yā]		[e]se bh[u]ye		
	Mān.		tatopayam tatopaya		eshe bhuy[e	PRINCIPLE AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF THE PA	
	Dhau.		[ta]d[o]payā		eshe bhuye esa bhuye		
	Fau.	man m. manner and	Lajulojpaya				ilāme
8655	Sop.						lāme
	Sop.	dhamma			ye	[ra]t	
	Gir.				ā[g]e amñe		
	Kāl.		yadas[i]sā l	ājine bh	[ā]g[e] amne		
	Shāh.	bhoti Devanampriyasa Pr	iyadraśisa i	raño bh	ago amñi		
	Mān.	hoti Devanapriyasa Pr	iyadrasisa r	ajine bh	age ane		
1	Dhau.		yada[s]ine 1	ājine bl	nāge [am]n	ne	
	Fau.	hoti De[v]ānampiyasa Pi	yadasine 1	ājine bh	āge [a].		
	Söp.	hoti De		n[e] bh	āge am .		



GL

NINTH ROCK-EDICT

		**********	OCIV-LDI	, C 1			
Gir.	(A) Devānampiyo	Priyadasi	rājā e	eva āl	ia (<i>B</i>) asti	jano
Kāl.	(A) Devānampiye	Piy[a]da[s]i	lā[jā]		nā (B		jan[e]
Shāh.	(A) Devanampriyo	Priyadraśi			nati (B		The second second second
Män.	(A) Devanapriye	REPORT OF THE PARTY OF THE PART			STATE OF THE PARTY		jano
		Priyadraśi	现的情况。2015年1月1日 1月1日 1月1日 1月1日 1月1日 1月1日 1月1日 1月1日		ia $(B$	Market Control of the Control of the Control	jane
Dhau.		Piyadasī		evam āl	iā (B) [athi	ja]ne
Fau.	(A) Devān[am]piye	Piyadasī	lā[jā]				
Q:							
Gir.		ngalam, kar	ote ābād	dhesu v	ā āvāha-	vīvāhesu	
Kāl.	uch[āv]ucham man	ngalam ka[l	eti ābād	dhasi	avaha	si vivāh	asi
Shāh.	uchavucham mar	ngalam karo	oti abac	dhe		vivah	
Mān.		gala[m] karo		dhasi		asi vi[va]	
Dhau.		ngalam kal				[]-[ihali
Fau.							maj
	•						
Gir.	vā putra-lābhesu	vā pravāsar	nmhi vā	etamhī	cha a	ñamhi	cha
Kāl.	pajopadāne	pavāsasi					
Shāh.				e[tā]ye		mnāye	chā
Mān.	pajupadane	pravase		ataye		ıñaye	cha
	prajopadaye	pravasas		etaye	a	ñaye	[cha]
Dhau.		pavās[a]		etāye	a	mnäye	ch[a]
Fau.	[pa]jupadāye	pavāsasi		etāye	a	imnäye	cha
C:							
Gir.	jano	uchāvacharh	mamgalai			') eta	tu
Kāl.	edisāye jane	bahu	magala[m	k[a]	eti (C) heta	[ch]u
Shāh.	ediśiy[e] jano	ba	mamgalan	m karo	ti (C) atra	tu
Mān.	[ed]iśa[ye jane]	bahu	mamga[la	m ka]re	oftli (C) atra	tu
Dhau.	hedisāye j[a]n[e]	bahukam	mamgalar	THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF THE)	[chu]
Fau.	hedisāye jane	[ba]hu[ka]m					
Gir.	mahidāyo bahu	kam cha	bahuvidha	am (ha chhi	ıdam	cha
Kāl.	abaka-jani[yo] bahu	chā	bahuvidha	am (hā khu	dā	[ch]ā
Shāh.	striyaka bahu	cha	bahuvidha		ha puti		cha
Män.	abaka-janika bahu		bahuvidha		ha khu		cha
Dhau.	ithī b[ah		[ba]hu[v]io			desperation of the second	
Fau.			[Dajiiu[v]ii	untain) c	nia Knju	lu[am	cha]
J 2000.	•			•		•	
Gir.	nirath[am] cha m	amgalam k	arote (D) ta ka	tavyamev	a	tu
Kāl.						ieva	kho
Shāh.							
Mān.						ia [va]	kho
					[taviye cl		kho
Dhau.					t[a]viye cl	ne va	kh]o
Fau.	[cha m	a]m[gala]m k	[a]leti (D) se ka	taviye ch	ieva	kho
Gir.	magalaria (E)	abala:	1-1				1 .
	magalam (E) apa-		kho	etarisari		maring	alam
Kāl.	manigale (E) apa	The second of th		[e]s[e]			
Shāh.		phala[m] tu	kho	eta			
Mān.	magale (E) apa-	phale chi	ı [kho	e]she			
Dhau.	m[a]mgale (E) [a]p	a-phale chu	ı kho	esa	h[e]dise	mamis	ga]
Fau.	manigale (E) apa-	THE RESERVE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF		e[sa]	he[d]ise	ma .	
6.07			F - 13	r J			

A	200		STROTTICAL IL	.25.10		3
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	(F) ayam tu (F) [i]yam chu (F) imam [t]u (F) iyam chu (F) [ya]m [ch]u (F) i[ya]m [chu]	mah[ā]-phale kho maha-phala kho maha-phale kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le	mamgale ya ye ye ye e	dhamma-mamgale dhamma-magale ma-mamgala dhrama-magale [dha]mma-mamgale	d)
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	(G) he[tā] iyant o (G) [a]tra ima o (G) atra iyan o	dāsa-bhaṭakasi s[a]ī dasa-bhaṭakasa sam dasa-bhaṭakasi sam d]ā[sa-bhaṭakas]i sam	ya-pratipatī myā-paṭip[a]ti ma-paṭipati ya-paṭipati myā-paṭipat[i myā-paṭipati	gurūnam apachiti gulunā apachiti garuna apachiti guruna a[pachit]i gulū]nam a[pa] gulūnam apachiti	
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Fau.	sādhu pāņesu [p]ā[n]ān[aṁ] praṇanaṁ pra[ṇa]na pānesu	sa[m]yamo [sa]yame	śamaṇa-bran śramaṇa-bra samana-bābl	ambhanānam naṇana maṇana	1
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān, Dhau. Jau.	dānam et[a] cha dāne ese dana etam [dane] eshe dāne esa [d]ā[n]e [esa	amne chā hed anam cha ane cha edis	ise i dhamma dhrama se dhrama	n-maṅgalaṁ nāma n-magale nāmā maṅga[laṁ] nama magale nama a]-maṅga[le nāma	
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.		pitā va putena pitinā pi putena pituna pi putrena pi[tu]na pi putrena p]it[inā pi pute]na [pi]tinā pi putena	pi bh[ā]tina pi bhratana pi bhratuna pi bhātinā	a pi spamik[e]na	I
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Fau.	vā pi mita-samthuten[ā pi mitra-sastutena pi mitra-sa[m]stuten [p]i pi	ava prativeśiyo	ena ima	n sādhu iyam m sadhu [imam] n sadhu iyam]
	Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau, Jau.	katavya mamgala kataviye [ma]g[a]le kata[vo] mamgala kataviye magale [1] kataviye	e āva [ta]sā [m] yava tasa ava tasa	athas ā ni athrasa ni athrasa ni	stānāya (I) asti [v]utiyā vuṭiya nivuṭasp vuṭiya nivuṭasi phatiy[ā] (I) [a]thi	

NINTH ROCK-FDICT

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	NINTH ROCK-EDICT
Gir. Kāl.	cha pi vutam sādhu dana iti () na tu etārisam astā imam kachhāmi ti (I) e hi i[ta]le magale
Shāh.	va p[u]na imam kasham (I) ye hi etake magale
Mān.	va puna ima [ka]shami ti (I) e hi [i]tare maga[le]
Dhau.	[cha heva] $\hat{\mathbf{v}}$ v[u]te dane s[a]dh[$\hat{\mathbf{u}}$] ti ($\hat{\gamma}$) [s]e [na]thi
Jau.	[s]e
Gir.	dānam va ana[ga]ho va yārisam dhamma-dānam va dhamanugaho va
Kāl.	sa[m]sayikye se (3) siyā va tam atham nivatey[ā] siyā punā no
Shāh.	saśayike tam (3) siya vo tam atham nivateyati siya puna no
Mān. Dhau.	śa[śa]yike se (۶) s[i]ya va tam athram nivateya s[i]ya pana no
Fau.	dane anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dane dhammanugahe] dhammanugahe cha
Jun.	danc anagantej va acutsje ditamina-dane ditaminanugane cha
Gir.	(K) ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena [v]ā ñatikena va sahāyana va
Kāl.	(K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se (L) iyam punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e]
Shāh.	(K) ialoka cha vo tam (L) ida puna dhrama-magalam akalikam
Mān.	(K) hidal[o]kike cheva se (L) iyam puna dhrama-magale akalike
Dhau.	(K) $[m]$ i $[t]$ i[k]ena sahāye[na p]i
<i>Заи.</i>	(K) se chu kho mitena
Gir.	ovāditavyam tamhi tamhi pakaraņe [i]dam kacham idam sādha iti
Kāl.	(M) hamche pi tam atham no nițeti hida atham palata anamtam
Shāh.	(M) yadi puna tam atham na nivat[e] ia atha paratra anamtam
Mān.	(M) [ha]che pi tam athram no nivațeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra anata
Dhau.	viyovaditai [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]m
Fan.	\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot yarin sādh[ū]
Gir.	iminā sak[a] svagam ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyataram
Kāl.	punā pavasati (N) hamche puna tam atham nivateti hidā tato
Shāh.	puñam prasavati (N) hamche puna tam tham nivațeti tato
Mān.	puṇa prasavati (N) hache puna ta[m] athram nivaț[e]ti hida tato
Dhau.	[1] \overline{a} dhay it ave (L)
Fau.	imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kim hi imena kaṭaviyatalā
Cir	weak 5 and 5 all 5
Gir.	yathā svagāradhī

Kāl. ubhaye[sa]m ladhe hoti hida chā se athe palata chā anamtam u[bha]y[e]sa ladham Shāh. bhoti ia cha so atho paratra cha anamtam Mān. ubhayesam [ara]dhe hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata Dhau. ... [svagasa] āl[adh]ī

Fau.

Kāl. tenā dhamma-magalen[ā] punā pasavati Shāh. puñam prasavati tena dhramamgalena punam prasavati tena dhramagalena Mān. 1613 D d



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TENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	(A) Devānampiyo (A) Devā[nam]piye (A) Devanapriye (A) [Devana]priye (A) [Devānam]piye	Priyadasi Piy[a]dashā Priyadraśi Priyadraśi Piyad[a]s[ī	lajā y raya y raja y	yaso va v[a]sho vā vaso va vaso va vaso v]ā	kīti va kiti vā kiṭri va kiṭi va [k]iṭī vā	na no no no no
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	[ma]hathāvā ma mahathavaha ma mahathravaham ma [ha]m ma	nate añata nati an[a]t ñati añatra nati aṇatra mn[ate]	ā [ya]m a yo	pi yaso pi yaso pi yaso i [yaso] . [ya]so	vā ki[t]i kiṭri va] kiṭi vā k[iṭ]ī vā ki[ṭ]ī	vā va va [v]ā vā
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	ichhati tadatvaye	ayatiye ayatiya ayatiya [ā]	cha m chā cha cha cha	jane o jane o jane [. [ja]ne .	lhamma-susru lhamma-susus lhrama-suśrasl dhra]ma-suśru [sūs lhamma-susūsa	hā na sha a]m
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	susrusatā susushātu me t suśrushatu me t suśrushatu me t [susū]s[at]u [m]e susūsatu me		am v tam cl			ti ti [me]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	(B) dhata[k]āye Dev (B) etakaye Dev	āna[m]piye Pi anapriye Pi	yadasi yadasi riyadraśi riya[dra]śi	rājā yaso lājā yash raya yaso raja yaso [yaso	kiṭri va kiṭi	va va va va v]ā
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	ichhati (C) ya[m] ti	h[ā] kichhi la 1 kichi p . [k]ichhi p	arik[a]mati akamati arakramat arak[r]ama pa]lakama . [Devana i Devana a[ti] Devana	inpiye Piyad inpriyo Priya priye Priya inpiye	ashi draśi
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	rājā ta savam lajā ta [sha]va raya tam sav[r]am raja tam savram	pāratrikāya pālamtikyāye paratrikaye parat[r]ikay[e pāl[atik]ā[y]e pālatikāye	kim vā kiti va kiti va k]i[kim vā ki[r	sakale sakale ti] sa[kale ti] saka[le	a[pa]-parisr apa-p[a]lāsh aparisrave apa]-pa[r]isa apa-pal]isav apa-palisav	nave nv[e] e

TENTH ROCK-EDICT

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Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	asa shiyāti ti siyati ti [hu]v[eyā t]i [h]uveyā ti	(D) esa tu (D) [e]she chu (D) eshe tu (D) eshe chu (D) pa[1]isa . (D)	parisave ya palisave e parisrave ya pa[ri]save e	apumñam apune mapuñam apu[ne]	(E) dukaram (E) dukale (E) dukare (E) dukare (E) [du]ka[le]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	chu kho es [tu] kho es	am chhudakena he khudakena he khudrakena he khudakena t[a age	vā vagenā vagrena [va va]gr[e]	ushuṭena usaṭena	va añatra vā ana[ta] va añatra va ana[tra] sa]vam cha
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	agen[ā pa]la agrena paral a[gre]na paral paliti[j]i[tu] kh		mˈ] palitiditu n] paritijitu	(F) et[a] (F) [h]e[ta (F) at[r]a (F) atra (F) (F)	t[u] kho chu] kho chu tu [kho]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau. Jau.	usațena [u]shațe[na] vă usațe usațeneva u[sațena] ch usațena ch	du[ka]re u [dukalatale]			

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	(A) Devinampriyo (A) Devānamp[i]ye (A) Devana[m]priyo (A) Devanapri[y]e	Piyadasi rājā Piyadashi [l]ājā Priyadrasi raya Priyadrasi raja	ev[a]m āha (B) n hevam hā (B) n evam hahati (B) n evam aha (B) n	nathi h[e]dishe nasti ed[i]śam
Gir.	dänam yārisam	dhamma-dānam	dhama-samstav[e] dhrama-samstav[e] dhrama-samtha[v]e	vā dhamma-
Kāl.	dāne adisha	dha[m]ma-dāne i		dhama-
Shāh,	danam yadišam	dhrama-dana		dh[r]ama-
Mān.	dane [a]diše	dhrama-dane		dhrama-
Gir.	samvibhāgo [vā]	dhamma-sambadho	[e] (C) ta[ta] dha (C) tatra	idam bhavati
Kāl.	shav[i]bhage i	dhamma-shambadh		eshe
Shāh.	samvibhago	dh[r]ama-samba[m]		etam
Mān.	samvibhaga	dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]		eshe
Gir.	dāsa-bhatakamhi	samya-p[r]atipatī	mātari pitarā sādh	sus[r]usā shushushā i suśrusha su[śru]sha
Kāl.	dāsha-bhaṭakashi i	shamyā-paṭipati	mātā-pitishu I	
Shāh.	dasa-bhaṭakanam	samma-paṭipati	mata-pitushu	
Mān.	dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si	samya-paṭipati	mata-[pitu]shu	

D d 2

Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānaṁ mita-shaṁthuta-nātikyānaṁ mi[t]ra-saṁstuta-ñatikanaṁ mitra-saṁ[stuta]-ñatikana	bāmhaṇa-s[r]amaṇā[naṁ] sādhu samanā-[ba]ṁbhanānā śramaṇa-bramaṇana śramaṇa-bramaṇana	dā[nam] [dā]ne dana dan[e]	
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	prāṇānam anārambho sādhu pānānam anāl[am]bhe praṇana anara[m]bho praṇana [ana]rabhe	(D) eshe vatav[i]ye pi[t]inā pi (D) etam vatavo pituna pi	putrena pute[na] putrena putrena	
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	pi bhā[t]inā pi sh[a]vān	n[i]kyena pi mita-śaṁthutānā cena pi mitra-saṁstutana	va āva avā ava ava	
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	p[a]tiveshiyen[ā] iy[a]m s. prativeśiyena [i]ma[m] s.	ādhu ida ka[tav]ya[m] (E) so hādhu iyam kaṭaviye (E) [ś]e adhu imam kaṭavo (E) so a[dhu] iyam kaṭaviye (E) se	t[a]thā tathā tatha tatha	
Gir. Käl. Shāh. Mān.	karu ilokachasa kala[mta] hidalokikye cha l karata[m] ialoka cha karata[m] hi[dalo]ke [cha] k	kam āladhe hoti palata ch[ā] and a[ra]dheti paratra cha and	namtam ata atam a[m]tam	

Gir.	puiñam	bhavati	tena	dhamma-dānena
Kāl.	punā	paśavati	tenā	dhamma-dānenā
Shāh.	puña	prasavati	[te]na	dhrama-danena
Mān.	puṇam	p[r]asavati	te[na	dhra]ma-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	(A) [D]evānāpiye	(A) Devānampiye Piyad[a]si (A) [D]evānāpiye [P]iyadash[i] (A) Devanampriyo Priyadraśi (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi		sava-pāsamdāni shāvā-pāshame savra-prashamd savra-pashadani	ani
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	[pa]vajitāni ch pav[a]jitā[n]i pravrajita[ni] [p]rava[ji]tani	gahathāni cha gahathani cha grahathani cha gehathani cha	pūjayati pujeti pujeti pujeti	d[ā]nena cha dānena danena danena	vivādhāya vividh[aye] vividhaye vividhaye
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	[cha] pūjāya p cha puj[ā]ye cha pujaye cha pujaye	pūjayati ne (B) na (B) n[o] (B) no (B) no	tu ch[u] chu chu	tathā dānam tathā dāne tatha [da]na tatha dana	va pū[jā] vā pujā va puja va puja

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

H				WELF	In Ke	JCK-1	EDICI			
प . भारत Gir.	va	Diel	ānampiyo	777	amñate	yath	ā kiti	sāra-vad	hī	asa
Kāl.	vā		na[m]piye		[a]nati	athā		\$[ā]lā-v[a		śiyāti
Shāh	. va		nampriyo		añati	yath	CONTROL HOLD STORY OF THE PARTY	sa[la]-va	STATES OF THE SECOND POSTS	siyati
Mān.	. va		ana[m]pri		añati	atha		sala-vadl		siya siya
		r 1					Kiti	saia-vaņi		siya
Gir.	sa[va	a-pā]sari	hḍānaṁ	(C) sā	r[a]-vaḍh	ī tu	bahuvidha	(D) tasa	tu	idam
Kāl.		ra-pāśa	dāna	(C) śāl	ā-vaḍhi	nā	bahuvidhā	(D) taśa	chu	inam
Shah	. savra	a-prash	amdanam	(C) sal	a-vadhi	tu	bahuvidha	(D) tasa	tu	iyo
Mān.	savra	a-pasha	dana ti	(C) sal	a-vrudhi	t[u]	bahuvidha	CHIEF STORMAN COLD THE PLANT OF A CARLOT AND THE		iyam
Gir.	müla	m ya	wash	i-gutī	kimti					
Kāl.	mule			a]-guti	kiti	AC:7	ātpa-pāsam			para-
Shāh.				STATE OF THE PARTY	kiti		ata-paśada-	THE CONTRACT OF THE PARTY OF TH		pala-
Mān.				a-guti a-guti			ata-prashari			pa[ra]-
212 0070.	muic	an	1 Vacile	a-guu	kiti		ata-prashad	a-puja	va]	para-
Gir.	pāsar	nda-gar	ahā va	no	bhave	aprak	karanamhi	lahukā	va	asa
Kāl.	pāśar	nda-gal	ahā va	no no	[śa]yā	ap[a]	k[a]l[a]naś[i] lahakā	vä	śiyā
Shāh.	pasha	amda-ga	arana va	no	siya	A COLUMN TO STATE OF THE PARTY	karaņasi	lahuka	va	siya
Mān.	pasha	ada-gar	aha va	. no	siya	District Co. The Property of the Co.	aranasi	lahuka	va	siya
			<u> </u>							,-
Gir.	tamhi	i tamb	i prakar	aņe	(E) pi	ijetayā	tu	eva para-	pāsam	dā.
Kāl.	[ta]gi	taśi	pakala	n[a]ś[i]		ujetav[i			ı-pā[śa	
Shāh.	tasi	tasi	prakar	a[n]e	Control of the second second second	ujetavi		Charles of the Control of the Contro	prasha	THE RESERVE AND LOSS OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR
Mān.	tasi	tasi	pakara	nasi		jetavij			p[r]ash	THE RESERVE OF CHEST AND PARTY.
Gir.	tena	tana	prakaraņe		7) evam	karı	AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY OF	pāsamdam	ch	a
Kāl.	tena	tena	akālana	(F	heva	kala	ta ata-p	āśaḍā	ba	dham
Shāh.	tena	tena	akarena	(F) e[v]am	kara	tam ata-p	[r]ashamda	in	
Män.	tena	tena	akarena	(F) evam	kara	tam atva-	pashada	ba	dham
Gir.	vadha	ti		is do no		aha	umalianes			~ .1 =
Kāl.	vadhi		para-pāsa pala-pāśa			cha	upakarot		ad-am	
Shāh.	vadhe	ASSESSED FOR THE PARTY OF THE P	para-prash		pi pi	vä	upakaleti		adā a	
Mān.	vadha		para-prash	THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF T		cha	upakarot		ada ai	
man,	vaçına	yau	para-pasii	aqasa	pi	cha	upakarot	(G) t	ad-ami	natha
Gir.	karoto	,	ātpa-pāsa	dam	cha c	chhaṇa	ti para-pā	isaṁḍasa	cha	pi
Kāl.	kalata		ata-pāśa			hhana			pi	vā
Shāh.	ka[ra]		ata-p[ras]			kshana		ra]shadasa	cha	
Mān.	karata	The second secon	ata-pasha	A SHERROWAY LINE AS TO SHEET		chhana	THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE	shadasa	pi	cha
							ci para po	Stractasa	P	Cha
Gir.	apakar		7) yo hi	kochi		āsaṁḍa		i para-pāsa		
Kāl.	apakal		4) ye [h]				punāti	pala-pāsh		
Shāh.	apakar	ALCOHOLOGO CONTRACTOR DE C	7) yo hi	kachi	ata-pra	ashadaı	m pujeti	[para]-p[r	ashad	la[m]
Män.	apakar	oti (A	T) ye hi	kechh	atva-p	ashada	. pujeti	para-pash	aḍa	
Gir.	v[a] g	garahat	i savai	n atno	-pāsaṁḍa	-bhati	งจี 1	cimti ātpa-j	າລິເລະກຸ	dam
Kāl.	THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE	garanat ga[la]ha			-pasamça pāsham[ç				oāsamo	
Shāh.	SHARE SHEET AND THE RESERVE					-		The second secon	ishamo	
Man.		garahat			orashada-	March Control of the Control			asham	
mun.	va g	garahati	savre	atva	-pashada	-bilatiy	a va k	acva-p	ashad	d



Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	dīpayema iti so cha puna tatha karāto ātpa-pāsamda[m] bāḍhataram [d]ipayema she cha punā tathā kalamtam bāḍhatale up[a]hamt[i] dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karamtam baḍhataram upahamti dipayama ti puna tatha karatam baḍhataram upahamti
Gir. Kāl. Shāh, Mān.	upahanāti (I) ta samavāyo eva sādhu kimti [a]namamnasa ata-pāshamdashi I (I) shamavāye vu shādhu kiti amnamanashā ata-prashadam (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti anamanasa atva-pasha[da] (I) se samavaye vo sadhu ki[ti] anamanasa
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	dhammam sruṇāru cha susumsera cha (ỹ) evam hi dhammam shune[y]u chā shushusheyu chā ti (ỹ) hevam hi dhramo śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti (ỹ) evam hi dhramam śruṇ[e]y[u cha] suśrushe[yu] cha ti (ỹ) evam hi
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	D[e]vānampiyasa ichhā kimti sava-pāsamdā bahu-srutā cha asu Devānampiyashā ichhā kimti sava-pāshamda l baha-shutā chā Devanampriyasa ichha kiti savra-prashamda bahu-śruta ch[a] Devanapriyasa ichha kiti savra-pashada bahu-śruta cha
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	kal $[\bar{a}]$ nagama cha $[a]$ su (K) ye cha tatra tata prasamna kayanagama cha siyasu (K) e [cha] tata t $[a]$ tata t $[a]$ tata prasama kayanagama cha $[hu]$ veyu ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana kayanagama cha $[hu]$ veyu ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	tehi vatavyam (L) Devānampiyo no tathā dānam va pūjām te[hi va]taviye (L) Devānāpiye no tathā dānam vā pujā tesha[m] vatavo (L) Devanampriy[o] na [tatha da]na[m va] p[u]ja tehi vataviye (L) Devanapriye no tatha danam va puja[m]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	va mamnate yatha kimti sara-vadhi asa sarya-pasadanam va mamati ya[tha] kiti sh[a]la-v[a]dhi siya savra-pashamdatim va manati ya[tha] kiti sala-vadhi siyati savra-pashadanam va manati atha kiti sala-vadhi siya savra-pashadanam
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	(M) bahakā cha etāya athā vyāpatā dhamma-mahāmātā cha (M) bahukā ch[ā] i etāyāṭhāye i viyāpaṭā i dha[m]ma-mahāmātā i (M) bahuka cha etaye a[ṭha] . vap[a]ṭa dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vapuṭa dhrama-mahamatra
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	ithījhakha-mahāmātā cha vacha-bhūmīkā cha añe cha nikāyā ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā vacha-bh[u]mikyā i ane vā [n]iky[ā]y[ā] i[stridhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika añe cha nikaye istrijaksha-mahamatra vracha-bh[u]mika añe cha nikay[e]

¹ The five last words are repeated thus: so cha puna tatha karatam.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT



Thr.	(N) ayam	cha	etasa	phala	ya	ātpa-pāsamda-vadhī	cha	hoti
	(N) iyam				THE TAX STREET, SANS THE SANS	ata-pāshamda- vadhi		
	(N) imam			[pha]lam	yam	ata-pashada-vadhi		[bh]o[ti]
man.	(N) iyam	cha	etisa	phale	yam	atva-pashada-vadhi	cha	bh[o]t[i]

Gir. dhammasa cha dīp[a]nā Kāl. dhammasha chā dipanā I Shāh. dhramasa cha di[pana] Mān. dhramasa cha [di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	(A)
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	Kalimgā [v.j.] (B)
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	[v . dh]e [sa]ta-sahasra-mātraṁ tatrā hataṁ bahu-tāvatakaṁ [ta]phā apavuḍhe [i śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite i tata hate i bahu-tāvatake i tato apavuḍhe śata-sahasṛa-matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	mata (C) tatā pachhā adh[u]nā ladhesu Kalimgesu vā maṭe (C) tat[o pa]chhā adhunā ladhesha Kalimgesu [va] m[uṭe] (C) tato [pa]cha a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu] . [ma]ṭe (C) [tato] pacha adhuna la[dhe]shu Kaligeshu
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	tī[v]o dhammavāyo . tive i dhamma[vāy]e dhamma-k[ā]matā i dhammānushathi chā i [tivre dhrama-śilana] dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanuśasti cha ti[vr]e dhrama[va]ye [dhra]manu[śa]sti [cha]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	Devānampiyashā (D) sh[e] athi anushaye Devānampiyasa Devanapriyasa (D) so [a]sti anusochana Devanap[ria]sa [De]vana[pri] (D)
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	[v.j.]

The same	AIDIA	STROTTICAL TEXTS	
मिय अपने	ziv.	va maraṇam va apavāho va janasa ta bāḍham	1
	Kāl.	vā malane vā apavahe [vā] jan[a]shā [sh]e bādha i	
1	Shāh.	va maraṇam va apavaho va janasa tam baḍham	
1	Mān.	[marane va apavahe va janasa] se [badham	1
(Fir.	vedana-mata cha g[u]r[u]-mata cha Devā[nampi][sa] (F)	
	Kāl.	vedaniya-mute g[u]l[u]-mut[e] chā Devānam[pi]yashā (F) iyam	
	Shāh.	v[e]dani[ya]-ma[tam] guru-mata[m] cha Devanampriyasa (F) idam	
	Mān.	vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha Devanapriyasa] (F) [i]yan	
1	rz arv.	vedaniya-mate guru-mate [ena Devanapiryasa] (2)[i]yan	
	Fir.		
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	Kāl.	pi chu i tato i galu-matatale i D[e]vānampiyashā (G) [ya] tatā	
	Shāh.	pi chu [tato] guru-matataram [Devanam]priyasa (G) ye tatra	
1	Wān.	[pi] chu tato	
	٠.		
	fir.	bāmhaṇā va samaṇā va añe	
	Kāl.	vashati b[ā]bhanā va shama vā ane vā pāśamḍa gih[i]thā	
	häh.	vasati bramaṇa va śrama[ṇa] va a[ṁ]ñe va prashaṁḍa gra[ha]tha	ı
4	Mān.		
	rir.	[s]ā mātr[i] pitar	1
	Cāl.	vā yeśu vihitā [e]sh[a] a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā m[ā]tā-piti-	
	shāh.	va yesu vihita esha agrabhuți-suśrusha mata-pitushu	
Λ	Vān.	[ye]su [vihi]ta esha [a]grabhu[ṭi]-suśrusha mata-pi[tu]sh[u]	
-	iir.	susumsā guru-susumsā mita-samstata-sahāya-ñātike[su] dāsa-	
	Cāl.	shushushā galu-shushā mita-shamthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu dāśa-	
	hāh.	suśrusha guruna suśrusha mitra-samstuta-sahaya-ñatikeshu dasa-	
	Mān.	su[śru]sha guru-suśrusha mit[r]a-sa[m]stu	
-11	un.	su[stu]sna guru-sustusna imu[i]a-sa[iii]stu	
(fir.	[bha]	
	Kāl.	bha[ṭa]kash[i sha]m[y]ā-paṭipati diḍha-bhatitā tesham tatā hoti	
	hāh.	bhaṭakanam samma-pratipa[ti] dridha-bhatita tesha tatra bhoti	i
0	rir.	abhiratānam va vinikhamaņa (H) yesam	
K	Kāl.	[upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abhilatānam vā vinikhamane (H) yesham	
5	hāh.	[a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇaṃ (H) yesha	
Л	Mān.	[va]dh[e] va abh[iratanam] va vini[k]ramani (H) yesha[m]	
4			
0	fir.	vā [p.]	
A	Cāl.	vā pi shuvihist anam shinehe avipahine e tanam mita-samth samth	
S	hāh.	va pi suvihitanam [si]ho aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-samstuta-	
Λ	Vān.	va pi suvihitanam [si]ho aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-samstuta- va pi s[u]vih[itanam] si[ne]he avipahin[e e] ta[nam] mitra-[sam]	
-			
6	rir.	. [h]āya-ñātikā vyasanam prāpuņati tata so pi tesa	
	Kāl.	sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya viyashanam pāpunāta tatā she [p]i t[ā]namev[ā]	
	hāh.	sahaya-ñatika vasana prapuṇati [ta]tra tam pi tesha vo	
	Vān.		

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

) <u>\$</u>	William Woom Parior
Gir.	[u]paghāto hāti (I) paṭībhā[g]o chesā s[ava]
Kāl.	upaghāt[e] hoti (I) paṭibhāge chā esh[a] sh[a]va-manu[shāna]m
Shāh.	
Mān.	[esha] savra-manuśanam
<i></i>	
Gir.	
Kāl.	gul[u]-m[a]te chā Devāna[m]piyashā (3) n[a]thi chā she jan[a]pade yatā
Shāh.	guru-matam cha Devanampriya[sa] (3) nasti cha
Mān.	guru-mate cha Devanampriyasa (3) nasti cha se janapade yatra
Gir.	sti ime nikāyā añatra Yone[su]
Kāl.	nathi ime nikāyā ānatā Y[o]nesh[u] bamhmane ch[ā] shamane chā
Shāh.	replacement of the second of t
Mān.	nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[ña]tra Yoneshu [bramane cha] śra[mane]
-	
Gir.	[mh]i yatra nāsti mānusānam ekataramhi
Kāl.	nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[a]thi m[a]nushān[a] i ekatalash[i]
Shāh.	ekatare
Mān.	pi [janapada]si ya[t]ra
~	1 .1
	pāsamdamhi na nāma prasā[d]o (K) y[ā]vata[k]o j[ano]
Käl.	[p]i pāshadashi no n[ā]ma pashāde (K) she ava[ta]ke jane
Shāh.	pi prashadaspi na nama prasado (K) so yamatro [ja]no
Mān.	na nama prasade (K) se yavatake jane
Gir.	[ta]d[ā]
Kāl.	tajda Kalimigeshu [ladheshu hajte cha mate] cha [apavudhe]
Shāh.	tada Kalige [ha]to cha mut[o] cha apav[udha]
Mān.	tada Kaligesh[u] hate cha apavudhe
Gir.	sra-bhāgo va garu-mat[o]
Kāl.	[chā i] tato shat[e] bhāge vā i shah[a]sha-bhāge vā i aja gulu-mate
Shāh.	cha tato śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagam va [a]ja guru-matam
Mān.	cha ta[to] śata-bhage va sahasra-bhage va aja guru-ma[te]
-	
Gir.	Devānam
Käl.	vā i Devāna[m]piyashā
Shāh.	v[o] Devanampriyasa (L) yo pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va
Mān.	[va] Devanapriya[sa] (L) pa[ka] [mi]tavi
Gir.	na ya saka chhamitave (M) yā cha pi aṭaviyo
Kāl.	
Shāh.	
Mān.	(M) [pi cha] aṭavi
Circ	Dialusacionius (c. 1. cities and
Kāl.	D[e]vānampiya[sa] pijite pāti
Shāh.	Devanampriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunijapeti
Mān.	Devanapriyasa vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[ti a]nu[nijha]paya[ti]
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Till a		

Giv.	
Kāl.	
Shāh.	(N) anutape pi cha prabhave Devanampriyasa vuchati tesha kiti
Mān.	(N) [anu]tape pi cha prabhave Devanapriyasa vuchati [te]sha [ki]
Gir.	
Kāl.	[ney]u (O) ichha sha[va]-
Shāh.	avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mneyasu (O) ichhati hi D[e]vanampriyo savra-
Mān.	
Gir.	bhūtānām achhatim cha sayamam cha samachairam ch[a] mādava cha
Kāl.	[bhu] [shayama shamacha]liya[m] madava ti
Shāh.	bhutana akshati sa[m]yamam sama[cha]riyam rabhasiye
Man.	
<u>~:</u>	173
Gir.	(P)
Kāl.	(P) iyam vu mu Devānampiyeshā ye dha[m]ma-
Shāh.	(P) ayi cha mukha-mut[a] vijaye Devanampriya[sa] yo dhrama-
Mān.	[mukha]-mute v[i]jaye D[e]vanapriyasa ye dhrama-
<u> </u>	F1 7 11 C 7
Gir.	[la]dh[o] nampriyasa idha
Kāl.	vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Devāna[mp]i cha
Shāh.	vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladho Devanampriyasa iha cha
Man.	vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dh]e [Deva]napri[ya]sa hida cha
-	
Gir.	[sa]vesu [ch.]
Kāl.	shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu at[a]
Shāh.	saveshu cha amteshu [a] shashu pi yojana-sa[t]eshu yatra
Mān.	sa[vr]eshu cha amteshu a shashu pi y[o]ja[na-śa]t[e]shu
Gir.	[Yo]na-rāja param cha tena
Käl.	Atiyoge nām[a] Yo[na-lā] [pa]lam chā tenā A[m]tiyogenā
Shāh.	Amtiyoko nama Yona-raja param cha tena Atiyok[e]na
Mān.	. tiyo[ge nama Yo]na-[raja]
	7.18
Gir.	chatpāro rājāno Turamāyo cha [A]mt[ek]ina cha Magā
Käl.	chatāli 4 lajāne Tulamaye [nā]m[a] Amteki[ne nā]ma Makā
Shāh.	chature 4 rajani Turamaye nama Amtikini nama Maka
Mān.	Amt[e] [nama Ma]ka
Gir.	cha ,
Kāl.	nāma Alikyashudale nāma nicham Choda-Pamdiyā avam
Shah.	
Män.	na[ma] Alikasudare nama nicha Choda-Pamdiya a
~··	ناله حداد والآدراك
Gir.	
Kāl.	Tambapamniyā hevamev[ā] (R) hevamevā [hi]dā lā[ja]-viśavashi
Shāh.	Ta[m]bapam[ni]ya (R) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vishavaspi
Män.	Tambapa[m]niya (R) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si]

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT



Kāl. Yona-Kainbojeshu Nabhaka-Nabhitina Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u Sāāh. Yona-Kain]bojeshu Nabhaka-Nabhitina Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u Sāāh. Yona-Kain]bojeshu Nabhaka-Nabhitina Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u Gir.	THE PARTY OF THE P	
Skāh. Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu Nabhaka-Nabhitina Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Man. Y[o]na-Kam[bojeshu] Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu [Bh]o[ja-Pitinikeshu Bhoja-Pitinikeshu [Bh]o[ja-Pitinikeshu Bhoja-Pitinikeshu [Bh]o[ja-Pitinike]shu Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Bhoja-Pitinike]shu Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Bhoja-Pitinike]shu Man. Adha-[Pa] Skāh. Amdhra-Palideshu Adha-[Pa] Devanampriyasa Devanampriyasa Devanampriyasa Devanampriyasa dhammanusasti Adha-[Pa] Devanampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi Man. (S) [yatra pi Devanampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi Man. (S) [yatra pi Devanampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi Man. (S) [yatra pi dulla [De]vanapriyasa na yamti te pi Man. (S) [yatra pi dulla [De]vanapriyasa na yamti te pi Man. srutu Devanampriyasa dhamana-vutam vijhla jalam dhramanusasti Man. srutu Devanampriyasa dhamana-vutam vidhana[m] dhramanusasti Man. srutu Devanampriyasa dhamana-vutam vidhana[m] dhramanusasti Man. dhamam anuvidhiyare anuvidhiyare [a]nuvidhiyisama [a]nu	Wir.	[Y]o[na]-Kambo
Mān. Y[o]na-Kaṃ[bojeshu] Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu Gir. mdhra-Pārimdesu savata Devānaṃpiyasa dhaṃmānus[a]stim hammanus[a]stim hamman		
Gir. mdhra-Pārimdesu savata Devānampiyasa dhamānus[a]stim dhamānus[a]stim dhamānus[sha]thi dhamanus[ast] Kāl. Adha-Palideshu savatra Devānampriyasa dhamānus[a]stim dhamānus[ast] Gir. anuvalanti (S) yala pi dutā Devānampriyasa no yamti t[e] pi savata Kāl. anuvalanti (S) yalra pi dula Devānampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi dula [De]vanampriyasa dhrama-vutami vildhanami dhamānusastim dhramanusastim dhramanusast	Shāh.	
Kāl. [Adha-Palideshu savatra Devanampriyasa dhammānu sasti Mān. Adha-Palideshu savatra Devanampriyasa dhammānu sasti Mān. Adha-Palideshu Adha	Mān.	Y[o]na-Kam[bojeshu] Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu
Shāh. Andhra-Palideshu savatra Devanampriyasa dhramanušasti Mān. Adha-Pal Gir. anuv[a]tare (S) yata pi dūti Kāl. anuvatamti (S) y[a]ta pi dūtā Devānampriyasa no yamti t[e] pi Shāh. anuvatamti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā Devānampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi Mān. (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa na yamti te pi Gir		
Mān. Adha-{Pa} Gir. anuv[a]tare (S) yata pi duti		
Gir. anuv[a]tare (S) yata pi dūti Anuvatanti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā Devāna[mp]iyasā no yanti te pi Shāh. anuvatanti (S) yatra pi Devanampriyasa dūta na vrachamti te pi Mān. (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa na yanti te pi Gir		
Kāl. anuvatamti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā Devāna[mpi]yasā no yamti t[e] pi Shāh. anuvatamti (S) yatra pi Devanampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi Gir. . . (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa du]ta damāmusastim Kāl. sutu Devanampriyasa dhamal-vutam v[i]dh[a]nam dhamamusastim Kāl. srutu Devanampriyasa dhrama-vutam vidh[a]nam dhamamusastim Kāl. sutu Devanampriyasa dhrama-vutam vidhana[m] dhamamusastim Kāl. sutu Devanampriyasa dhrama-vutam vidhana[m] dhamamusastim Kāl. dhamamusastim dhrama-vutam vidhana[m] dhramanusastim Gir. cha dhamamusastim dhrama-vutam vidhana[m] dhramanusastim Gir. cha dhamamusastim dhrama-vidhinal dhramanusastim Gir. . [v]jayo savatamuidhiyarati [a]nuvidhiyisamla [ch]a (T) ye se Gir. piti-ras		
Shāh. anuvaṭamti (S) yatra pi Devanampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi Mān (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa na yamti te pi Gir	Gir.	anuv[a]tare (S) yata pi düti
Mān. (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa na yamti te pi Giv. [na]m dhamānusastim Kāl. sutu Dev[āna]mp[i]namya dhaman-vutam vijalhaman vidh[a]nam vidh[a]nam vidh[a]nam vidh[a]nam vidhana[m] dhramanusasti dhamānusasti dhrama-vutam vidhana[m] dhramanusasti Gir. cha dhamam anuvidhiyare dhamaman [a]nuvidhiyama [a]nuvidhiyisama [ch]a (7) yo [sa] dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyisama [ch]a (7) yo [sa] dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiy[isami [tha]a (7) [ye se] Gir. [vi]jayo savathā puna vijayo shāh. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo mām ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo mām. Gir. pīti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pitī hoti dhama-vijayamhi kāi. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-vijayashi shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi māmamamamamamamamamamamamamamamamamamam	Kāl.	anuvatamti (S) y[a]ta pi dutā Devāna[mp]iyasā no yamti t[e] pi
Mān. (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa na yamti te pi Giv. [na]m dhamānusastim Kāl. sutu Dev[āna]mp[i]namya dhaman-vutam vijalhaman vidh[a]nam vidh[a]nam vidh[a]nam vidh[a]nam vidhana[m] dhramanusasti dhamānusasti dhrama-vutam vidhana[m] dhramanusasti Gir. cha dhamam anuvidhiyare dhamaman [a]nuvidhiyama [a]nuvidhiyisama [ch]a (7) yo [sa] dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyisama [ch]a (7) yo [sa] dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiy[isami [tha]a (7) [ye se] Gir. [vi]jayo savathā puna vijayo shāh. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo mām ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo mām. Gir. pīti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pitī hoti dhama-vijayamhi kāi. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-vijayashi shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi māmamamamamamamamamamamamamamamamamamam	Shāh.	anuvatamti (S) yatra pi Devanampriyasa duta na vrachamti te pi
Gir. Kāl. sutu Dev[āna]mp[i]namya dh[amma]-vutam v[i]dh[a]na[m] dhamānusa[th]i Shāh. śrutu Devanampriyasa dhrama-vutam vidh[a]nam dhramanuśasti Mān. śrutu Devanapriyasa dhrama-vuta vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti Mān. śrutu Devanapriyasa dhrama-vuta vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti Mān. śrutu Devanapriyasa dhrama-vuta vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti Mān. Gir. cha dhamam anuvidhiyama [a]nuvidhiyisama [ch]ā (7) ye se Shāh. dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyiśam[ti] cha (7) yo [sa] anuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyiśam[ti] cha (7) yo [sa] anuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyiśam[ti] cha (7) ye se] Gir. [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo Shāh. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. Gir. pīti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pītī hoti dhamma-vijayamhi kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-vijayashi Shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhamma-vijayaspi Mān. Gir. mamnam[ti] kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā mān. (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala mān. (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala mān. Gir. mamnam[ti] Dev[e]nam[pi]ne (X) etāye chā aṭhāye iyam dha[m]ma-Shāh. memāti Devana[m]priyo (X) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi dhrama-mān. [ma]nati Devana[m]priyo (X) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi dhrama-man. [ma]nati Devana[m]nati putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma	Mān.	
Kāl. sutu Dev[āna]mp[i]namya dh[āmma]-vutam vidh[ā]nam vidh[ā]nam dhramanusasti vidh[ā]nam dhramanusasti Mān. śrutu Devanapriyasa dhrama-vutam vidhana[m] dhramanusasti Gir. cha dhamam dhramam anuvidhiyare anuvidhiyisama [a]nuvidhiyiama [a]nuvidhiyisama [a]nuvidhiyisama [a]nuvidhiyisama [a]nuvidhiyisama [a]nuvidhiyisamiti cha [7] yo [sa] Mān. dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyisamti cha [7] [ye se] Gir. . [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo Kāl. [la]dhe etakenā hoti savatā vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Kāl. piti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pītī hoti dhamma-vijayamhi Kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-vijayashi Shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi Gir. Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā maha-phala Gir. Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala <		
Shāh. śrutu Devanampriyasa dhrama-vuṭam vidh[a]nam dhramanuśasti Mān. śrutu Devanapriyasa dhrama-vuta vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti Gir. cha dhamam anuvidhiyama [a]nuvidhiyama [a]nuvidhiyisama [ch]a (7) ye se Shāh. dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti anuvidhiyisam[ti] cha (7) yo [sa] Mān. dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyisam[ti] cha (7) ye se] Gir [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo Kāl. [la]dhe etakenā hoti savatā vijayo savathā puna vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo savat[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo savat[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo savat[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. pīti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pītī hoti dhamma-vījayamhi Kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-vijayashi Shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi Mān		
Mān. śrutu Devanapriyasa dhrama-vuta vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti Gir. cha dhamam anuvidhiyama [a]nuvidhiyisama [ch]ā (7) ye se Shāh. dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyisam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa] Mān. dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyisam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa] Gir. . [v]jjayo savathā puna vijayo Kāl. [la]dhe etakenā hoti savatā vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo sāvara[tra] vijaye savara[tra] vijaye Gir. pīti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pītī hoti dhama-vijayamhi dhama-vijayashi kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhama[a]-vijayashi Shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhama-vijayaspi dhama-vijayaspi Gir. Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phala maha-phala Gir. Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala . .<		
Gir. cha dhamam anuvidhiyare anuvidhiyara [a]nuvidhiyisama [a]nuvidhiyama [a]nuvidhiyama [a]nuvidhiyisam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa] Mān. dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti anuvidhiyisam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa] Mān. dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiy[isamti cha] (T) [ye se] Gir [v]jijayo savathā puna vijayo Kāl. [la]dhe etakena bhoti savatā vi[ja]ye Shāh. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savata[tra] vi[jaye]		
Kāl. dha[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyama [a]nuvidhiyisama [ch]ā (T) ye se cha (T) yo [sa] Mān. dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti anuvidhiyisam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa] Mān. dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti anuvidhiyisam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa] Gir. . [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo Kāl. [la]dhe etakenā hoti savatā vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savata vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savata vijaye sava[tra] pu[na] vijayamhi Kāl. piti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pītī hoti dhamma-vījayamhi Kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti dhamma-vījayamhi Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) palamtikyameve maha-phalā Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] pā palamtikyameve	Mān.	śrutu Devanapriyasa dhrama-vuta vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti
Shāh. dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti anuvidhiyišam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa] Mān. dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyišamti cha (T) yo [sa] Gir. . [v]jiyo savatā vi[ja]ye savatāta vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatā vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatā vijayag sava[tra] pu[na] vijayamhi Kāl. pīti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pītī hoti dhamma-vījayashi Kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti dhamma-vījayashi Kāl. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhamma[a]-vijayashi Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā Mān. Gir.	Gir.	cha dhamam anuvidhiyare
Shāh. dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti anuvidhiyišam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa] Mān. dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiyišamti cha (T) yo [sa] Gir. . [v]jiyo savatā vi[ja]ye savatāta vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatā vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatā vijayag sava[tra] pu[na] vijayamhi Kāl. pīti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pītī hoti dhamma-vījayashi Kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti dhamma-vījayashi Kāl. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhamma[a]-vijayashi Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā Mān. Gir.	Käl.	dha[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyama [a]nuvidhiyisama [ch]ā (T) ye se
Mān. dhra[m]ma[m] anuvidhiyamti [a]nuvidhiy[iśamti cha] (T) [ye se] Gir. . . . [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo Kāl. [la]dhe etakenā hoti savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe efta]ke[na hoļti savar[tra] vi[jaye] . Gir. piti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pitī hoti dhamma-vijayamhi Kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti dhamma-vijayashi Shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhamma-vijayashi Mān. Gir. Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) paratrikameva maha-phala Mān. <	Shāh.	
Gir [v]ijayo savathā puna vijayo Kāl. [la]dhe etakenā hoti savatā vi[ja]ye Shāh. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra] vi[jaye]		
Kāl. [la]dhe etakenā bho[ti] savatrā vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo Mān. ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra] vi[jaye] Gir. pīti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pītī hoti dhamma-vījayamhi Kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamma[a]-vijayashi Shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi Mān.	1110000.	dira[in] ina[in] and vidinyamin [a] indvidiny[isamin cha] (1) [ye se]
Mān. ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra] vi[jaye]	Kāl.	[la]dhe etakenā hoti savatā vi[ja]ye
Gir. pīti-raso sā (U) ladhā sā pītī hoti dhamma-vījayamhi Kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-vijayashi Shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi Mān	Shāh.	ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] vijayo
Kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-vijayashi Shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi Gir. Gir. </td <td>Mān.</td> <td>ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra] vi[jaye]</td>	Mān.	ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra] vi[jaye]
Kāl. piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dhamm[a]-vijayashi Shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi Gir. Gir. </td <td>Gir</td> <td>niti-raso sā (77) ladhā sā nitī hoti dhama-vijayambi</td>	Gir	niti-raso sā (77) ladhā sā nitī hoti dhama-vijayambi
Shāh. priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi Mān. Gir. Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā Shāh. (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala Mān. Mān. mamnam[ti] Dev[e]nam[pi]ne (X) etā[ya athā]ya ayam dhamma- Kāl. mamnam[ti] Deve[e]nam[pi]ne (X) etāye chā athāye iyam dha[m]ma- Shāh. menati Devana[m]priyo (X) etaye cha athaye ayi dhrama- Mān. [ma]nati De[va]napri[ye] (X) e[ta]ye cha [a]thray[e] iyam dhramma- Gir. [i] Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava[m] vijayam mā Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti puta papotra me asu navam vijayam ma		
Gir. Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā Shāh. (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala Mān. Gir. in[p]riyo (X) etā[ya athā]ya ayam dhamma-kāl. mamnam[ti] Dev[e]nam[pi]ne (X) etāye chā athāye iyam dhamma-Shāh. menati Devana[m]priyo (X) etaye cha athaye ayi dhrama-Mān. [ma]nati De[va]napri[ye] (X) e[ta]ye cha [a]thray[e] iyam dhramma-Gir. [l] Gir. [l] Gir. [l] Gir. [l] Gir. [l] Gir. [l] Gir. [l] Alipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava[m] vijayam mā Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti puta papota me asu navam vijayam ma		
Gir. Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā Shāh. (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala Mān. Gir. mi[p]riyo (X) etā[ya athā]ya ayam dhamma-kāl. mamnam[ti] Dev[e]nam[pi]ne (X) etāye chā athāye iyam dha[m]ma-Shāh. menati Devana[m]priyo (X) etaye cha athaye ayi dhrama-Mān. [ma]nati De[va]napri[ye] (X) e[ta]ye cha [a]thray[e] iyam dhramma-Gir. [l] Gir. [l] . [va]m vijayam mā Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] navam vijayam ma Shāh. dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma		priti-raso so (0) ladna bilotij priti dhrama-vijayaspi
Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā Shāh. (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala Mān	Mān.	
Kāl. (V) lahukā v[u] kho sā piti (W) pālamtikyameve maha-phalā Shāh. (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala Mān	Gir.	
Shāh. (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala Mān		
Mān		
Gir		
Kāl. mamnam[ti] Dev[e]nam[pi]ne (X) etāye chā aṭhāye iyam dha[m]ma-Shāh. menati Devana[m]priyo (X) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi dhrama-Mān. [ma]nati De[va]napri[ye] (X) e[ta]ye cha [a]thray[e] iyam dhramma-Gir. [l] [va]m vijayam mā Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava[m] vijay[a] ma Shāh. dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma	ava are,	mana-pnaia
Kāl. mamnam[ti] Dev[e]nam[pi]ne (X) etāye chā athāye iyam dha[m]ma-Shāh. menati Devana[m]priyo (X) etaye cha athaye ayi dhrama-Mān. [ma]nati De[va]napri[ye] (X) e[ta]ye cha [a]thray[e] iyam dhramma-Gir. [l] [va]m vijayam mā Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava[m] vijay[a] ma Shāh. dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam mā	Gir.	mi[p]riyo (X) etā[ya athā]ya ayam dhamma-
Shāh. meñati Devana[m]priyo (X) etaye cha athaye ayi dhrama-Mān. [ma]nati De[va]napri[ye] (X) e[ta]ye cha [a]thray[e] iyam dhramma-Gir. [l] [va]m vijayam mā Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava[m] vijay[a] ma Shāh. dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma	Kāl.	
Mān. [ma]nati De[va]napri[ye] (X) e[ta]ye cha [a]thray[e] iyam dhramma- Gir. [l] [va]m vijayam mā Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava[m] vijay[a] ma Shāh. dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma		
Gir. [l] [va]m vijayam mā Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava[m] vijay[a] ma Shāh. dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma		
Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava[m] vijay[a] ma Shāh. dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma	272 0075,	finaliser refealuabilite! (x) clealle cua falunalel ilan duramma-
Kāl. lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā me a[su] nava[m] vijay[a] ma Shāh. dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma	Cin	r_1:
Shāh. dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma		
Man. dipi li[khi]ta kiti putra prap[o]tra me a[su] nava[m] v[i]		
	Man.	dipi li[khi]ta kiti putra prap[o]tra me a[su] nava[m] v[i]

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Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	vijetavyam mamna sarasake eva vijaye chhāti cha vijayataviya manishu shayakashi no vi[ja]yashi khamti chā la hu-vijetav[i]a manishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[e ksham]ti cha lahu[tavi]yam man[ishu saya]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	damdatā [chā] lochetu tameva chā vijayam manatu ye da[m]data cha rochetu tam cha yo vija maña[tu] yo
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān.	kik[o] ch[a pā]r[alo]ki[ko]
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Män.	cha ka nilati hot[u] uyāma-lati (AA) shā hi chati-rati bhotu ya [dh]ramma-rati (AA) sa hi cha [ka] nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati (AA) sa hi
Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Män.	ilokikā cha pāralokikā cha hi[da]lokika pa[la]lokikyā hidalokika paralokika [i]aloki[ka] paraloki[ka]
	FOURTEENTH BOOK EDIOR

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

Gir. Kāl. Shāh. Mān. Dhau.	(A) ayan (A) iyam (A) ayi (A) [i]yan (A) iyam	di di in di	hamma-lipi hrama-lipi hrama-dip nrama-dip namma-lip	Dev i Dev i De[v	ānampriyena [ānamp]i[y]e anampriyena va]napriyena v]ānampiyen	[h]ā [P]i Priš Pri[vadasinā yadasinā i[na] ya] da[sin]ā	r[ā]ñā lajinā raña [jina] lāj[inā]
Fau.								
Gir.	l[e]khāpitā	a asti	eva sa	mkhit[e]n	a asti n	najhamena	asti	vistatana
Kāl.	likhāpitā	athi		khitenā		ajhimenā	athi	vithațenă
Shāh.	nipesapita			mkshitena				vistrițena
Mān.	[likhapita]							
Dhau.	[likhā]				. athi m	a[jhimena]		
Fau.					[n	na]jhime[na]	ath[i]	vithațena
Gir.	(B) na	cha	sarvam	[sa]rvata	ghațitam	(C) mahāl	ake hi	vijitam
Kāl.	(B) no	hi	savatā	save	[gha]tite	(C) mahāl		vijite
Shāh.	(B) na	hi	savatra	sasavre	gațite	(C) mahal		vijite
Mān.	(-) Ha.				8-11-1			
Dhau.	(B)	[h]i	save	sav[a]ta	ghatite	(C) mahar		
Fau.	(B) [no]	hi	save	savata	ghatite	(C) mahar		vijaye

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT



Gir.	bahu	cha	likhitam	likhāpayi	sam o	cheva		(D) asti	cha
Kāl.	bahu	cha 1	likhite	lekhāpeś		cheva	nikyam	(D) athi	chā
Shāh.	bahu	cha l	ikhite	likha[p]es		cheva		(D) asti	chu
Mān.	Supplemental Control		likhite	likha]pe[s		che[va]	ni	(D) [asti	chu]
Dhau.	bahu[k]e	AND THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF	likhite	likhiyis .	STREET, STREET			(D) [a]thi	
7au.								, , , ,	
Gir.	eta kam	nuna	puna	vutam	tasa	tasa	athasa	mādhūra	, tā va
Kāl.	hetā kam	puna	puna pun[ā]	lasplitse	tasha	tashā	athashā	madhuli	A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH
Shāh.	atra	puna				tasa	[a]thasa	madhuri	CONTRACTOR OF STREET,
Mān.	[a]tra	puna	puna	[la]pitam	tasa		a[thra]sa	[madhu]	CONTROL OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR
Dhau.		puna	puna	la[pite]	tasa	ta[sa]			
				[vu]te	ta[sa]			SERVICE STREET]āy[e]
Fan.			•				. [sa]	mādhuli	yaye
							38		
Gir.	kimti	jaı			pajetha				tatra
Käl.	yena	jaı			pajeyā	A SECURITY OF THE PARTY OF THE			ata
Shāh.	ye[na]	jan		THE PROPERTY OF STREET, SAN THE PARTY OF THE	pajeyati	(E)	so siya	a va	atra
Mān.	[ye]na	jar	ne ta[tha] pați	paje[ya]	ti (E)	se [si]	ya	atra
Dhau.	[k]imti c	ha j[a]ne tat	hā pați	pajeyā	ti (E)	e pi	chu	heta
Fau.	kimt[i] c	ha jar	ne tat	hā pați	pajeyā	ti (E)	e pi	chu	heta
Gir.	ekadā a	samāt[a	lm likhi	ta[m] asa	desam	va sa	chhāya	[kä]ranar	n va
Kāl.		samati	likhi	THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE	dishā		amkheye	kālanam	
Shāh.		samatai			deśam		mkhayfa]	karana	va
Mān.		[t					amkha]ya		
Dhau.		samati	likhi		sam		[lochay]itu		
7au.				· [From True		
7								9.5	French
Gir.	[a]lochetpā	licile	rāparadh						
Kāl.	alochayitu	Selection of the select	raparadı kalapal ā d						
Shāh.	alocheti					1 -			
Mān.	alocheti	dipik	arasa	va	aparad	nena			
	•		200-2			•			
Dhau.	•	K[a	a]l[ā]	[t]i					
Fau.		• 1	•						
			-0						

II. THE TWO SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. Jau.	(A) [Dev (A) Dev			vacha]nena n [ā]hā	Tosaliy (B) Sam[ā]		ma[hā]māta mahāmātā
Dhau. Fau.	[naga]la-[v [na]gala-v			va]taviya va]tav[i]y[ā]	(B) [am (C) am	kichhi kichhi	dakhā]mi dakhāmi
Dhau.	hakam ha[ka]m	tam [tam]	ichhāmi ichhām[i	k[i]m[t]i k]imt[i kam	kaṁ[mana kamana	Y TIO	pāday]eham pātayeham

SYNOTICAL TEXTS
Dhau. duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la] Jau. duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam
Dhau. [etasi aṭha]si aṁ tuph[esu] anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna- yau. a[ṁ] tuphesu anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-
Dhau. sahasesum ā[yata] p[a]na[yam ga]chh[e]ma su munisānam gau. sahasesu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[yam] gachhema [su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m]
Dhau. (E) save munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m] Fau. (F) sava-mu[n]ā me pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i]
Dhau. [kimti sa]ve[na hi]ta-sukhena hidalo[kika]-pālalokike[na] y[ūjev]ū Jau. [kim]t[i] me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena
Dhau. [t]i [tathā, muni]sesu pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no cha fau. [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu tu[phe]
Dhau. pāpunātha āv[a]-ga[m]u[k]e [iyam athe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka- yau. [e]tam [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e [i]yam ath[e] (I) kechā eka-
Dhau. pulise] nāti estasm se pi desam no savam (I) deskhasta hi Jau. [munise] pāspunāti se pi desam no savam (I) dakhatha hi
Dhau. [t]u[phe] etam suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyam eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e] Jau. [tuphe] pi suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka athi ye eti eka-munise
Dhau. bamdhanam vā p[a]likilesam vā pāpunāti (K) tata hoti akasmā pali[kile]sam [p]i pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i aka]sm[ā]
Dhau. tena badhana[m]tik[a] amne chahu jane da[v]iye yau. ti ten[a] badhana[m]ti[ka anye] cha [va]ge bahuke
Dhau. dukhīyati (L) tata ichhitaviye tuphehi kimiti m[a]jham paṭipādayemā fau. vedayati (M) tata tuphe[hi ichhi]taye kimiti majham [pa]ṭipātayem[a]
Dhau. ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no sampaṭipajati isāya āsulopena jāte[hi] no [pa]ṭipa[ja]ti i[s]ā[ya] āsulopena
Dhau. ni[ṭhū]liyena tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena fau. [ni]ṭhū[li]ye[na] t[ul]āya [a]nā[v]uti[ya āla]s[y]e[na ki]lamath[e]na
Dhau. (N) se ichhitaviye kitim ete [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā Jau. (O) hevam ichhit[a]vi[y]e kimti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni n]o hveyū
Dhau. ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū]l[a]nā cha yau. ti (P) savasa chu iyam mū[le] a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e atulanā] cha
Dhau. (P) niti[ya]m e kilamte siyā [na] te uga[chha] Fau. (Q) ni[tiya]m [e]y[am k]il[amt]e [siya] samchalitu uthāy[ā]

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

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T			

	U.
Dhau. Fau.	
	e da[kheya] t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye ānamne dekhata dakh[e]yā āna[m]ne nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye
	hevam cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānampiyasa anusathi (R) se heva[m hevam] cha Devānam[p]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]m
	mah[ā-pha]le [e] t[a]sa [sampa]tipāda mahā-apāye asampaṭipati [sampaṭipā]ta[yam]tam mahā-phale hoti asampaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti
	(S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi etam nathi svagasa [ā]l[a]dhi no lāj[ā]la[dh]i (T) vipaṭipātayamtam no svag[a]-āladhi no lājādhi
Dhau. Jau.	(T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kamm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke (U) du[ā]hale etasa [kam]masa sa me k[u]t[e ma]n[o-ati]le[ke]
	(U) sa[m]paṭipajam[ī]n[e] chu [etam] svaga[m] ālādha[yi]sa[tha] (V) [etam) sampaṭipajamīne mama] cha ānaneyam esatha
	[mama cha ā]naniyam ehatha ($\mathcal V$) iyam cha l[i]p[i] t[i]sa-na[kha]tena svagam cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā ($\mathcal W$) iyam chā li[p]ī anutisam
	so[ta]viy[ā] (W) amta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na kha]nasi kha[nas]i sot[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā [p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā
Dhau.	ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevam cha kalamtam tuphe chaghatha ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y)
Dhau. Jau.	sampa[ti]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye iya[m l]i[p]i likhit[a h]ida ena tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyam [li]khitā [l]ipī ena
Dhau. Jau.	nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]atam samayam yūjevū t[i] mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m] sama[ya]m [etam] yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena
Dhau. Jau.	[na]sa akasmā [pa]libodhe va [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā [muni]s[ā]nam [a] ne [pal]i[k]i
Jau.	ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] mate p[a]mchasu pamchasu pamchasu pamchasu
Dhau. Fau.	[va]sesu [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[cham]d[e] va[sesu] anu[sa]yānam nikhāma[y]isāmi mahāmāta[m] achamda[m]
	s[a]khinālambhe hosati etam aṭham jānitu [ta]thā kala[m]ti aphal[usa]m ta
	atha mama anuşathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a]

W
mayisati
atane a[ta]ne
kalamti kalamti

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. Jau.	(A) Devānampiyas[a]vachanenaTosaliyamkumālemahāmātācha (A) Devānampiyehevam ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyammahamatā
Dhau. Fau.	vataviya (B) am kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam tam i] l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] vataviyā (C) am kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakam tam i[chh]āmi
Dhau. Fau.	duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa hakam k $[im]$ ti kam kamana paṭipātayeham duvā $[la]$ te cha ālabheham (D) esa
Dhau. Fau.	cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi aṁ tuphe[s]u cha me mokhiya-mat[a] duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]sa a[ṁ] t[uph]esu anusa[thi]
Dhau. Jau.	mama (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakam ki[m]ti (E) sava-munisā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kimti me
Dhau. Jau.	savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujevū ti saveņā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū¹ ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]
Dhau. Jau.	h[e]v[am] (F) siyā amtānam avijitānam hevammeva me ichha sava-munisesu (G) siyā amtānam [a]vijitānam
	ki-chha[mde] su lāja [aphesu] (G) m[a]va ichha mama amtesu kim-chhāmde su lājā aphesū ti (H) etākā [vā] me ichha [a]mtesu
	i [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānamp[iy] [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye pāpuneyu lājā hevam ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]
Dhau. Fau.	huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhammeva lahevu mamat[e] mamiyāye [a]svaseyu cha me sukhammeva lahey[ū] mamate
Dhau. Jau.	no dukha[m] h[e]va[m]un[e]vū iti khamisati ne [n]o kha[m] hevam cha pāpuneyu kha[m]i[sa]ti ne

¹ The last eight words are repeated thus: [a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kim[ti] m[e] savena hita-sukh[e]na yujeyū.

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhau. Devanampiye [aph]aka ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitam 7au. lājā s[a]kiye khamitave mamam nimitam cha dhammam chalevū hidaloka palaloka[m] Dhau, cha Fau. cha dhamma[m] chaley[ū] ti hidalog[am] cha palalogam cha Dhau. ālādhayevü (H) etasi athasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe anusāsāmi Fau. ālādhayey[ū] (I) etāye cha athāye hakam tupheni cha veditu anusāsitu chhamdam Dhau. ana[n]e [e]takena hakam 7au. ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kam tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhamda[m cha] vedi[t]u [a]jalā (I) s[e] hevam katu Dhau, ā [hi] dhistli paţimñā cha mamā paţimnā (7) sa hevam [ka]tū mama dhiti cha achala Fau. Dhau. kamme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] i [cha] tāni ena k[am]me [cha]litaviye asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] en[a] te Fau. te atha Dhau. pāpunevū iti pitä tatha Devānampiy[e] aphāka athā cha pāpuneyu a[th]ā pita [h]evam [n]e lājā ti atha Fau. aphe athā cha Dhau. atānam hevam Devānampiye [a]nukampati pajā [a]tānam anukampat[i he]vam a[ph]eni anuka[mpa]ti athā Fau. pajā Dhau. hevam may[e] D[e]vānampiyasa (7) se hakam anusāsitu [chha]mda[m] hevam [may]e la[i]ine (K) tupheni hakam anusāsita [chh]āmdam Dhau. ch[a veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike [cha v]e[di]ta [ā ma]ma dhiti pati[m]nā chā achala [saka]la-desā-āy[ut]ike Fau. athāye (K) patibalā hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-Dhau. hosāmi etāye [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-[a]thas[i] (L) [a]lam Fau. hosāmī et[a]si Dhau. sukhāye cha [tesa] hidalokika-pālalo[ki]kāye (L) hevam cha hidalogi[ka]-p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevam cha Fau. sukhāye [cha te]sa[m] Dhau. kalamtam tuphe svagam ālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyam Fau. kalamtam svaga[m cha alladhayisa[tha] mama cha āna[n]eyam Dhau. ehatha likhitā (M) etāye cha athaye iyam lipi hida e[na] essaltha (N) etāye cha a[th]aye i[ya]m liskh]ista hilda Fau. lipī e na Dhau, [ma]hāmātā svasata[m sa]ma as vā sa nāye yujisamti dhamma-7au. [ma]h[a]mātā sāsvatam samam yujeyū asvāsanāye cha dhamma-Dhau. chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amtānam (N) iyam cha lipi [anu]chātummāsam chala[na]ye [cha] amta na m (O) iyam cha lipi a [nu]ch [a]tum [m] asam Dhau. tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmam chu [kha]nas[i] khanasi

tisena

(P) amta[la]

F f

cha

sotaviyā

pi

1618

Fau.

s ota viyā

ekena [p]i [so]taviya (P) hevam kala[m]tam amtalā tisena pi Fau. eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m] cha [ka]lam[ta]m (Q) khane samtam

Dhau. [t]uphe chaghatha sampațipādayitave sampațipātayit[av]e Fau. chaghatha

Nand. anuvidhīyamti

Rām.

All.

anuvidhīyamti

anuvidhīyamti

THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS III.

	FIRST PILLAR-EDICT
Töp. Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	(A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āhā (B) saduvīsati-vasa-abhisitena (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam ā[ha] (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena (A) Devānampiye P[i]yadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena (A) Devānampiye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena
Töp. Ar. Nand. Räm. All.	me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusampaṭipādaye me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusampaṭipādaye me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusampaṭipādaye me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusampaṭipādaye me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusampaṭipādaye dusampaṭipāda[y]e
Top. Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	amnata agāyā dhamma-kāmatāyā agāya palīkhāyā agāya susūsāya amnata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāya agāya susūsāya
Töp. Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	agena bhayenā agena usāhenā (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiyā agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya agena bhayena a $[g]$ ena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi $[g]$ ā
Töp. Ar. Nand. Räm. All.	dhammapekha dhamma-kamata cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati cheva dhammapekha dhamma-kamata cha suve suve vadhita vadhisati chele]va
Tōp. Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	(E) pulisā pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhimā chā (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha
Tōp. Ar.	anuvidhīyamti sampatipādayamti chā alam chapalam samādapayitave anuvidhīyamti sampatipādayamti cha alam chapalam samādapayitave

cha

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chapalam

samādapayitave

samādapayitave

samādapayitave

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

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28		W	H	
		B	To the	
	STATE OF			3963

Top.	(F) hemevā	amta-maḥāmātā	pi	(G) esa	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
Mīr.									
	(F) hemeva	amta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esä	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
	(F) hemeva	amta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esā	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
	(F) hemeva	amta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esä	hi	vidhi	yā	iyam	dhammena
All.	(F) hemmeva	amta-mahāmātā	pi	(G) esä	hi	vidhi	yā	[i]yam	dhammena
Tak									性數學

Töp. Mīr.	经过度的证据的证据, 是是自己的证据的。	dhammena dhammen[a]	vidhāne v[i]dh[āne]	dhammena dha[me].	sukhiyanā	
Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	pālana pālana pālana pālanā	dhammena dhammena dhammena dhammena	vidhāne vidhāne vidhāne vidhāne	dhammena dhammena dha[m]m[e]na dhammena		

Top. goti Mīr. . . . Ar. gotī ti Nand. goti ti Rām. gotī ti All. [gut]i [ti cha]

All.

chatupadesu

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

							had & 2. A to should					
Tōp. Mīr. Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	(A) Dev (A) De((A) Dev (A) Dev (A) Dev (A) Dev	vā]n[a vānarh vānarh vānarh	i]mpiye piye piye piye	Piyad Piyad Piyad Piyad Piyad Piyada	asi asi asi	lāja lāja lāja lāja lāja lāja	hevam [hevam hevam hevam hevam	n ā] n āha n āha n āha	(B) dh[(B) dh:	amme amme amme	sē sā sā	idhū ā]dh[u] idhu idhu idhu idhu
Töp. Mīr. Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	kiyam k[iya]m kiyam kiya kiyam kiyam	chu chu chu chu	dhamme dhamme dhamme dhamme dhamme	ti (ti (ti (0000	apāsi a[pā]s apāsi apāsi apāsi apāsi	nave nave nave	bahu bahu bahu bahu bahu	kayāne d kayāne d kayāne d kayāne d	layā dā laya dā laya dā laya dā	ine ine ine ine ine	sache sache sache sache sache
Top. Mīr. Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	sochaye socheye socheye socheye socheye	ti. ((D) chak (D) [chak (D) chak (D) chak (D) chak (D) chak	chu-dā hu-dār hu-dār hu-dār]nā ne ne	pi [pi pi pi pi pi	me me me me me	bahuvi bahuvi bahuvi bahuvi bahuvi	idhe dimi idhe dimi idhe dimi	ne (E) ne (E) ne (E) ne (E)	du du du du	pada- [pa]da- pada- pada- pada- pada-
Töp. Mīr. Ar. Nand. Rām.	chatupad ch[a]tu[p chatupad chatupad	a]desi esu lesu	pakhi- pakhi- pakhi- pakhi- pakhi-	välich välich välich	ale[ales ales	su i	vividhe viv]i[dh vividhe vividhe vividhe	me	anugahe anugahe anugahe anugahe	kate kate kate kate	विविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवि	pāna- pāna- pāna- pāna- pāna-

vividhe

me anugahe

kațe a pana-

pāna-

kațe ä

pakhi-vālichalesu

प्रमेव जयते / ८ /								100 -	V.
Top.	dākhināye	(F) amnān	i pi	cha me		kayānāni	kaţāni	(G) etā	
Mir.	dākhināye	(F) a[m]nā	ni pi	cha me	bah[ūni	kayānāni]		(G) etā	and the second
Ar.	dakhināye	(F) a[m]nä	ini pi	cha me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaţāni	(G) etā	
Nand.	dakhināye	(F) amnān	i pi	cha me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaţāni	(G) etā	
Rām.	dakhināye	(F) arinān	i pi	cha me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G) etā	A THE PLANT OF STREET STREET
All.	dakhināye	(F) amnān	i pi	cha me	bahūni	kayānāni	kaṭāni	(G) etā	ye
Töp. Mīr. Ar. Nand. Rām.	me athaye me athaye me athaye me athaye	e iyam dha e iyam dha e iyam dha e iyam dha	aṁma-l aṁma-lip aṁma-l aṁma-l aṁma-l	ipi li[kh i likhā ipi likhā ipi likhā	āpitā] pita hev pita hev pita hev	anupa ram anupa ram anupa ram anupa	tipajamtu tipajamtu tipajamtu tipajamtu tipajamtu tipajamtu	chilam chilam chilam chilam chilam	in]- i- i-
All.	me athaye					hevam	sampațip		se
Töp.		cha hotū		$\operatorname{ti} (H)$					se
Mīr.		cha hot[ū]		H				AND RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF T	se
Ar.		cha hotū		ti (H)		hevam	sampațip		
Nand.		cha hotū		ti (H)		hevam	sampatip	CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF	se
Rām.		cha hotū		ti (H)		hevam	sampatip	NORTH THE RESERVE	se
All.	thitīkā	cha hotū		ti (H)	ye cha	hevam	sampaṭip	ajisati	se
Töp.	sukaṭaṁ	kachhatī	ti						
Mīr.	sukațam	ka[chha]tī	ti						
Ar.		kachhati	ti						
Nand.	sukaṭam	kachhati							
77	7	bookhati	ti						

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

ti

ti

Rām. sukaṭam kachhatī

All. sukațam kachhatī

		7.7.	RD LIDDI			
Top. Mīr. Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	(A) Devānam (A) Devānam (A) Devānam (A) Devānam (A) Devānam (A) Devānam	npiye Piyada npiye Piyada npiye Piyada npiye Piyada	si lāja he si lāja he si lāja he si lāja he	vam ahā vam āha vam āha vam āha vam āha vam āha	(B) kayānammeva (B) kayānamm[eva (B) kayānammeva (B) kayānammeva (B) kayānammeva (B) kayānammeva	dekhati de] dekhamti dekhamti dekhamti dekhati
Top. Mīr. Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	iyam me ki iyam me ki iyam me ki	ayāne kaţe ayāne kaţe ayāne kaţe ayāne kaţe ayāne kaţe ayāne kaţe	ti (C) no tī (C) no ti (C) no ti (C) no ti (C) no ti (C) no	min[ā] mina mina mina	pāpam d[e]khati pāpam dekhati pāpam dekhamti pāpam dekhamti pāpam dekhamti pāpakam dekhamti	iyam me iyam me iyam me iyam me iyam me iyam me
Tōp. Mīr. Ar. Nand. Rām. All.	pāpe kațe pāpe kațe pāpe kațe pāpe kațe pāpe kațe pāpe kațe	ti iyam v ti iyam v ti iyam v ti iyam v	āsinave a āsinave a āsinave a āsinave va āsinave vā āsinave	nāmā ti nāmā ti nāmā ti nāmā ti nāmā ti	(D) [du]paṭivekhe (D) dupaṭivekhe (D) dupaṭivekhe (D) dupaṭivekhe	chu kho chu kho chu kho chu kho chu kho

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT



janasa

A ACE											
Top.	esā (E)	hevam	chu k	sho e	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava	a-gāmīni	nāma
Mīr.	esā (E)	hevam	chu l	kho' [esa	de]khiye	(F)	imāni	āsinav[a-gāmīni]	nāma
Ar.	esa (E)	hevam	chu l	kho e	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava	a-gāmīni	nāmā
Nand.	esa (E)	hevam	chu l	kho e	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinav	a-gāmīni	nāmā ·
Rām.	esa (E)) hevam	chu l	kho e	esa	dekhiye	(F)	imāni	āsinava	a-gāmīni	nāmā
Top.	atha	charin	dive	niţhū	live	kodh	ie .	māne	isyā	kālanena	va
Mīr.	atha		STREET,	nifth				māne	isyā	kālanena	[va]
Ar.	ti atha			nithū	All the second second second	kodh		māne	isya	kālanena	va
Nand.	ti atha		CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY OF	nithū	CHRONIC STREET,	kodh		māne	isya	kālanena	va
Rām.	ti atha			niţhū		kodh		māne	isya	kālanena	va
Tōp.	hakam	mā pali	bhasay	isam		(G) esa	bāḍh	ia	dekhiye	(H) iyam	me
Mīr.			bha[sa]		'n	(G)	bā[d]		dekhiye		
Ar.			bhasay		ti	(G) esa	bādh	The State of the S	·斯克特拉斯 (特别 图图图 2010 1/20	(H) iyam	
Nand.	hakam		bhasay		ti	(G) esa	bādh			(H) iyam	
Rām.	hakam	TO THE RESIDENT DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY OF	ibhasay			(G) esa	bāḍh		AND THE RESERVE TO SERVE THE RESERVE TO SERVE THE RESERVE TO SERVE THE RESERVE	(H) iyam	
Tōp.	hidatikā	ye iy	amman	na m	e pi	alatikāye					
Mir.	[hi]dat[i]	kāye iy	/am	me	e pa	ilatikāye					
Ar.	hidatikā	THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE	amman	a m	TOWN THE REAL PROPERTY.	ilatikāye	ti				
Nand.	hidatikā	CHARLES WERE THE RESERVE	vamman		ARCHART TO THE	alatikāye	ti				
Rām.	hidatikā		amman		PERSONAL PROPERTY.	ilatikāye	ti				

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

Töp. Ar. Nand. Räm.	(A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āhā (B) saduvīsati-vasa-abhisitena (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena
Top. Ar. Nand. Rām.	me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu me iyam dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu
Tōp, Ar. Nand. Rām.	janasi āyatā (D) tesam ye abhihāle vā damde vā ata-patiye me janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va damde va ata-patiye me janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va damde va ata-patiye me janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihale va damde va ata-patiye me
Töp. Ar. Nand.	kaṭe kiṁti lajūkā asvatha abhītā kaṁmāni pavatayevū janasa kaṭe kiṁti lajūka asvatha abhīta kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti janasa kaṭe kiṁti lajūka asvatha abhīta kaṁmāni pavatayevū ti janasa

lajūka asvatha abhīta kammāni pavatayevū

Rām. kațe kimti

	8
Top.	jānapadasā hita-sukham upadahevū anugahinevu chā (E) sukhīyana-
Ar.	jānapadasa hita-sukham upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-
Nand.	jānapadasa hita-sukham upadahevū anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-
Rām.	jānapadasa hita-sukham upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-
Tōp.	dukhīyanam jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam
Ar.	dukhīyanam jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam
Nand.	dukhīyanam jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam
Rām.	dukhīyanam jānisamti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisamti janam jānapadam
Top.	kimti hidatam cha pālatam cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti
Ar.	kimti hidatam cha pālatam cha ālādhayevu (F) lajūkā pi laghamti
Nand.	
Rām.	kimti hidatam cha pālatam cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghamti
Trak	patichalitave mam (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdamnāni patichalisamti
Top. Ar.	pațichalitave mam (G) pulisani pi me chhamdamnani pațichalisamti pațichalisamti pi me chhamdamnani pațichalisamti
Nand.	pațichalitave mam (G) pulis[ā]ni pi me chhamdamnāni pațichalisamti
Rām.	pațichalitave main (G) pulisani pi me chhamdamnani pațichalisamti
Z.Com.	potential (a) parada.
Tōp.	(H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam lajūkā chaghamti
Mīr.	
Ar.	(H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam lajūka chaghamti
Nand.	(H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam lajūka chaghamti
Rām.	(H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisamti yena mam lajūka chaghamti
Töp.	ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
Mīr.	[ā]lādha[y]i[tave] (I) tu asvathe
Ar.	ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
Nand.	ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
Rām.	ālādhayitave (I) athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe
<i>T</i>	hoti vivata dhāti chaghati me pajam sukham palihaṭave hevam
Top.	range 3. 1 F · 1
Mīr. Ar.	[ho]ti vi[ya]
Nand.	
Räm.	hoti viyata dhati chaghati me pajam sukham palihatave ti hevam
1.00000	
Top.	mamā lajūkā kaṭā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (¾) yena ete abhītā
Mīr.	[mam]ā [la]jūk[a] ye (F) yen[a] ete a[bh]ītā
Ar.	mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (૩) yena ete abhīta
Nand.	
Rām.	mama lajūka kata jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (У) yena ete abhīta
Top.	asvatha samtam avimanā kammāni pavatayevū ti etena
Mīr.	
O OF SYSTEM SEED AS FOLKED BY AND	
Ar.	asvathā samtam achhimana kammāni pavatayevū ti etena
Ar. Nand. Rām.	

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT

		KIN TILLY	K-EDICI		
Top.	me lajūkānam	abh[i]hāle	va damde vā	ata-patiye	kațe
· Mir.	me [laj]ū[kā]n[am]			ata-pative	kat[e]
Ar.	me lajūkānam	abhihāle	va damde va	ata-patiye	kate
Nane		[a]bhihāle	va damde va	ata-patiye	kate
Rām	. me lajūkānam	abhihāle	va damde va	ata-pative	kate
All.	· [kānaṁ	abhihāle	vā damde vā	ata-pa]t[i]y[e	kațe]
Top.	(K) ichhitaviye	[h]i esā	kimti vivohā	la-samatā cha	siya
Mīr.				āla-samatā ch[a	
Ar.	(K) ichhitaviye	hi esa		la-samatā cha	siya
Nane		hi esa		la-samatā cha	siya
Rām.		hi esa		la-samatā cha	siya
All.	(K) [i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e]	h[i e]s[a]		la-sama[t]ā cha	siyā
774	1.21 1.				
Top. Mīr.	damda-samatā chā	(L) ava ite	pi cha me	āvuti bamd	
Ar.	damda sa[ma]	173	· · · . [me]	āvuti [ba]m	dhana-
Nana	damda-samatā cha	(L) āvā ite	pi cha me	āvuti bamd	
Rām.		(L) āvā· ite	pi cha me	āvuti bamdl	
All.		(L) āvā ite	pi cha me	āvuti bamdl	nana-
2166.	da[m]da-samatā cha	(L) āva ite	pi cha me	āvuti bamdl	nana-
Top.	badhānam munisānam	مالتالت المالت	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		
Mīr.	[badh]ānam munisā[nam				asā[n]i
Ar.	badhānam munisā[na]				/a]sāni
Nand		STATE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PA			asāni
Rām.	badhānam munisānam				asāni
All.	badhānam munisānam				asāni
	, , , munisanan	tīlīta-damdā	nam pata-vadhā	nam timni div	asāni
Top.	me yote dimne	(M) nātikā	va kāni nijhap	ayisamti jīvit	
Mir.		(M)			
Ar.		(M) nātikā			i]tāye
Nand.		(M) nātikā		ayisamti jīvitā ayisamti jīvitā	
Rām.		(M) nātikā		的水果水源。1995年,第18日 1995年 1995年	DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY OF THE
All.		(M)[k]ā	va kāni nijhap		AND THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF
-			та прикр	ayisamti jīvitā	iye
Top.	tānam nāsamtam	vā nijhapayi	ā dānam	dāhamti pāla	tikam
Mīr.		v]ā ni			tikam
Ar.		ra nijhapayi			
Nand.		a nijhapayi			tikam
Rām.	ABOUT THE STATE OF	a nijhapayi			tikam
All.		ā nijhapayi			tikam tikam
Top.	upavāsam va kachha		chhā hi me	hevam niludhas	si pi
Mīr.	u[pa]vāsam vā k[a]	(N).		hevam niludhas	Un hazara Alaka ana
Ar.	upavāsam va kachha			hevam niludhas	
Nand.	upavāsam va kachha			nevam niludhas	
Rām.	upavāsam va kachha			hevam niludhas	
All.	upavāsam vā [ka]chl	na[m]ti (N) .		nevam niludhas	the state of the s
					THE RESERVE AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF THE

224 NO	SYNOPTICAL TEXTS	1
निय भारिका निर्मा	kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (0) janasa cha vadhati vividhe	
Mīr.	[k]ālasi pā[la]tam ālādha[ye] vadhati vividhe	
Ar.	kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha va[dha]ti vividhe	
Nand.	[kālas]i pālatam ālādhayevū t[i] (0) janasa cha vadhati vividhe	
Rām.	kālasi pālatam ālādhayevū ti (0) janasa cha vadhati vividhe	
All.	kālasi pālatam ālādhayev[u] (O) janasa cha vadhati vividhe	
Tōp.	dhamma-chalane samyame dāna-savibhāge ti	
Mīr.	dhamma-chal[a]ne samyame dā[na]	
Ar.	dha[m]ma-chalane sayame dana-samvibhage ti	
Nand.	dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti	
Rām.	dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti	
All.	dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge	
	FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT	
Tōp.	(A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam ahā (B) saduvīsati-vasa-abhisitena	
Ar.	(A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitasa	
Nand.	(A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitasa	
Rām.	(A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lāja hevam āha (B) saduvīsati-[va]sābhisitena	
All.	(A) [p]iye Piyadasī lājā hevam āhā (B) saduvīsati-vasābhisitena	
*	- International designations of the control of the	
Tōp.	me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā suke sālikā alune	
Ar.	me imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālika alune	
Nand.	me imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālika alune me imāni pi jātāni ayadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālika alune	
Rām.		
All.	me imāņi jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālikā alune	
Tōp.	chakavāke hamse namdīmukhe gelāțe jatūkā ambā-kapīlikā daļī	
Ar.	chakavāke hamse namdīmukhe gelāțe jatūka ambā-kapilika duļi	
Nand.	chakavāke hamse namdīmukhe gelāte jatūka ambā-kapilika duļi	
Rām.	chakavāke hamse namdīmukhe gelāțe jatūka ambā-kapilika duļi	
All.	chaka[v]āke [namdī]m[u]khe gelāţe jatūk[ā] ambā-kipilikā dudī	
Top.	anathika-machhe vedaveyake Gamgā-puputake samkuja-machhe kaphat[a]-	
Ar.	anathika-machhe vedaveyake Gamgā-pupuṭake samkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-	
Nand.	anathika-machhe vedaveyake Gamga-puputake samkuja-machhe kaphata-	
Rām.	anathika-machhe vedaveyake Gamgā-pupuṭake samkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-	
All.	anathika-machhe vedaveyake Gamgā-p[u]p[u]take samkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-	
Tōp.	sayake pamna-sase simale samdake okapimde palasate seta-kapote	
Ar.	seyake pamna-sase simale samdake okapimde palasate seta-kapote	
Nand.	seyake pamna-sase simale samdake okapimde palasate seta-kapote	
Rām.	seyake pamna-sase simale samdake okapimde palasate seta-kapote	
All.	k[e] p[a]mna-sase simale samda [ta]-kapote	
Tōp.	Same rapose	
Ar.	Sama rapore	
Nand.	game kapoto	
Rām. All.	gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭ[i]bhogam [no]	
2100.	Same rebote offile energhales to bailtlandant fand	

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

	THE THE PROPERTY OF
Top.	khādiyatī (C) i [e]ļakā chā sūkalī chā gabhinī va pāyamīnā
Ar.	khādiy[a]ti (C) ajakā nāni edakā cha sukalī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā
Nand.	khādiyati (C) ajakā nāni edakā cha sūkalī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā
Rām.	khādiyati (C) ajakā nāni eļakā cha sūkalī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā
All.	rie 1
Au.	
Top.	va avadhi[y. p.ta]ke pi cha kāni āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukuțe
Mīr.	[potake pi cha] k[ā]n[i] ke (D) [vadh]i-kukuţe
Ar.	va avadhya potake cha kāni āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe
Nand.	
Räm.	
Rum.	va avadhya potake cha kāni āsammāsike (D) vadhi-kukuțe
Töp.	no kataviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpetaviye (F) dāve anathāye vā
Mīr.	no kataviye (E) tuse sajī[ve]
Ar.	no kataviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anathāye va
Nand.	
Rām.	
All.	sajīve no jhā[pa]
Töp.	vihisāye vā no jhāpetaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye
Mīr.	vihisāye vā no [jhāpe]ta[vi]ye (G) jī[v]ena j[īv]e no pusi[ta]viye
Ar.	
Nand.	
Rām.	vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye
Tōp.	(H) tīsu chātummāsīsu tisāyam pumnamāsiyam timni divasāni
Mīr.	(H) tīsu chātammāsīsu [t]isāya[m] pu[mna]mā[si]ya[m] timni divasāni
Ar.	(H) tīsu chātummāsīsu tisyam pumnamāsiyam timni divasāni
Nand.	(H) tīsu chātummāsīsu tisiyam pumnamāsiyam timni divasāni
Rām.	(H) tīsu chātummā[s]īsu tisyam pumnamāsiyam timni divasāni
All.	
Tōp.	chāvudasam pamnadasam patipadāy[e] dhuvāye chā anuposatham
Mīr.	chāvudasam pamnadasam p[a]tipadā dh[r]uvāye cha anuposatham
Ar.	chāvudasam pamnalasam patipadam dhuvāye cha anuposatham
Nand.	chāvudasam pamnaļasam paṭipadam dhuvāye cha anuposatham
Rām.	chāvudasam pamnadasam paṭipadam dhuvāye cha anuposatham
All.	chā[v]u[da]sam [pa]mcha[da]
Tōp.	machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā divasāni nāga-
Mīr.	machhe avadhiye no pi viketav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ga-
Ar.	machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-
Nand.	
Rām.	
Aum.	machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-
Tōp.	vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no hamtaviyāni
Mīr.	van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi y[āni amnāni] pi jīva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]mtaviyānī
Ar.	vanasi kevata-bhogasi yani amnani pi jiva-nik[a]yani no hamtaviyani
Nand.	
Rām.	
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Top.	(3) athamī-pakhāye chāvudasāye pamnadasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu
Mīr.	(7) atham[i-pakhā]ye [chā]vudasāye pam[na]dasāye tisāye punāvasune tīšu
Ar.	
Nand.	
Rām.	
Kam.	(F) athami-pakhāye chāvudasāye pamnadasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu
Töp.	chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake edake sūkale
Mir.	chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitavi[y]e ajake eļake sūkale
Ar.	chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eļake sūkale
Nand.	chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eļake sūkale
Rām.	chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake elake sūkale
Top.	e vā pi amne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune
Mīr.	e vā pi am[n]e nī[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]
Ar.	e vā pi amne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune
Nand.	e vā pi amne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune
Rām.	e vā pi amne nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune
Töp.	chātummāsiye chātummāsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane no kaṭaviye
Mīr.	chātummāsiye chātu[m]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane no[v]iye
Ar.	chātummāsiye chātummāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kaṭaviye
Nand.	chātummāsiye chātummāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kaṭaviye
Rām.	chāturhmāsiye chāturhmāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane no kataviye
All.	[lakha]n[e no kaṭaviye]
Töp.	(L) yāva-saduvīsati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye amtalikāye pamnavīsati
Mir.	(L) yā[va]-saduvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye a[m]talikāye pamnavīsati
Ar.	(L) yāva-saduvīsati-vasābhisitasa me etāye amtalikāye pamnavīsati
Nand.	(L) yāva-saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye pamnavīsati
Rām.	(L) yāva-saduvīsati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye pamnavīsati
All.	(Z) [y]ā
Töp.	bamdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
Mir.	bamdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
Ar.	bamdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
Nand.	bamdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
Rām.	bamdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni
	CIVILI DILIAD EDICT

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

Töp.	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	ahā	(B) duvādasa-
Ar.	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(B) duvā[da]sa-
Nand.	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam '	āha	(B) duva[la]s[a]-
	(A) Devānampiye	Piyadasi	lāja	hevam	āha	(B) duvādasa-
All.	(A) [p]iye	e [P]iyada[s]ī	l[ā].			gas character to the N
Tōb.	vasa-abhisitena m	e dhamma-lini	likhānit	ā lokasā	hita-	sukhāve se tam

Top.	vasa-abhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpitā	lokasä	hita-sukhāye	se	tam
Ar.	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	tam
Nand.	[va]sābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	tam
Rām.	vasābhisitena	me	dhamma-lipi	likhāpita	lokasa	hita-sukhāye	se	tam

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

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Top.	ap	ahațā	i tai	n tam	dhamma-	vadhi	pāpovā	i (C)	hevam	loka	sā	hita-
Ar.	ap	ahața	ta:	n tam	dhamma-	vadhi	pāpova	(C)	hevam	loka	sa	hita-
Nand.	ap	ahaţa	tai	in tam	dhamma-	vadhi 1	pāpova	(C).	hevam	loka	sa	hita-
Rām.	ap	ahața	tai	in tain	dhamma-	vadhi	pāpova	i (C)	hevam	lok[a	a]sa	hita-
All.	•		. t[a	m]		[dh]i [[pā]	(C)	heva[m	loka	sa]	hita-
Töp.	SANTON COMPANY	khe]		paţivekhā		iyam	nātis		CHEST SECURITION AND AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF THE PART	atiyāsa		1
Ar.		khe	ti	pativekhär		iyam -	nātis		第5天47年前共和共共2000年	atyāsar		
Nand.		khe	ti	pativekhār		iyam	nātis			atyäsan		
Rām.		khe	ti	paţivekhā		iyam	nātis		CONTRACTOR OF STREET	atyāsan		
All.	su	khe	ti	paţivekhā	ni atha	[iya]m		[1	a]in [p	aty]āsa	a[m]ne	e[su]
*												
Tōp.		vam	A CONTRACT ON THE CONTRACT	cathesu	kimam	kāni		kham	avahām		tatha	cha
Ar.		vam		kathesu	kimman			kham	āvahān		tathā	cha
Nand.		vain		kathesu	kimmam			kham	āvahām		tathā	cha
Rām.		varh	CHARLES AND ASSESSMENT	kathesu	kimman			kham	āvahām	iī ti	tathā	cha
All.	[he	eva]ri	apai	ca[th]e[su]	kimam	[k]ā[r	n] :	1000				
Top.	vic	lahān	ni (D) hemevā	sava	-nikāyes	su n	ativekh	āmi (E) sava-	กลียลท่	rdā
Ar.		tahān		D) hemeva		-nikāyes	PARKET VICTOR RADY TO THE PROPERTY.		āmi (E			
Nand.		lahän	A SHOW THE REAL PROPERTY AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY AND ADDRESS OF THE PA	D) hemeva		-nikāyes			āmi (E			
Rām.		lahān	DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY OF THE	D) hemeva		-n[i]kāy			āmi (E			
All.		i[dah		D) hevami		va[k]ā	ALE CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF		āmi (E			
Töp.	pi	me	pūjitā	vividhāya	n pūjāyā	(F) e	chu i	yam	at[a]nā	pachū	pagan	nane
Mīr.					Frequency .					. ü	pagan	nane
Ar.	pi	me	pūjita	vividhāya	a pūjāya	(F) e	chu i	yam	atana	pachū	pagan	nane
Nand.	pi	me		vividhāy		(F) e	chu i	yam	atana	pachū	pagan	nane
Rām.	pi			vividhāy:			chu i		atana	pachū		
All.	pi	me	pūjitā	vividhāya	ı [pū]jāyā	(F) e	chu i	y[a]m	atanā	pachu	pagan	nane
Töp.	se	me	mok	hya-mate	(G) sadu	vīsati-va	sa-abh	isitena	me	iyam	dhan	ıma-
Mīr.	se	me		hya-mate	(G) sadu				me	iyam	dhan	
Ar.	se	me		hya-mute	(G) sadu				me	iyam	dham	
Nand.	se	me		hya-mute	(G) sadu					iyam	dham	
Rām.	se	me		hya-mute	(G) sadu					iyam	dham	
All.	se	me		hya-mute	(G) .							
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Top. lipi likhāpitā
Mīr. li[pi] li.....
Ar. lipi likhāpita
Nand. lipi likhāpita
Rām. lipi likhāpita
All. lipi likhāpitā ti





IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION AND COGNATE INSCRIPTIONS

Rūp. Sah. Bair. Mas. Brah. Sidd. Jat.	(A) Devānampiye heva[m] āhā (B) sāti[ra]kekāni aḍhati[y]āni (A) Devānāmpiye he[vam ā] [iyāni] (A) Devānāmpiye āh[ā] (B) s[ā]ti
Rūp. Sah. Bair. Mas. Brah. Sidd. Jat.	va ya sumi prakāsa [Sa]k[e] (C) no chu bāḍhi [savachhalāni a]ṁ upāsake sumi (C) na chu bāḍhaṁ vasān[i] ya hakaṁ upāsake (C) [no chu] bāḍhaṁ vashā[ni] aṁ sum[i] Bu[dha]-Śake v[a]sāni ya hakaṁsa[ke] (D) no tu kho bāḍhaṁ vasāni ya ha[kaṁ u]pāsake (D) no tu kho bāḍhaṁ vasāni ya hakaṁ (D) kho bāḍha
Rūp. Sah. Bair. Mas. Brah. Sidd. Ja!.	pakate [palaka]m[t]e (C) [t]ire . prakamte husam ekam savachharam (E) sātireke tu kho pakamte husam ek[am] sa[vachha] . (E) [sātire]ke tu kho (E) ti[reke]
Rūp. Sah. Bair. Mas. Brah. Śidd. Jaṭ.	chhavachhare ya sumi haka[m] sagh[a] up[e]te bāḍhi ch[a] sādhi[ke i am] am mamayā saghe [u]payāte [bā]ḍha cha [m]i [s]amgha[m] u[pa]gate [uṭh] samvachharem yam mayā samghe upayīte bāḍham cha samvachhare [yam mayā sam]ghe upayīte bāḍham [cha] [yā]
Rūp. Sah. Bair. Mas. Brah. Sidd. Jat.	pakate (E) yā [i]māya kālāya Jambudipasi [te] (E) [etena cha amta]lena i Jambudīpasi i Jambudīpasi i Jambudipasi Jambudipasi Jambu s[i] me pakamte (F) iminā chu kālena amisā samānā [me] p[akam]te (F) i[m]inā chu kālena [a]misā samā[nā]

MILITA OF INDIA.	RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION, ETC. 22
Rup.	amisā devā husu te dāni m[i]s[ā] kaṭā
Sah.	ammisam-[de]vā i samta munisā [m]isam-deva [kaṭā i]
Bair.	amisā na devehi [m]i
Mas. Brah.	[ye amisā devā husu] te [dā]n[i] misibhūtā munisā Jambudīpasi mis]ā devehi
Sidd.	munisā Jambudīpasi mi[s]ā devehi mu Jambu[d] [mi]sā devehi
Fat.	ind Jamedaj
Rūp.	(F) pakamasi hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha esā mahatatā
Sah.	(F) [pala] [iyam phale] (G) [no] [yam] mahatatā va
Bair.	(F) [ka]masa esa l[e] (G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]taneva
Mas.	(E) iya $a[the]$
Brah.	(G) pakamasa hi iyam phale (H) no hīyam sakye
Sidd.	(G) pakamasa hi iyam phale (H) no [h]i iya sake
Faț.	(G) [h]i i[yath]
Rūp.	p[a]potave khudakena pi
Sah. Bair.	chakiye pāv[a]t[a]ve1 khudakena pi
Mas.	chakiye
Brah.	mahātpeneva pāpotave kāmam tu kho khudakena pi
Śidd.	[ma][ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmam tu kho khudakena pi
Fat.	
Rūp.	pa[ka]mam[i]nenā sakiye pipule pā svage ārodheve
Sah.	palakamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]ag[k]iye [ālā] [ve i]
Bair.	kamaminenā vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādheta[v]e
Mas.	dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevam dakhitaviye
Brah.	paka[m]i nena vipule svage sakye ārādhetave
Sidd.	[pa]na [v]ipul[e] , svage sak[e] ārādhetave
Fat.	
Rūp.	(H) etiya athāya cha sāvane kate kh[u]dakā cha
Sah.	(H) se etāye aṭh[ā]ye iyam sāvāne i khudakā cha
Bair. Mas.	(H) kā cha [uḍā]lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha]
Brah.	(I) e[t]āyaṭhāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe sāvāpite
Śidd.	(I) [s]e ya [iya]m sāvaņe sāvite yathā khu[dakā cha]
Fat.	
Rüp.	udālā cha pakamatu ti atā pi cha jānamtu
Sah.	udālā chā pa[la]kamamtu amtā pi ch[a] jānamtu i
Bair.	[u]d[a]la cha [pala]kamatu [t]i [am]ta pi cha jānamtu ti
Mas.	[ud]ālake cha vataviyā hevam ve kalamtam bha[dak]e
Brah.	mahāt[p]ā cha imam pakame[yu t]i amtā cha mai jāneyu
Śidd.	[ma]hātpā cha imam [pa]kameyu ti atā cha
Tat	





Rūp. Sah.	iya paka[rā va] kiti chira-thitike siyā (I) iya hi athe chila-thit[īke] cha p[a][ā]kame hotu i (I) iya[m] cha [athe]
Bair.	[ch]ila-thit
Mas.	[se a] t[i]k[e] cha
Brah.	chira-thitike cha iyam [paka] (3) iyam cha athe
Sidd.	[chira]-thi[t]īk[e] cha iyam pakame hoti (ຯ)
Fat.	[cha]
的是在这些影響和	vadhi vadhisiti vipula cha vadhisiti
Sah.	vadhisati vipulam pi cha vadhisati diyadhiyam
Bair.	vadhisati
Mas. Brah.	va[dhi]siti chā diya[dhi]yam vadhisiti vipulam pi cha vadhisiti
Sidd.	vadhisiti vipulam pi cha vadhisiti va[dh]isiti vipu[la]m p[i] cha vadhisiti
Jat.	. [dhi]s [p]ulam pi
July.	··[duile [b]main br · · ·
Rūp.	apaladhiyenā diyadhiya vadhisata (3) iya cha athe pavatis[u]
Sah.	aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]dhiyam vadhisati (L) ima cha atham pavatesu
Bair.	diyadhiyam vadhi[sa]ti
Mas. Brah.	he[vam] ti
Sidd.	avaradhiyā diyadhiyam [vadh]isiti [a][yadhiya]m vadhisiti
Fat	tvo innivom
Fat.	· · · · . [ya]ḍhiyaṁ · · · · ·
Rüp.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā-
Rüp.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i
Rūp. Sah. Rūp.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-thaṁ[bh]ā tata ṭha[ṁ]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār. Rūp. Sār.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-thaṁ[bh]ā tata ṭha[ṁ]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti cha tuphākaṁ āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār. Rūp. Sār.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-thaṁ[bh]ā tata ṭha[ṁ]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti cha tuphākaṁ āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane kaṭe
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār. Rūp. Sār.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-thaṁ[bh]ā tata ṭha[ṁ]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti cha tuphākaṁ āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane kaṭe (Y) iyaṁ [cha savane v]ivuthena (K) duve sapaṁnā
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār. Rūp. Sār. Rūp. Sār.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-ṭhaṁ[bh]ā tata ṭha[ṁ]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti cha tuphākaṁ āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyaṁjanena (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane kaṭe (Y) iyaṁ [cha savane v]ivuthena (K) duve sapaṁnā (K) iyaṁ cha sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār. Rūp. Sār. Rūp. Sār. Sidd.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-th[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata tha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti cha tuphākam āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyamjanena (M) vy[u]thenā sāvane kaţe (Y) iyam [cha savane v]ivuthena (K) duve sapamnā (K) iyam cha sāvan[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena (K) i[ya]m [cha] sā[va]ne
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār. Rūp. Sār. Rūp. Sah. Brah. Śidd. Jaţ.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-th[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata tha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti cha tuphākam āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyamjanena (M) vy[u]thenā sāvane kate (Y) iyam [cha savane v]ivuthena (K) duve sapamnā (K) iyam cha sāvan[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena (K) i[ya]m [cha] sā[va]ne (K) i s[āvaņe] [th]e[na]
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār. Rūp. Sār. Rūp. Sah. Brah. Śidd. Jat. Rūp.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-th[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata tha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti cha tuphākam āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyamjanena (M) vy[u]thenā sāvane kaţe (Y) iyam [cha savane v]ivuthena (K) duve sapamnā (K) iyam cha sāvan[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena (K) i[ya]m [cha] sā[va]ne (K) i s[āvane] [th]e[na]
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār. Rūp. Sār. Rūp. Sah. Brah. Śidd. Jat. Rūp. Sah.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-th[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata tha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti cha tuphākam āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyamjanena (M) vy[u]thenā sāvane kaţe (Y) iyam [cha savane v]ivuthena (K) duve sapamnā (K) iyam cha sāvan[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena (K) i[ya]m [cha] sā[va]ne [th]e[na] (V) 200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta lāti-satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār. Rūp. Sār. Rūp. Sah. Brah. Śidd. Jat. Rūp. Sah. Brah.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-ṭhaṃ[bh]ā tata ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi [likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti cha tuphākam āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyamjanena (M) vy[u]ṭhenā sāvane kaṭe (I) iyam [cha savane v]ivuthena (I) duve sapamnā (I) iyam [cha sāvan[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena (I) i[ya]m [cha] sā[va]ne (I) i s[āvane] [th]e[na] (I) 200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta lāti-satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6
Rūp. Sah. Rūp. Sah. Sār. Rūp. Sār. Rūp. Sah. Brah. Śidd. Jat. Rūp. Sah.	lekhāpeta vālata (K) hadha cha athi sālā-th[abh]e silā- [likhāpa]yāthā (M) ya [vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata tha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta (L) etinā cha vayajanenā yāvataka pi likhāpayatha t]i (I) āvate tupaka ahāle savara vivasetavā[ya] ti cha tuphākam āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyamjanena (M) vy[u]thenā sāvane kaţe (Y) iyam [cha savane v]ivuthena (K) duve sapamnā (K) iyam cha sāvan[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthena (K) i[ya]m [cha] sā[va]ne [th]e[na] (V) 200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta lāti-satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6



INDEX

This index contains every word of Aśōka's inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (cha, pi, $v\bar{a}$, hi). Of the six pillar-edicts, only the Delhi-Tōprā version is quoted; but one of the five other copies of these edicts is referred to if the reading of one or more of them differs from the standard text. The following abbreviations are employed:

Gir. = Girnār.
Kāl. = Kālsī.
Sbāh. = Shābbāzgarhī.
Mān. = Mānsehrā.
Dhau. = Dhauli.
Jau. = Jaugaḍa.
Sep. = Separate edicts (of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa).
Sōp. = Sōpārā.
Tōp. = Delhi-Tōprā.

Mīr. = Delhi-Mirath.
Ar. = Lauriyā-Ararāj.
Nand. = Lauriyā-Nandangarh.
Rām. = Rāmpurvā.
All. = Allahabad-Kōsam.
Qu. = Queen's edict.
Kauś. = Kauśāmbī edict.
Sām. = Sāmchī.
Sār. = Sāmath.
Rum. = Rummindēī.

Nig. = Nigālī Sāgar.
Rūp. = Rūpnāth.
Sah. = Sahasrām.
Bair. = Bairāt.
Calc. = Calcutta-Bairāt.
Mas. = Maski.
Brah. = Brahmagiri.
Śidd. = Śiddāpura.
Jat. = Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.
Bar. = Barābar.

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ath[r]a Shah. VI, 14. athrasa Shāh. IX, 19. adha-[kos]ikyāni Top. VII, 23. adhati y ani Rup. 1; Mas. 1 f. adhātiyāni Brah. 2; Sidd. 4. ananiyam Man. VI, 31. anatra Mān. X, 9. anapayami Shah, VI, 14. anapayit le Man. III, 9. [aṇapa]yiśa[ti] Mān. III, 11. aṇapita Mān. VI, 29. anapita[m] Shāh. III, 5, VI, 15. anapemi Shāh. VI, 15; Mān. VI, 28. anapeśamti Shāh. III, 7. anamanasa Mān. XII, 6. ane Man. VIII, 37, IX, 5. ata (= atra) Kal. XIV, 22. ata (= antāh) Mān. II, 5. ata (= yatra) Kāl. XIII, 6; Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3; Tōp. VII, 32. atata Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3. a[ta]tā Kāl. II, 5, 6. atana Ar. VI, 4; Rum. 2; Nig. 3. at[a]nā Top. VI, 8. atane Dhau. Sep. I, 25; Jau. Sep. I, 12. ata-patiye Töp. IV, 4, 14. ata-paśada-pujā Kāl. XII, 31. ata-pashada Mān. XII, 4 ata-pashada-vadhi Shah. XII, o. ata-pāśada Kāl. XII, 32. ata-pāśadā Kāl. XII, 32. ata-pāshamda Kāl. XII, 33 ata-pāsham da]-bhatiyā Kāl. XII. ata-pāsharida-vadhi Kāl. XII, 35. ata-pāshamdashi Kāl. XII, 33. ata-p[rashamda] Shāh. XII, 4. ata-prashamdam Shah. XII. 4, 6. ata-prashamda-puja Shāh. XII, 3. ata-prashadam Shah. XII, 5, 6. ata-prashada-puja Mān. XII, 3 ata-prashada-bhatiya Shāh. XII, 5. ataye (read etaye) Shah. IX, 18. atara Shāh. V, 11. ataram Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. IV, 12, VI, 26, VIII, 34. atā (for amtā) Rūp. 3; Śidd. 12. atā (= atra) Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 2. [a]tā (= yatra) Kāl. II, 5, 6. atānam Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Jau. Sep. atikamtam Kāl. IV, 9, V, 14, VI, 17, VIII, 22; Dhau. IV, 1, V, 3, VI, 1, VIII, 1; Jau. IV, 1, VI, 1; Tōp. VII, 11, 15. atikātam Gir. IV, 1, V, 3, VIII, 1. atikāmayisati Dhau. Sep. I, 24. atikratam Shāh. IV, 7, V, 11, VI, 14, VIII, 17; Man. IV, 12, V, 21, VI, 26, VIII, 34. atikrāt[a]m Gir. VI, 1. atiyāyike Kāl. VI, 19; Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3. Atiyok[e]na Shāh. XIII, 9. Atiyoge Kāl. XIII, 6; Mān. II, 6. -atileke Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. [atulana] Jau. Sep. I, 6. a tū la nā Dhau. Sep. I, 12.

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-atha- Gir. X, 1; Kāl. X, 27.
atha-kamme Gir. VI, 2. athamhi Gir. IV, 10. athashä Kāl. XIV, 22. athasa Gir. IV, 11, IX, 6, XIV, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 2. atha-samtīraņā Gir. VI, 10. atha-samtīraņāya Gir. VI, 9. athasā Kāl. IV, 12, 13, IX, 26. [a]thas[i] Jau. Sep. II, 12. athā (for athāya) Gir. XII, 9. athā (= yathā) Kāl. II, 4, XII, 31, 34; Dhau. II, 1, III, 2, Sep. I, 5, II, 7, 8; Jau. II, 1, III, 2, Sep. I, 12, II, 10; Top. IV, 10; Ar. VI, 3.
-athā Top. VII, 24. -[a]thāta Bar. III, 3. athāya Gir. III, 3, IV, 11, V, 9, VI, 7, 12, XIII, 11. -athāya Gir. I, 9, 11. athāye Kāl. IV, 12; Jau. Sep. II, athiaye Kat. 17, 13, 134, 14; Tōp. VII, 31, 26, XIV, 19, 20, 21; Dhau. IX, 1, 5, XIV, 1, 2, Sep. I, 8; Jau. I, 2, XIV, 1; Tōp. VII, 32; Rūp. 4; Sah. 7 f. athe Gir. VI, 4, 5. athra Man. VI, 27, 28. -athra- Mān. X, 9. athram Man. IX, 7, 8. athra-[krama] Man. VI, 27. athraye Man. III, 10, IV, 18, V, 26, VI, 29, 31, XII, 8, XIII, 12.
-a[thra]ye Mān. I, 4.
athrasa Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 17, 18, IX, 6, XIV, 14. ath[r]a-sa[m]tiranaye Man. VI, 29. athra-satirana Man. VI, 30. athre Man. IX, 8. ada (= atra) Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 35. ada (= yadā) Jau. Sep. I, 12. adamānas[ā] Kāl. VI, 17. adā Dhau. I, 4, Sep. I, 24; Jau. I, 4. adikare Mān. V, 19. a[dikaro] Shāh. V, 11. [a]diśe Mān. IV, 14, XI, 12. adisha Kāl. XI, 29. Adha-[Pa].... Man. XIII, 10. [Adha]-P[a]lade[sh]u Kal.XIII, 10. adhikāni Brah. 2; Śidd. 4. adhigachh[e]yā Mas. 6. adhigatave Mas. 5. adhigichya Calc. 6. -adhithanaye Shah. V, 12; Man. V, 22.

-adhithanaye Kal. V, 15; Dhau. V, 4; Jau. V, 4.
-adhithane Dhau. V, 7 -[adhi]yaksha- Shāh. XII, 9. -adhiyakha- Kāl. XII, 34. -adhistānāya Gir. V, 4. adhuna Shāh. XIII, 2; Mān. XIII, 2. adhunā Gir. XIII, 1; Kāl. XIII, 35. ana Top. III, 22. anamtam Kāl. IX, 26, 27; Shāh. IX, 20; Man. XI, 14. anamtariyena Shah. VI, 14, 15. anam[ta]l[i]yenā Kāl. VI, 19. ana ga ho (read anugaho) Gir. IX, 7. anathaye Top. V, 10. anathika-machhe Top. V, 4. ananiyam Shah. VI, 16. anata (for anamtam) Kāl. XI, 30; Mān. IX, 8. ana[ta] (= anyatra) Kāl. X, 28. anatam Shāh. XI, 24. a na taliyena Mān. VI, 29. anatā Kāl. VI, 21, X, 27. ana[tra] Mān. X, 11.
-anatha Kāl. XII, 32.
anatheshu Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 23. anathesu Kāl. V, 15. [a]naniyam Kāl. VI, 20. ana n e Dhau. Sep. II, 6; Jau. Sep. II, 8. anap a yisamti Kal. III, 8. anarambho Shāh. III, 6, IV, 8, XI, 24. anarabhe Mān. III, 11, IV, 14, XI, Anāgata-bhayāni Calc. 5. anāthesu Dhau. V, 5. anārambho Gir. III, 5, IV, 5f., anālambhāye Töp. VII, 31. anālambhe Kāl. III, 8, IV, 10, XI, 30; Dhau. III, 3, IV, 4; Jau. III, 3, IV, 4. anā vā sasi All. Kauś. 4; Sām. 6 f. [a]na[v]uti[ya] Jau. Sep. I, 6. anāvūtiya Dhau. Sep. I, 11. anāsulope Dhau. Sep. I, 12; Jau. Sep. I, 6. anukampati Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Jau. Sep. II, 10. anugahinevu Top. IV, 6. anugahe Dhau. IX, 5; Jau. IX, 5; Top. II, 13. -anugahe Dhau. IX, 6; Jau. IX, 5. -anugaho Gir. IX, 7 a[nu]chātummāsam Dhau. Sep. II, 10; Jau. Sep. II, 15. anutape Shāh. XIII, 7; XIII, 8. anutisam Jau. Sep. I, 9. anudiva[sa] Mān. I, 4. anudivasam Gir. I, 8; Kal. I, 3; Jau. I, 3: anudivaso Shāh. I, 2. a[nuna]ya[ti] Mān. XIII, 8. anunija(jha)peti Shāh. XIII, 7. 1613

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-anusasti Shāh. VIII, 17, XIII, 2, 10; Mān. VIII, 36, XIII, 2, 1,1. -anuśastiya Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, -anuśastiye Shāh. III, 6; Mān. III, -anushathi Kāl. XIII, 36, 10. anushaye Kāl. XIII, 36. anusamyanam Shāh. III, 6; Mān. III, TO. anusamyānam Gir. III, 2 f.; Kāl. III, 7 anusathi Dhau. Sep. I, 4, 14; Jau. Sep. I, 2, 7, II, 2. -anusathi Kal. VIII, 23, XIII, 12; Sõp. VIII, 8. -anusathini Top. VII, 20, 22. anusathiya Ar. I, 3. anusathiyā Top. I, 5.

-anusathiyā Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 4.
-anusathiye Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. III, 2. anusathī Dhau. Sep. I, 23, 26.
-anu[sath]ī Dhau. VIII, 3.
anusathe Dhau. VI, 4; Jau. VI, 4.
anusayānam Dhau. III, 2, Sep. I,
25; Jau. III, 2, Sep. I, 11, 12. -anusastim Gir. XIII, 9, 10. -anusastiya Gir. III, 3. -anusastiyā Gir. IV, 5. -anus a sti Gir. VIII, 4. -anusāsanam Gir. IV, 10; Kāl. IV, 12. -anusāsanā Dhau. IV, 6. anusāsāmi Dhau. Sep. II, 6; Jau. Sep. II, 8; Top. VII, 21. anusāsita(tu) Jau. Sep. II, 11. anusāsitu Dhau. Sep. II, 6, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 8. anusāsisamti Gir. IV, 9; Kāl. IV, 12; Dhau. IV, 6. anusochana Shāh. XIII, 2. anūp[a]tīpamne Top. VII, 28. ane Kal. XII, 34, XIII, 37. [anye] Jau. Sep. I, 5. apakathesu Top. VI, 5 apakaranasi Shāh. XII, 3; Mān. XII, 3. apakareyati Shāh. XIII, 7 apakaroti Gir. XII, 5; Shāh. XII, apakaroti Gir. XII, 5. 5; Mān. XII, 5. ap[a]k[a]l[a]naś[i] Kāl. XII, 32. apakaleti Kāl. XII, 32. [a]pag[r]atho Shāh. XIII, 5. apaghra(gra)tho Shāh. XIII, 6. apacha Shāh. V, 11. [a]pacham Gir. V, 2. apachāyitaviye Brah. 11; Śidd. 18. apachiti Gir. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25; Shāh. IX, 19; Mān. IX, 4; Jau. IX, 3 apatiye Kāl. V, 14; Mān. V, 20; Dhau. V, 2. -apadāna- Top. VII, 28. -apadāne Top. VII, 28. [apa]-pa[r]isav[e] Mān. X, 11. a[pa]-parisrave Gir. X, 3. apa-p[a]lā(li)shave Kāl. X, 28. apa-palisave Dhau. X, 3; Jau. X, 2. apa-phalam Gir. IX, 3; Shāh. IX, apa-phale Kāl. IX, 25; Mān. IX, 4; Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 3. apa-bhamdata Shah. III, 7. apa-bhamdatā Kāl. III, 8; Dhau. apa-bha[data] Mān. III, 11. apa-bhādatā Gir. III, 5. aparamta Shāh. V, 12. aparata Mān. V, 22. aparadhena Shāh. XIV, 14. . -aparadhena Gir. XIV, 6. apar[i]godhāya Gir. V, 6. aparisrave Shāh. X, 22. apalamtā Kāl. V, 15. apaladhiyenā Rūp. 4.
-apalādhena Kāl. XIV, 23. apalig[o]dha[ye*] Shah. V, 12.

apalibodhaye Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 23. -apalibodhaye Man. V, 23. apalibodhāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5. apa-vayata Shāh. III, 7; Mān. III, apavahe Kāl. XIII, 36; Mān. XIII, 3. apavaho Shāh. XIII, 3. apavāho Gir. XIII, 2. apa-viy[a]t[ā] Dhau. III, 3. [a]pa-v[i]yātā Kāl. III, 8. apav udha | Shah. XIII, 6. apavudhe Kāl. XIII, 35, 39; Shāh. XIII, 1; Mān. XIII, 7. apa-vyayatā Gir. III, 5. apahata Ar. VI, 2. apahatā Tōp. VI, 3. ap[ā]bādhatam Calc. 1. -apaye Dhau. Sep. I, 15; Jau. Sep. I, 8. apāsinave Top. II, II. api Gir. II, 2. apumnam Gir. X, 3. apuñam Shāh. X, 22. apu[ne] Mān. X, 11. apune Kāl. X, 28. -apekha Ar. I, 3. -apekhā Top. I, 6. aprakaranamhi Gir. XII, 3. aphal[usa]m Jau. Sep. I, II. aphāka Dhau. Sep. II, 7. [aph]ākā Dhau. Sep. II, 5. aphe Dhau. Sep. II, 7. a[ph]eni Jau. Sep. II, 10. [aphesu] Dhau. Sep. II, 4. aphesū Jau. Sep. II, 5. abaka-janika Mān. IX, 3. abaka-jani[yo] Kal. IX, 24. abadhasi Mān. IX, 2. abadhe Shāh. IX, 18. -abhikara Mān. V, 24. -abhikaro Shāh. V, 13. -[abhikā]le Kāl. V, 16. abhikhinam Calc. 7. abhipretam Calc. 8.

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abhiratana Shah. XIII, 5

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-abhisite Kāl. VIII, 22; Mān. VIII, 35; Dhau. VIII, 2; Bar. III, 2. -abhisitena Gir. III, 1, IV, 12, V, 4; Kāl. III, 7; Shāh. III, 5, IV, 10, V, 11; Mān. IV, 18, V, 21; Dhau. III, 1, V, 3; Jau. III, 1; Töp. I, 2, IV, 2, V, 2, 19, VI, 2, 9, VII, 31; Rum. 1; Nig. 1, 2 Nig. 1, 3.

-abhisitenā Kāl. IV, 13, V, 14; Bar. I, 1, II, 2. -abhisito Gir. VIII, 2; Shāh. VIII. -abhise(si)tena Man. III, 9.

abhiha(hā)le Rām. IV, 2. abhihāle Töp. IV, 3, 14. -abhīkāresu Gir. V, 7. -abhīkā[le] Dhau. V, 6. abhīta Ar. IV, 2, 6. abhītā Tōp. IV, 4, 12. abhīramakāni Gir. VIII, 2. abhuvasu Shāh. VIII, 17. abhyumnamisati Töp. VII, 21. abhyumnāmayeham Top. VII, 19. amisā Rūp. 2; Bair. 4; Mas. 4; Brah. 3; Šidd. 7.

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ayam Gir. I, 10, V, 8, 9, VI, 13, VIII, 3, IX, 4, XII, 9, XIII, 11, XIV, 1; Kāl. V, 15; Shāh. V, 13; Jau. Sep. I, 6. ayatiya Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X, 9.

ayatiye Kāl. X, 27. ayaputasa Brah. 1; Śidd. 1.

ayāya Gir. VIII, 2. ayi Shāh. V, 13, VI, 16, XIII, 8, 11, XIV, 13; Mān. I, 1, 4, V,

-ayeshu Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22 f. -ayesu Gir. V, 5; Kal. V, r5;

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-aram[bh]e Mān. IV, 12. -arambho Shāh. III, 6, IV, 7, 8, XI, 24.

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31. ara[bhitu] Shāh. I, 1; Man. I, 1. [ara]bh[iyamti] Mān. I, 4. [arabhi]yis[u] Shāh. I, 2. arabhiśamti Shah. I, 3. [arabh]isu Mān. I, 4. -arabhe Man. III, 11, IV, 14, XI,

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alune Top. V, 3. alochayitu Kāl. XIV, 23. alochayisu Kāl. IV, 13; Mān. IV,

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[ava]-kapa Shāh. IV, 9.

ava-kapam Shāh. V, 11; Mā 16, V, 20. ava[ta]ke Kāl. XIII, 39.

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-a[va]ye Mān. XIII, 2. avaradhiyā Brah. 7. aval[a]dhiyenā Sah. 6. -avaha Shah. X, 21. -avaham Man. X, 9. a[va]hasi Mān. IX, 2. avahāmī Tōp. VI, 6. avahe Shāh. IX, 18.

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avijitānam Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 4 f. avipabine Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān.

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avihisa Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14. avihisā Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 4;

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XIV, 3. asamāt[a]m Gir. XIV, 5. asā Kāl. VII, 21. asilasā Kāl. IV, 12. asīlasa Gir. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 7. asu Gir. XII, 7; Kāl. XIII, 15; Shāh. XIII, 11; Mān. XIII, 12. Asok[a]sa Mas. 1. astā(sti) Gir. IX, 7. asti Gir. I, 6, IX, 1, 6, XIV, 1, 2,

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asvasevu Dhau. Sep. II, 5.

asvāsanāye Dhau. Sep. II, 8, 10; Jau. Sep. II, 12, 14. asvāsa[n]iyā Jau. Sep. II, 9. aha Mān. III, 9, V, 19, IX, 1, XI, 12. aham Gir. VI, 11; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Man. VI, 28. ahati Shāh. III, 5, VI, 14, IX, 18. ahā Kāl. V, 13; Töp. III, 17, V, 1, VI, I. ahāpayitu Dhau. Sep. I, 25. ahāle Rūp. 5. ahini Kāl. IV, 12; Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 17. ahīni Dhau. IV, 7. ahīnī Gir. IV, 11. ahumsu Gir. VIII, 2. aho Gir. IV, 3; Kāl. IV, 9; Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13; Dhau. IV, 2.

ā Töp. II, 13. ā (=yā) Gir. II, 2; Dhau. Sep. II, 6; Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11. ā-k[a]pam Dhau. IV, 6. ā[kā]lena Tōp. VII, 27. ākālehi Tōp. VII, 29. -[āgama]- Bar. III, 3. -āgamā Gir. XII, 7. -āgā (read -āgamā) Kāl. XII, 34. āgācha Rum. 2; Nig. 3. [a]char[i]yasa Jat. 18. achariye Brah. 11; Sidd. 18, 20; Jat. 16, 18. āchāyi[ke] Gir. VI, 7. ājānitave Sār. 9. ā[j]īvikesu Top. VII, 25. [äjīvi]kehi Bar. I, 2, II, 4. ānapayāmi Gir. VI, 6. āñapayisati Gir. III, 6. ānapitam Gir. III, 1, VI, 8. āṇapayati Brah. 1. ātpa-pāsamdam Gir. XII, 4, 5, 6. ātpa-pāsamda-pūjā Gir. XII, 3 ātpa-pāsamda-bhatiyā Gir. XII, 6. ātpa-pāsamda-vadhī Gir. XII, 9. ātpa-pāsadam Gir. XII, 5. [ādikaro] Gir. V, 1. ādikale Kāl. V, 13. [ā]disā Kāl. IV, 10. ādise Dhau. IV, 3, IX, 6; Jau. IV, 3, IX, 5. anamnam Gir. VI, 11. ānamtaram Gir. VI, 8. ānamtaliyam Dhau. VI, 4; Jau. anamne Dhau. Sep. I, 14; Jau. Sep. I, 7. anatā Kal. XIII, 38. ananiyam Dhau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 17, ananeyam Jau. Sep. I, 9, II, 13. ānapayati All. Kauś. 1. ānapayāmi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3. anapayite Kal. III, 7, VI, 19. ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti Dhau. III, 3. ānapitā Tōp. VII, 22. ānapitāni Tōp. VII, 22. ānāp ayli. Dhau. III, 1.

ānāvāsasi Sār. 4. āni Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3. anugahikesu Top. VII, 25. [ā]parātā Gir. V, 5. āpalamtā Dhau. V, 4. āpānāmi Tōp. VII, 24. [āb]ādha. Dhau. IX, 1. -[ā]bādhatam Calc. 1. ābādhasi Kāl. IX, 24. ābādhesu Gir. IX, r. āyata Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2; Ar. IV, 2. -āyatan[ā]ni Töp. VII, 27. āyatā Top. IV, 3, VII, 22. ā[ya]tiye Jau. X, 1. -āy[ut]ike Jau. Sep. II, 12. -ārambho Gir. III, 5, IV, 1, 5 f., XI, 3.
-āradhī Gir. IX, 9. āradho Gir. XI, 4. ārabhare Gir. I, 11. ārabhitpā Gir. I, 3. ārabhisare Gir. I, 12. ārabhisu Gir. I, 9. ārādhayamtu Gir. VI, 12. ārādhetave Brah. 5; Sidd. 10. ārādhetu Gir. IX, 9. ārogiyam Brah. 1; Sidd. 3. ārodheve (read ārādhetave) Rūp. 3. -ālambhāye Tōp. VII, 31. āla[m]bhiyamti Jau. I, 4. ālam]bhiyisa[m]t[i] Dhau. I, 4. -ālambhe Kāl. III, 8, IV, 9, 10, XI, 30; Dhau. III, 3, IV, 1, 4, Sep. I, 22; Jau. III, 3, IV, 1, 4. [a]l[a]dhi Dhau. Sep. I, 15. -aladhi Dhau. Sep. I, 15; Jau. Sep. I, 8.
-ā[la*]dhi Jau. Sep. I, 8. āl adh ī Dhau. IX, 7. āladhe Kāl. XI, 30; Tōp. VII, 31. ālabhitu Kāl. I, 1; Dhau. I, 1; Jau. I, I. āla bh liyisamti Jau. I, 5. ālabhiyisu Dhau. I, 3; Jau. I, 3. ālabheham Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2. ālame All. Qu. 3. ālasiyena Dhau. Sep. I, 11. [āl]as[y]ē[na] Jau. Sep. I, 6. ālādhayamtū Dhau. VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6. ālādhayitave Dhau. IX, 7; Jau. IX, 6; Töp. IV, 10. ālādhayitu (read oyamtu) Kāl. VI, ālādhayisatha Dhau. Sep. I, 17, II, 9; Jau. Sep. II, 13. ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā Jau. Sep. I, 9. aladhayey[ū] Jau. Sep. II, 7 aladhayevu Ar. IV, 4; All. IV, 4. aladhayevu Dhau. Sep. II, 6; Tōp. IV, 8, 19. [ā]lādheta[v]e Bair. 6. ālopite Kāl. VI, 19; Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3, āva Gir. IV, 9, V, 2, IX, 6, XI, 3; Kāl. IX, 26; Dhau. IX, 5; Tōp. VII, 29; All. IV, 2. āva-kapam Kāl. IV, 12, V, 14; Dhau. V, 2.

āva-gamu[k]e Dhau. Sep. I, 61 Jau. Sep. I, 3. āvatake Calc. 2. āvate Sār. 9. -āvah[ā] Gir. X, 1. āvahāmī Ar. VI, 3. āvā Ar. IV, 7. -āvā (read -āvahā?) Kāl. X, 27. āvāsayiye All. Kauś. 4; Sār. 5. āvāha-vīvāhesu Gir. IX, 2. āvuti Top. IV, 15. -āvutike Dhau. Sep. II, 8. -ā[v]uti[ya] Jau. Sep. I, 6. -āvūtiya Dhau. Sep. I, 11. āsammāsike Tōp. V, 9. āsinava-gāmīni Tōp. III, 20. āsinave Top. III, 18. -āsinave Top. II, 11. -äsulope Dhau. Sep. I, 12; Jau. Sep. I, 6. āsulopena Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep. I, 5. āha Gir. III, 1, V, 1, VI, 1, IX, 1, XI, 1; Jau. Sep. II, 1; Ar. I, 1, II, 1, III, 1, IV, 1, V, 1, VI, 1; Brah. 9; Sidd. 4. -āhale Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. I, 8. āhā Kāl. III, 6, VI, 17, IX, 24; Dhau. III, 1, V, 1, VI, 1, IX, 1; Jau. III, 1, VI, 1, Sep. I, 1; Top. I, 1, II, 11, IV, 1, VII, 11, 14, 20, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31; Mīr. III, 1; All. V, 1; Sār. 6; Rūp. 1; Bair. 1; Calc. 1. [ā*]hā Kāl. XI, 29. āhāle Sār. 9.

I ia Shāh. V, 13, VI, 16, IX, 20;Mān. VI, 31, VIII, 34.ialoka Shāh. IX, 20, XI, 24. [i]aloki[ka] Mān. XIII, 13. ikam Sar. 7. ikā Sār. 6. ikike Sār. 8. ichha Shāh. XII, 7; Mān. XII, 6; Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 4, 5. ichhamti Kal. VII, 21; Shah. VII, 2; Mān. VII, 33; Dhau. VII, 1; Jau. VII, 1. ichhati Gir. VII, 1, 2, X, 2; Kāl.
VII, 21, X, 27, XIII, 3; Shāh.
VII, 1, X, 21, 22, XIII, 8;
Mān. VII, 32, X, 9, 10; Dhau.
VII, 1, X, 1; Jau. VII, 1, X, 1, Sep. II, 5. ichha[ti*] Kāl. X, 28. ichhā Gir. XII, 7; Kāl. XII, 33; Top. IV, 19; Sam. 7. ichhami Dhau. Sep. I, 2, 5, 6, II, 3; Jau. Sep. I, 1, 3, II, 1, 3; Calc. 6. ichhi]taye Jau. Sep. I, 5. ichhitaviye Dhau. Sep. I, 9, 11; Jau. Sep. I, 6; Top. IV, 14. ichhisu Top. VII, 12, 15. [i]tare Man. IX, 6. i ta le Kāl. IX, 26.

Gir. VI, 5, 13, IX, 7, 8, 9, XII, 6; Dhau. Sep. II, 4, 5, 7. ite Top. IV, x5. ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā Kāl. XII,

ithī Dhau. IX, 2. ithījhakha-mahāmātā Gir. XII, 9. ida Gir. XI, 3; Shāh. IX, 20. idam Gir. III, 1, IV, 8, 9, 11, 12; VI, 14, IX, 6, 8, XI, 2; XII, 3; Shāh. XIII, 3.

[i]dani Shāh. I, 2.

i[d]āni Kāl. I, 3. idha Gir. I, 2, VI, 12, XIII, 8, 9; Dhau. IV, 8.

inam (read iyam) Kāl. XII, 31. -ibhi[yes]u Dhau. V, 5. -ibheshu Shāh. V, 12. -ibhesu Kāl. V, 15. -ibhyeshu Mān. V, 23.

ima Shāh. IX, 19; Mān. IX, 6; Sah. 7; Mas. 6. imam Kāl. IV, 11, 12, IX, 26;

Shāh. IV, 9, 10, VI, 16, IX, 18, 19, 20, XI, 24, XII, 9; Man. IV, 16; Dhau. IV, 5, 6; Top. VII, 24; Calc. 8; Brah. 6; Sidd.

imamhi Gir. IV, 10. imaye Man. III, 10.

imasa Gir. IV, 11; Man. IV, 17;

Dhau. IV, 7, Sep. I, 16. imas[ā] Kāl. IV, 12, 13. imāni Top. III, 19, V, 2, VII, 30;

Calc. 4. imāya Gir. III, 3; Kāl. III, 7;

Rüp. 2. imāye Dhau. III, 2, V, 7.

iminā Gir. IX, 8, 9; Brah. 3; Sidd. 7

imisa Shah. III, 6, IV, 10. ime Gir. XIII, 5; Kāl. XIII, 38; Man. XIII, 6; Dhau. V, 7; Top. VII, 25, 26, 27; Brah. 10; Sidd.

iyo Shāh. XII, 2.

17; Jat. 14. imena Jau. IX, 6. imehi Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep.

I, 5.
iya Mān. VIII, 35; Rūp. 3, 4;
Mas. 4; Šidd. 8 f.

iyam Gir. I, r; Kāl. I, r, 3, III, 7, IV, 12, V, 16, 17, VI, 20, 21, VIII, 23, IX, 25, 26, XI, 30, XII, 35, XIII, 36, 4, 15, XIV, 19, II, 9, 10; Jau. I, 1, 4, III, 1, VI, 5, 6, 7, IX, 3, 4, Sep. I, 4, 6, 9, 10, II, 14, 15; Sop. VIII, 6; Top. I, 2, 9, II, 15, III, 17, 18, 21, IV, 2, VI, 4, 8, 10; VII, 28, 29, 30, 31; Mīr. III, 6; Sār. 5; Sah. 3, 4, 5, 6; Brah. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; Sidd. 8, 11, 13, 15; Jat. 7; Bar. I, 2, II, 2, III, 3. iyammana Tōp. III, 22. ilokachasa Gir. XI, 4. ilokikā Gir. XIII, 12. isāya Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep. I, 5. Isilasi Brah. r ; Sidd. 2. istrija(jha)ksha-mahamatra Man.

XII, 8. i[stridhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra Shāh.

XII, 9. isya Ar. III, 3. isyā Tōp. III, 20: iha Shāh. XIII, 8.

ukasā Top. I, 7. uga[chha](chhe) Dhau. Sep. I, 13. uchavucham Shah. IX, 18; Man.

IX, I. uchavucha-chhamdo Shāh. VII, 3. uchavucha-chhade Mān. VII, 33. uchavucha-rage Mān. VII, 33. uchavucha-rago Shāh. VII, 3. uchāvacham Gir. IX, 1, 2 uchāvacha-chhamdo Gir. VII, 2. uchāvacha-rāgo Gir. VII, 2. uchāvucham Kāl. IX, 24; Dhau.

uchāvucha-chhamdā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, T.

uchāvucha-lāgā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau.

VII, I. uchāvucha-lā[g]e Kāl. VII, 21. uchāvuchā-chh a]mde Kāl. VII, 21. Ujenite Dhau. Sep. I, 23. uthanas[i] Shāh. VI, 15; Mān. VI,

29. uthane Man. VI, 30. [uthānam] Mas. 3. uthān[a]sā Kāl. VI, 19.

uthānasi Dhau. VI, 4; Jau. VI, 4. uthāne Kāl. VI, 19; Dhau. VI, 5;

Jau. VI, 5. [ud]alake Mas. 5 f., 6. udālā Rūp. 3; Sah. 4; Bair. 6. uthanam Shāh. VI, 15. uthāy[ā] Jau. Sep. I, 7. udupānāni Kāl II, 6; Dhau. II, 4;

Jau. II, 4; Top. VII, 23. upakaroti Gir. XII, 4; Shāh. XII, 4; Mān. XII, 4.

upakaleti Kāl. XII, 32. u pa]gate Mas. 3. upaghāte Kāl. XIII, 37, 38. u paghato Gir. XIII, 4. Upatisa-pasine Calc. 5. -upadane Shāh. IX, 18. -upadaye Mān. IX, 2. upadahevu Ar. IV, 3. upadahevu Top. IV, upadanevu Top. IV, 5.
-upadane(ye) Kal. IX, 24. -upadāye Dhau. IX, 1; Jau. IX, 1. upadhāl[a]yeyū Calc. 7. [u]payāte Bair. 3. upayīte Brah. 3; Sidd. 6. upavāsam Top. IV, 18. upahamti Kāl. XII, 33; Shāh. XII,

6; Man. XII, 6. upahanāti Gir. XII, 6. upāsakā Sār. 7; Calc. 8. upāsakānamtikam Sār. 7.

upāsake Sah. 1; Bair. 2; Brah. 2; Šidd. 5. upāsikā Calc. 8. up[e]te Rup. r. ubalike Rum. 4 u[bha]y[e]sa Shāh. IX, 20. ubhayesam Kāl. IX, 26; IX, 8. uyanaspi Shāh. VI, 14; Mān. VI, 27. uyānasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2. uyānesu Gir. VI, 4 uyāma-lati Kāl. XIII, 18. -uvigina Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 5. [u]shate[na] Kāl. X, 29. ushutena Kāl. X, 28. usatena Gir. X, 4; Shāh. X, 22; Mān. X, 11; Dhau. X, 4; Jau. X, 3. usațeneva Mān. X, 11 usapāpite Rum. 3; Nig. 4. usāhena Ar. I, 3. usāhenā Top. I, 5. ustānam Gir. VI, 10. ustānamhi Gir. VI, 9.

e Kāl. V, 13, 14, 15, 16, IX, 26, X, 28, XII, 34, XIII, 36, 38; Shāh. XIII, 5; Mān. V, 25, IX, 6, X, 11, XII, 7, XIII, 5; Dhau. 6, X, II, XII, 7, XIII, 5; Dhau. II, 2, V, 2, 4, 6, 7, VI, 3, IX, 3, XIV, 3, Sep. I, 12, 13, 14, 22, II, 5; Jau. II, 1, 2, V, 7, VI, 3, XIV, 2, Sep. I, 7, II, 7; Tôp. V, 17, VI, 8, VII, 22; All. Qu. 2, 3; Sār. 3; Calc. 2, 3, 5. ekam Brah. 2; Sidd. 5. [e*]kam Shāh. V, II.

ek[a]k[e]na Jau. Sep. I, 9. ekachā Gir. I, 6. ekataramhi Gir. XIII, 5. ekatare Shāh. XIII, 6. ekatalash[i] Käl. XIII, 39. ekatia Shāh. I, 2. [eka]tiya Mān. I, 3

ekatiyā Kāl. I, 2; Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2.

ekadā Gir. XIV, 5. eka-deśam Shāh. VII, 3; Mān. VII, 33.

eka-desam Gir. VII, 2; Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau. VII, 2.

eka-pulise Dhau. Sep. I, 7, 8. eka-munise Jau. Sep. I, 4 ekunavīsati-vasā[bh]isi[t]e Bar. III, If.

eke Kāl. I, 4; Mān. I, 5; Jau. I, 4. ekena Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 10; Jau.

Sep. II, 16. eko Gir. I, 11. edakā Ar. V, 5. edake Tōp. V, 17. eta (=*itra) Gir. V, 3, VIII, 1, IX,

3, X, 4, XIV, 3. eta (= ētat) Gir. IX, 4, 5, XI, 3; Shāh. IV, 9, 10, IX, 18.

eta (= ētē) Shāh. I, 3.

etan Gir. X, 4; Shāh. IX, 19, XI, 23, 24, XIII, 6; Dhau. Sep. I, 7, 15, 16, 22, 25; Jau. Sep. I, 3, 7, 8, 10; Top. VII, 14, 19, 21, 31. etakaye Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X, 10. etakāya Gir. X, 2. etakāye Dhau. X, 2. etake Shāh. IX, 20. etakena Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, 11; Dhau. Sep. II, 6; Jau. Sep. II, 8. etakenā Kāl. XIII, 13: etadathā Top. VII, 24. [e]tani Mān. I, 5. etameva Tōp. VII, 23; Sār. 8, 9. etamhī Gir. IX, 2. etayam Gir. VIII, 3. etaye Shāb. IV, 10, V, 13, VI, 16, XII, 8, XIII, 11; Mān. III, 10, IV, 17, V, 26, VI, 31, IX, 2, XII, 8, XIII, 12. etarisam Gir. IX, 4. etaviye Dhau. Sep. I, 13; Jau. Sep. etasa Gir. XII, 9; Man. IV, 18; Dhau. Sep. I, 12; Jau. Sep. I, 8, etasi Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2, 6; Jau. Sep. II, 12. etā(ta)kā Jau. Sep. II, 5. etāni Kāl. I, 4; Jau. I, 4, Sep. I, 6; Top. V, 13; Calc. 6. etāya Gir. IV, 11, V, 9, VI, 12, XII, 8, XIII, 11. est ayathaya Brah. 5. etāyāthāye Kāl. XII, 34. etāye Kāl. III, 7, IV, 12, V, 16, IX, 24, XIII, 15; Dhau. IV, 7, VI, 6, IX, 2, Sep. I, 19, 21, 23, II, 8, 9; Jau. VI, 6, IX, 1, Sep. I, 10, II, 7, 13 f.; Töp. II, 14, V, 19, VII, 22, 31; Sah. 4. etāyeva Gir. III, 3. etārisam Gir. IX, 5, 7, XI, 1. etārisani Gir. VIII, 1. eti Jau. Sep. I, 4; Töp. V, 7. etinā Rūp. 5. etiya Rūp. 3. etishā Kāl. XII, 35. etisa Shāh. III, 6, XII, 9; Mān. XII, 8. ete Gir. I, 12; Dhau. Sep. I, 11; Top. IV, 12, VII, 27. etena Top. IV, 13; Sar. 10; Sah. 2 eteni(nā) Calc. 8. etesu Top. VII, 26. etra Shāh. VI, 15. ed[i]śam Shāh. XI, 23. ediśani Shāh. VIII, 17; VIII, 34. [ed]iśa[ye] Mān. IX, 2. ediśi(śa)y[e] Shāh. IX, 18. ediśe Mān. IX, 5, XI, 12. edisāni Dhau. VIII, 1. edisāye Kāl. IX, 24. ena Dhau. Sep. I, 19, II, 7, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 10, II, 9, 14; Top. VII,

eyam Kāl. V, 15; Jau. Sep. I, 6. eva Gir. I, 10, III, 3, IV, 1, 7, IX, 3, XII, 4, 6, XIII, 11, XIV, 1, 3; Kāl. IV, 12, IX, 25, 26, XIII, 17, XIV, 21; Shāh. XIII, 9, 11, 26, 27; Ar. I, 4, 5, VI, 4; Sar. 26, 27; Ar. 1, 4, 5, VI, 4; Sar. 7, 8, 9, 10; Bair. 5; Brah. 4, 9, 10; Sidd. 9. eva (= ēvam) Gir. IX, 1; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. III, 9. evam Gir. III, 1, V, 1, VI, 1, 2, 8, XI, 1, XII, 4, 7; Shāh. V, 11, VI, 14, IX, 18, XI, 23, XII, 4, 7; Mān. V, 19, VI, 26, 27, 29, IX, 1, XI, 12, XII, 4, 6. evamani Gir. II. 2. evamapi Gir. II, 2. evameva Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. II, 8, XIII, 10. [e]vamevā Kāl. II, 6. evā Kāl. II, 6, IV, 11, XIII, 38, 8; Top. I, 6, 8, VI, 6; Calc. 8. eve Jan. Sep. I, 7. eve(va) Kāl. XIII, 14. esha Kāl. XIII, 37, 38; Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. XIII, 4, 6. eshe Kāl. X, 28, XI, 29, 30; Shāh.

VIII, 17, X, 22; Mān. IV, 15,
17, VI, 30, VIII, 36, IX, 4, 5,
X, 11, XI, 12, 13.
esa Gir. IV, 7, 10, VI, 10, X, 3;
Dhau. IV, 4, 6, VIII, 2, IX, 3,
4 Sep. I. 2, II, 22; Tau, IV, 5, 4, Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau. IV, 5, VIII, 2, IX, 3, 4, Sep. I, 2, II, 2; Top. I, 5, 9, III, 19, 21, VII, 14, 20, 24, 25, 28, 30, 32; Ar. III, 2, IV, 7; Rūp. 2; Bair. 4; Brah. 12. esatha Jau. Sep. I, 9, II, 13. esā Gir. VIII, 3, 5, XIII, 4; Dhau. VIII, 3; Töp. III, 19, IV, 14; Ar. I, 5; Rup. 2; Brah. 12; Sidd. 19; Jat. 19. ese Kāl. IV, 11, 12, VI, 19, VIII, 23, IX, 25; Bair. 5. ehatha Dhau. Sep. I, 17, II, 9. [e]lakā Töp. V, 8. elake Mīr. V, 11.

okapimde Töp. V, 6. odātāni All. Kauś. 4; Sām. 5 f.; Sār. 4. -opakani Shāh. II, 5. -opagāni Gir. II, 5, 6; Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 3; Tōp. VII, 23. -opaya Mān. VIII, 36. -opayam Shāh. VIII, 17. katavi[ye*] Kāl. IX, 25. -opayā Gir. VIII, 5; Kāl. VIII, katavo Shāh. IX, 18, 19, XI, 24. 23; Dhau. VIII, 3. katā Kāl. II, 5, V, 14; Dhau. V, 3; Top. IV, 12, VII, 23; Rūp. 2; orodhanamhi Gir. VI, 3. orodhanaspi Shāh. VI, 14. Sah. 3. kaṭāni Tōp. II, 14, V, 2, 20, VII, orodhane Man. VI, 27. orodhaneshu Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 24.

olodhanasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2; Tōp. VII, 27. olodhanes[u] Kāl. V, 16; Dhau. ovāditavyam Gir. IX, 8. -ovāde Calc. 5 f. osha dha ni Shah. II, 5; Man. II, 7. osadhāni Jau. II, 3. osadhīn[i] Kāl. II, 5. osudhāni Gir. II, 5.

kam Gir. XIV, 3; Jau. Sep. I, 1, II, I. -kamdhani Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13. -kamdhāni Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. -Kambocha- Dhau. V, 4. -Kamboja- Gir. V, 5, XIII, 9; Kāl. V, 15; Mān. V, 22. -Kambojeshu Kāl. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10. -Kamboya- Shāh. V, 12. -Kam boyeshu Shah. XIII, 9. kammam Kal. IV, 12; Dhau. Sep. I, 25; Jau. Sep. I, 12. karimata . . Dhau. VI, 5. kammataram Gir. VI, 10. kammatalā Kāl. VI, 20; Jau. VI, 5. kam[mana] Dhau. Sep. I, 2. kammane Dhau. III, 2; Jau. III, 2. kammasa Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. I, 8. kammāni Top. IV, 5, 13. kammāy[a] Ĝir. III, 4. kammāye Kāl. III, 7. kamme Gir. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 6, Sep. II, 7; Jau. Sep. II, 9.
-kamme Gir. VI, 2; Kāl. VI, 17; Dhau. VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1. kacham Gir. IX, 8. kachi Shāh. XII, 5. kachhamti Kāl. V, 14, VII, 21; Dhau. V, 2, VII, 2; Jau. VII, 2; Tōp. IV, 18. kachhati Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 2; Ar. II, 4. kachhatī Top. II, 16. kachhāmi Kāl. VI, 18, IX, 26. kaṭa Mān. II, 7, V, 21; Ar. IV, 6. katava Shāh. I, 1. katava-matam Shah. VI, 15. kaṭaviyatalā Jau. IX, 6. kataviya-mate Man. VI, 30; Dhau. kat[a]viya-mute Kāl. VI, 19. kataviyā Top. VII, 32. kataviye Kāl. I, 2, IX, 26, XI, 30; Mān. I, 2, IX, 3, 6, XI, 14; Dhau, IX, 3; Jau, I, 2, IX, 2, 4; Top. V, 9, 19; Sidd. 21; Jat.

23, 28, 30.

GI

katābhikā le Kāl. V, 16. kaltābhīkā[le] Dhau. V, 6. kati(ta)viye Brah. 12. katu Dhau. Sep. II, 7. ka tu Jau. Sep. II, 9. kate Kāl. V, 13, VI, 17; Mān. V, 19; Dhau. V, 1, VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1; Tōp. II, 13, III, 18, IV, 4, 14, VII, 23, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31; All. Kauś. 2; Sām. 2; Rum. 4; Rūp. 3, 5. katrabhikara Mān. V, 24. katam Gir. V, 2, VI, 2. katamnatā Gir. VII, 3. katavya Gir. IX, 6. ka[tav]ya[m] Gir. XI, 3. katavyataram Gir. IX, 9. katavya-mate Gir. VI, 9. katavyameva Gir. IX, 3. katavyo Gir. I, 4 katā Gir. II, 4, V, 4. katābhīkāresu Gir. V, 7. katham Top. VII, 12, 15. -kapa Shāh. IV, 9. -kapam Kāl. IV, 12, V, 14; Shāh. V, 11; Mān. IV, 16, V, 20; Dhau. IV, 6, V, 2. kapana-valākesu Töp. VII, 29. -kapā Gir. IV, 9, V, 2. -kapīlikā Ar. V, 3. -kapīlikā Tōp. V, 4. -kapote Tōp. V, 6. kaphat[a]-sayake Top. V, 5. kaphata-seyake Ar. V, 3. -[ka]mata Shāh. XIII, 2. kamana Jau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1. kayanagama Mān. XII, 7. kayanasa Mān. V, 19. [ka]yane Mān. V, 19. kayānammeva Top. III, 17. kayānameva All. III, 1. k[a]y[ā]n[a]sa Dhau. V, 1. kay[ā]nasā Kāl. V, 13. kayānāgā (read °nāgamā) Kāl. XII, kayanani Tōp. II, 14. kayane Kāl. V, 13; Dhau. V, 1; Tōp. II, 11, 111, 18. karamtam Shah. XII, 6. karaņa Shāh. III, 6, XIV, 14. karatam Shah. XI, 24, XII, 4, 6; Man. XI, 14, XII, 4, 5. ka[ra]min[o] Shāh. XII, 4. karā(ro)to Gir. XII, 6. karu Gir. XI, 4. karum Gir. XII, 4. karoti Gir. V, 1; Shāh. V, 11, IX, 18; Mān. V, 19, IX, 1, 3. karote Gir. IX, 1, 2, 3. karoto Gir. XII, 5. karomi Gir. VI, 5; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. VI, 28. kala Mān. VI, 27, 29. kalam Kāl. VI, 17; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Man. VI, 27. kalam (read kalanam) Shah. V, kala mta Kal. XI, 30. kalamtam Kal. XII, 33; Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 9, 11; Jau. Sep. II, 13, 16; Mas. 7.

kalamti Kāl. IX, 24; Dhau. Sep. I, 23, 26; Jau. Sep. I, 12. kalaņa[m] Shāh. V, 11; Mān. V, kal ana gama Shāh. XII, 7. kala nasa Shah. V, 11. kalata Kāl. XII, 32. kalāṇam Gir. V, 1, 2. kalāṇ[a]sa Gir. V, 1. kal a nagama Gir. XII, 7. kalāmi Dhau. VI, 2. Kalimgā Gir. XIII, 1. Kali m geshu Kal. XIII, 39. Kalimgesu Gir. XIII, 1. Kaliga Shāh. XIII, 1; Mān. XIII, 1. Kaliga[ni] Shāh. XIII, 2. Kalige Shah. XIII, 6. Kaligeshu Shāh. XIII, 2; Mān. XIII, 2, 7. Kaligyā Kāl. XIII, 35-Kaligyāni Kāl. XIII, 36. Kaligyeshu Kāl. XIII, 35. kaleti Kāl. V, 13, IX, 24; Dhau. V, 1, IX, 1, 2; Jau. IX, 2. kasham Shāh. IX, 20. kashamti Shah. V, 11, VII, 4 kashati Shāh. V, 11; Mān. V, 20, VII, 33. ka shami Man. IX, 6. kasa m ti Gir. VII, 2. kāni Kāl. VI, 20; Dhau. VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6; Tōp. IV, 9, 17, V, 9, VI, 6, VII, 18. [k anichi Tōp. VII, 28. kāmam Dhau. Sep. II, 10; Brah. 4; Sidd. 9. -kāmatā Kāl. XIII, 36; Top. I, 6. -kāmatāya Ar. I, 2. -kāmatāyā Top. I, 3 [kā]raṇam Gir. XIV, 5. kālam Kāl. VI, 17, 19; Dhau. VI, 1, 4; Jau. VI, 1, 4. kālanam Kāl. XIV, 23, kālanena Top. III, 21. kālasi Top. IV, 19. kālāpitā Rum. 3. kālāpitā Top. VII, 24. k[ā]lāpitāni Top. VII, 24. kālāya Rūp. 2. Kāluvākiye All. Qu. 5. kāle Gir. VI, 3, 8. kālena Brah. 3; Śidd. 7. kāsamti Gir. VII, 2. kāsati Gir. V, 3. ki Gir. IX, 9. kim Jau. IX, 6. kimchi Gir. I, 2 f., VI, 5, 11. kim-chhāmde Jau. Sep. II, 5. kimchi Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3. kimti Gir. VI, 11, 13, X, 3, XII, 3, 6, 7, 8, XIV, 4; Kāl. XII, 33; Dhau. VI, 5, X, 3, XIV, 3, Sep. I, 2, 5, 10, II, 3; Jau. X, 2, XIV, 2, Sep. I, 1, 3, 5, 6, II, 1, 3; Tōp. IV. 4, 7, 14; Sām. 7, 1 Top. IV, 4, 7, 14; Sam. 7 f.; Calc. 7. kimmam Ar. VI, 3. kichi Gir. X, 3; Shāh. I, 1, VI, 14, 15, 16, X, 22. kiche(chi) Shāh. XIV, 14. ki-chha mde Dhau. Sep. II, 4.

kichhi Kāl. I, 1, VI, 18, 20, X, 28, XIV, 22; Mān. I, 1, VI, 28, 30, X, 10, XIV, 14; Dhau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 2, II, 1; Jau. I, 1, VI, 5, Sep. I, r, II, r. kita Shāh. V, r2. kitam Shāh. VI, r4; Mān. VI, 27. kitanata Man. VII, 33. kitanāt [ā] Kāl. VII, 22. kitabhikaro Shah. V, 13. kiţi Mān. X, 9, 10. kiţī Dhau. X, 1, 2; Jau. X, 1. ki[t]ram Shāh. V, 11. kitrañata Shah. VII, 5. kitri Shah. X, 21. k[i]ta(ti) Kāl. XII, 31. kiti (= kimiti) Gir. XII, 2; Kāl. VI, 20, X, 28, XII, 31, 33, 34, XIII, 15; Shāh. VI, 16, X, 22, XII, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, XIII, 8, 11; Mān. VI, 30, X, 10, XII, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, XIII, 12; Rūp. 4. kiti (= kīrtim) Gir. X, 2; Kāl. X, 27, 28. kitim (read kimti) Dhau. Sep. I, 11. kinasu Top. VII, 17, 18. -kipilikā All. V, 2. kimam Top. VI, 6. kiya Nand. II, r. kiyam Top. II, 11. kilamte Dhau. Sep. I, 12; Jau. Sep. k[i]lamathena Dhau. Sep. I, 11;. Tau. Sep. I, 6. kīchhi All. Qu. 4. kīti Gir. X, 1. -kukuțe Töp. V, 9. kute Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. I, 8. kupa Shāh. II, 5. kubhā Bar. II, 3, III, 3. -kubhā Bar. I, 2. -kumālānam Top. VII, 27. kumāle Dhau. Sep. I, 23, II, 1; Jau. Sep. I, 11. kuvāpi Kāl. XIII, 39. kūpā Gir. II, 8. kechā Jau. Sep. I, 4. kechi Calc. 2. kechha Kāl. XII, 32; Dhau. Sep. I, 7. kechhi Mān. XII, 5. Ketalaputo Gir. II, 2. kenapi Sār. 3. Keradaputro Shāh. II, 4. Keralaputra Mān. II, 6. Ke[lala]puto Kal. II, 4 kevata-bhogasi Top. V, 14. kochi Gir. XII, 5. kota-vishavesu Sār. 10. kodhe Top. III, 20. Konākamanasa Nig. 2. Kosambiyam All. Kauś. 1. -[kos]ikyāni Top. VII, 23. krammaye Shah. III, 6. -[krama] Mān. VI, 27. k[r]ama[m] Shāh. IV, 10. -kramam Shah. VI, 14. krama[ne] Män. III, 10. kramatara Mān. VI, 30. k[r]amatara[m] Shāh. VI, 15.

kr [ta] Shāh. II, 4 ksham ti Shah. XIII, 11. kshanati Shāh. XII, 5. -kshati Shāh. XIII, 8. kshamanaye Shāh. XIII, 7. kshamitaviya-mate Shāh. XIII, 7.

Kh

khamti Kal. XIII, 16. -kh[a]mdhāni Gir. IV, 4. -khakhase Dhau. Sep. I, 22. [kha]nas[i] Dhau. Sep. II, 10. khanapita Shāh. II, 5. khanasi Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 10. khane Jau. Sep. II, 16. kha[ne]na Jau. Sep. I, 9. khamitave Dhau. Sep. II, 5; Jau. Sep. II, 7 khamisati Dhau. Sep. II, 5; Jau. Sep. II, 6. Khalatika-pavatasi Bar. II, 3. khādiyati Nand. V, 5. khādiyatī Tōp. V, 7. khānāpāpitāni Tōp. VII, 24. khānāpitā Gir. II, 8. khānāpitāni Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 4; Jau. II, 4. khuda Mān. IX, 3. [kh]ud[am] Dhau. IX, 2. khudakā Rūp. 3; Sah. 4; Sidd. ur f. khudak]e Mas. 6. khudakena Kāl, X, 28; Mān. X, 11; Dhau. X, 4; Jau. X, 3; Rūp. 2; Sah. 3; Mas. 4f.; Brah. 4; Sidd. 9. khudā Kāl. IX, 24. khudrakena Shāh. X, 22. Khepi[m]galasi Jau. I, 1. kho Gir. IX, 3, 7, X, 4; Kāl. IX, 25, X, 28, XIII, 14; Shāh. VI, 16, IX, 18, X, 22, XIII, 11; Mān. VII, 32, IX, 3, 4, X, 11; Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 2, 3, 5; Tōp. I, 5, III, 19, VII, 30; Sār. 3; Calc. 3; Brah. 2, 4; Sidd. 5, 6, 9; Jat. 4.

Gamgā-pupuṭake Top. V, 5. -Gamdharanam Shāh. V, 12. -Gaṁdhārānaṁ Gir. V, 5. -Gaṁdhālānaṁ Kāl. V, 15. -Gamdhālesu Dhau. V, 4. gachhema Dhau. Sep. I, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2. gachheyam Gir. VI, 11. gajatame Kāl. colophon. ga(gha)tite Shah. XIV, 13. gaṇanasi Shāh. III, 7; Mān. III, gananāyam Gir. III, 6. -Gadharana Man. V, 22. gadhā Kāl. XIII, 13. [ga]nanasi Kāl. III, 8. ganiyati All. Qu. 4. gabhāgāramhi Gir. VI, 3. gabhāgālasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2.

gabhinī Top. V, 8. -gamu[k]e Dhau. Sep. I, 6 f.; Jau. Sep. I, 3.
-garana Shāh. XII, 3.

-garaha Mān. XII, 3. garahati Gir. XII, 5; Shah. XII, 5;

Mān. XII, 5. -garahā Gir. XII, 3. garuna Shāh. IX, 19. garu-mat[o] Gir. XIII, 6. garu[su] Brah. o ga la hati Kal. XII, 33. -galahā Kāl. XII, 31. galu-matatale Kāl. XIII, 36. galu-shu[shu*]shā Kāl. XIII, 37. gahathani Kal. XII, 31. -[gah]e All. Qu. 3.
-gāthā Calc. 5.
gāma-kapote Töp. V, 6.
-gāmīni Töp. III, 20. -game Rum. 4. galave Calc. 2. gih i tha Kal. XIII, 37. gihithanam Top. VII, 25. -guṇā Brah. 10. [gut]i All. I, 4. -guti Kāl. XII, 31; Shāh. XII, 2; Mān. XII, 2.

-gutī Gir. XII, -guti Gir. XII, 3. guruna Shāh, XIII, 4; Mān. IX, 4. g[u]r[u]-mata Gir. XIII, 2. guru-matam Shāh. XIII, 3, 6, 7. guru-matataram Shāh. XIII, 3. guru-mate Mān. XIII, 3, 6, 7. guru-suśrusha Mān. XIII, 4. guru-susumsā Gir. XIII, 3. gurunam Gir. IX, 4. gulunā Kāl. IX, 25. gulu-mate Kāl. XIII, 38, 39. g[u]l[u]-mut[e] Kāl. XIII, 36. gulusu Tõp. VII, 29. gulunam Dhau. IX, 4; Jau. IX, 3. geläte Top. V, 3. gevayā Top. I, 7. gehathani Man. XII, r. goti Tōp. I, 10. gonasa Ar. V, 12. gonasā Tōp. V, 18. gone Tōp. V, 16. grabhagarasi Mān. VI, 27.

grabhagaraspi Shāh. VI, 14.

gra[ha]tha Shāh. XIII, 4.

grahathani Shāh. XII, 1.

ghatitam Gir. XIV, 2. ghatite Kal. XIV, 20; Dhau. XIV, 1; Jau. XIV, 1. gharastāni Gir. XII, 1. -ghosha Shāh. IV, 8. -ghoshe Man. IV, 13. -[gh]o[sa]- Bar. III, 2 f. -ghosam Dhau. IV, 2. -ghose Kāl. IV, 9. -ghoso Gir. IV, 3.

Ch

cha passim. cham Calc. 2. -chamda[m] Jau. Sep. I, 11.

chamdiye Top. III, 20. -[cham]d[e] Dhau. Sep. I, 22. chamdama-suliyike Top. VII, 31. cham[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke Sām. 4. cha ka Kāl. XIII, 18; Mān. IV,

cha kam Kāl. IV, 11, XI, 30; Shāh.
IV, 9; Mān. XI, 14; Brah. 11.
chakavāke Tōp. V, 3.
chakiye Dhau. Sep. II, 5; Sah. 3,

4; Bair. 5. chalkye Bair. 6. chakhu-dā]nā Mīr. II, 2. chakhu-dane Top. II, 12. chaghamti Top. IV, 10. chaghati Top, IV, 11. chaghatha Dhau. Sep. I, 19, II, 11;

Jau. Sep. I, 9, II, 16. chatāli Kāl. XIII, 7. -chati- Shah. XIII, 12. chatupade Top. V, 7 -chatupadesu Top. II, 13. chature Shāh. XIII, 9. chatpāro Gir. XIII, 8. Chapadena Brah. 13.

chapalam Top. I, 8. -charana Mān. IV, 16. -charanam Gir. IV, 8, 9; Shāh. IV, 9, 10.

-charane Gir. IV, 7, 10; Man. IV, 15, 17. -charanena Gir. IV, 3; Shah. IV,

8; Mān. IV, 13. -chalanam Kāl. IV, 11, 12; Dhau.

IV, 5, 6.
-chala[n]äye Dhau. Sep. II, 10;

Jau. Sep. II, 15.

-chalane Kāl. IV, 11, 12; Dhau.
IV, 5, 6; Jau. IV, 5, 7; Tōp.
IV, 20.

-chalanena Dhau. IV, 2; Jau. IV, 2. -chal[an]enā Kāl. IV, 9.

chalitaviye Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Jau.

Sep. II, 9. chaley[ū] Jau. Sep. II, 7. chalevū Dhau. Sep. II, 5. chā Kāl. I, 2, II, 5, 6, III, 8, IV, 9, 10, 11, 12, V, 13, 14, 15, 16, VI, 18, 19, 20, VII, 21, 22, VIII, 22, 23, IX, 24, 25, 27, X, 27, 28, XI, 30, XII, 33, 34, 35, XIII, 36, 38, 39, 6, 12, 15, 16, 17, XIV, 21; Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 2, Sep. I, 9, II, 11; Tōp. I, 6, 7, 8, IV, 6, 15, V, 8, 12; All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 3; Rum. 3; Sah. 4; Bair. 6; Calc. 1, 5, 7,

8; Mas. 8. chātam (tum) māsīsu Mīr. V, 4. -chātummāsam Dhau. Sep. II, 10; Jau. Sep. II, 15. chātummāsi-pakhāye Top. V, 18. chātummāsi pakna pe Top. V, 18. chātummāsisu Top. V, 11, 16. chāvudasam Top. V, 12. chāvudasāye Top. V, 15. chikisa Shāh. II, 4; Mān. II, 7. -chikisa Shāh. II, 4; Mān. II, 7.

chikisakā Kāl. II, 5.

-chikisā Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 2; Jau. II, 2, 3.

chikichha Gir. II, 4. -chikichhā Gir. II, 5. chithitu Kāl. IV, 12; Mān. IV, 17;

Dhau. IV, 6. chiram Gir. VI, 13. chira-thitika Mān. V, 26, VI, 31. chira-thitike Rūp. 4 chira-thitike Brah. 6; Sidd. 13. chira-thitika Shāh. V, 13, VI, 16. chilam-thitikā Top. II, 15 f. chilam-thitikā Ar. II, 4. chila-thitike Top. VII, 32. chila-thitikyā Kāl. VI, 20. chila-thitikā Dhau. V, 8, VI, 6; Jau.

VI, 6; All. II, 3. chila-thitīke Sah. 5; Calc. 4. chi[la]-thitikyā Kāl. V, 17. chila-thitīke Sām. 8

chu Kāl. I, 4, V, 14, VI, 21, VII, 21, IX, 24, 25, X, 28, XII, 31, 32, XIII, 36; Shāh. I, 2, V, 23, II, 10; Jau. I, 2, 4, IV, 7, VI, 7, IX, 3, 5, X, 3, XIV, 2, Sep. I, 3, 6; Top. I, 5, II, 11, III, 19, VI, 8, VII, 13, 24, 26, 29, 30; Rūp. 1; Sah. 1; Bair. 2; Calc. 3; Brah. 3; Šidd. 7.

churi Sār. 3.
[chū] Kāl. I, 4.
cheva Gir. IV, 7, XIV, 3; Kāl. IV,
12, IX, 25, 26, XIV, 21; Shāh.
XIV, 13; Mān. IX, 3, 7, XIV, 14; Dhau. IV, 5, IX, 3; Jau. IX, 2; Top. VII, 25, 26, 27;

Ar. I, 4. chevā Kāl. IV, 11; Tōp. I, 6. chesā Gir. XIII, 4. [Choda] Shāh. II, 3; Mān. II, 6. Choda-Pamda Shāh. XIII, 9. Choda-Pamdiya Man. XIII, 10. Choda-Pamdiyā Kāl. XIII, 8. Chodā Gir. II, 2; Kāl. II, 4; Jau. II, I.

chodasa-vasā[bh]i[si]t[e]n[a] Nig.

Chh

chhamdam Dhau. Sep. II, 6, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 8. chhamdarhnani Top. IV, 9.

-chhamda Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, I.

-chhamde Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau. Sep. II, 4. -chhamdo Gir. VII, 2; Shāh. VII,

chhanati Gir. XII, 5; Man. XII, 4. -chhatim Gir. XIII, 7. -chhade Mān. VII, 33. chhanati Kāl. XII, 32. chhamitave Gir. XIII, 6. chha(sa)vachhare Rūp. 1. [chh]āmdam Jau. Sep. II, 11. -chhāmde Jau. Sep. II, 5.

chhāti Gir. XIII, 11. chhāyopagāni Top. VII, 23. chhudam Gir. IX, 3. chhudakena Gir. X, 4.

Jambudipasi Rūp. 2; Bair. 4. Jambudīpasi Sah, 2; Brah. 3. jatūka Ar. V, 2. jatūkā Tōp. V, 4. jana Shāh. XIV, 13. janam Gir. IV, 4; Tōp. IV, 7,

VII, 23. jan[a]padashi Kāl. XIII, 39. janapadasa Shah. VIII, 17; Man.

VIII, 36. [janapada]si Mān. XIII, 6. janapade Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 6.

jan[a]shā Kāl. XIII, 36. jan[a]shā Kāl. XIII, 36.
janasa Gir. VI, 4, 5, VIII, 4, XIII,
2; Kāl. IV, 10; Shāh. IV, 8,
VI, 14, 15, VIII, 17, XIII, 3;
Mān. IV, 13, VI, 27, 28, VIII,
36, XIII, 3; Dhau. VI, 2, VIII,
3; Jau. VI, 2; Tōp. IV, 5, 19.
janasā Kāl. VI, 18, VIII, 23.
janasī Tōp. IV, 3, VII, 22.
-janika Mān. IX, 3.
-jani[yo] Kāl. IX, 24.
jane Kāl. VII, 21, IX, 24, X, 27,
XIII, 30, XIV, 22; Shāh. X, 21;

XIII, 39, XIV, 22; Shāh. X, 21; Mān. VII, 33, IX, 1, 2, X, 9, XIII, 7, XIV, 14; Dhau. IX, 1, 2, X, 1, XIV, 3, Sep. I, 9; Jau. IX, 2, X, 1, XIV, 2; Tōp. VII,

12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21.
janena Gir. X, 4.
jano Gir. VII, 2, IX, 1, 2, X, 1,
XIII, 5, XIV, 4; Shāh. VII, 3,
IX, 18, XIII, 6.

ja[lagh]o[sāgama]thāta Bar. III,

[jātā] Dhau. Sep. I, 12. jātāni Jau. Sep. I, 6; Top. V, 2, VII, 30.

jāte Rum. 2, 4. jāte h i Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep. I, 5.

jānamtu Rūp. 3; Sah. 5; Bair. 7. jānamtū Calc. 8. jānapadam Top. IV, 7.

jānapadasa Gir. VIII, 4; Dhau. VIII, 3; Top. IV, 12; Ar. IV, 2.

jānapadasā Kāl. VIII, 23; Top. jānitu Dhau. Sep. I, 22.

jānisamti Dhau. Sep. I, 25; Top. IV, 6. jāneyu Brah. 6.

jive Kāl. I, 1; Shāh. I, 1; Mān. jīvam Gir. I, 3; Dhau. I, 1; Jau.

jīva-nikāyāni Top. V, 14. jīvitāye Top. IV, 17. jīve Top. V, 11.

-jīve Top. V, 9.
jīvena Top. V, 11.

jīvesu Dhau. III, 3; Jau. III, joti-kamdhani Shah. IV, 8.

Jh

jhāpayitaviye Ar. V, 6, 7. jhāpetaviye Top. V, 10.

fiatika Shāh. V, 13 -ñatika Shāh. XIII, 5. -ñatikana Mān. XI, 13. -natikanam Shah. III, 6, XI, 23; Mān. III, 11.

ñatike Mān. V, 25. ña(ñā)tikena Gir. IX, 8. -ñatikeshu Shāh. XIII, 5. ñatina Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. IV, 12,

14. ñatina[m] Shāh. IV, 8. ñanam Shāh. IV, 10. ñayāsu Gir. VIII, 1. ñātikā Gir. V, 8; Jat. 18. -ñātikā Gir. XIII, 4. -ñātikānam Gir. XI, 2. -ñāt[i]k[e]na Gir. XI, 3. ñātikesu Brah. 11 -ñātike[su] Gir. XIII, 3. ñātīnam Gir. IV, 6. -natīnam Gir. III, 4. ñātīsu Gir. IV, 1.

Th

-tha[m]bhasi Rup. 5. -th abh e Rūp. 5. -thitika Mān. V, 26, VI, 31. -thitike Tōp. VII, 32; Rūp. 4. -thitikyā Kāl. VI, 20. -thitīkā Dhau. V, 8, VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6; All. II, 3. -thitike Sah. 5; Calc. 4; Brah. 6; Sidd. 13.

nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye Jau. Sep. I, 7.

ta Gir. IV, 2, 10, V, 2, 4, VI, 2, 12, IX, 3, 5, 7, X, 3, XII, 6, XIII, 2; Kāl. X, 28; Shāh. XIII, 7;

Mān. VI, 27, XIII, 8. ta (read ti) Rūp. 5, 6. tam Kal. IX, 26; Shah. V, 11, VI, 14, IX, 20, X, 22, XIII, 3, 6, 11; Mān. V, 19, IX, 7, 8, X, 10; Dhau. V, 1, Sep. I, 2, 26, II, 1; Jau. Sep. I, 1, 12, II, 1; Tōp. VI, 3, VII, 28; Calc. 4.

Tambapamni Shāb. II, 4. Tambapamniya Shāb. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10.

Tambapamnī Gir. II, 2 f. Tamba pa mni Kāl. II, Tambapamniyā Kāl. XIII, 8. Tam bapani Man. II, 6. Takhasiliate Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Jau. Sep. I, 11.

[ta]gi(śi) Kāl. XII, 32.

tata Gir. XI, 2, XII, 8, XIII, 4; Kal. XI, 29, XII, 34, XIII, 35; Dhau. Sep. I, 8, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 4, 5; Top. VII, 24, 30, 32; Sah. 8. tatā Gir. XIII, 1; Kāl. XIII, 36, 37, 38. ta[te]ta Gir. IX, 4. [ta]tesa Dhau. VIII, 2, IX, 3; Jau. VIII, 2. tato Kāl. IX, 26, XIII, 35, 36, 39; Shāh. IX, 20, XIII, 1, 2, 3, 6; Mān. IX, 8, XIII, 2, 3, 7. tatopaya Mān. VIII, 36. tatopayam Shāh. VIII, 17. tatopayani Shah. VIII, 17.
tatopa[yā] Kāl. VIII, 23.
tatra Gir. XII, 8, XIV, 5; Shāh.
XI, 23, XII, 7, XIII, 1, 3, 5, 6;
Mān. XI, 12, XII, 7. tatra Gir. XIII, r. tatha Gir. XII, 6; Shah. V, 11, 13, VI, 16, XI, 24, XII, 1, 6, 8, XIV, 13; Man. V, 20, 26, VI, 31, XI, 14, XII, 1, 5, 7, XIV, 14; Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Top. VI, 6. tathā Gir. V, 2, VI, 13, XI, 4, XII, 2, 8, XIV, 4; Kāl. V, 14, 17, VI, 20, XI, 30, XII, 31, 33, 34, XIV, 22; Dhau. V, 2, 8, VI, 6, XIV, 3, Sep. I, 6, 22, 26; Jau. XIV, 2, Sep. I, 12; Top. VII, 31; Ar. VI, 3; Sidd. 21. tada Shāh. I, 3, XIII, 6; Mān. I, 4, XIII, 7. tada añatha (read tad-añatha) Shah. XII, 4. tad-amnatha Man. XII, 4. tad-amnathā Gir. XII, 5. tadatvaye Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X, 9. tadatvāye Kāl. X, 27; Dhau. X, 1; Jau. X, 1. tadā Gir. XIII, 5; Kāl. I, 3, XIII, 39; Dhau. Sep. I, 25. tadā anatha (read tad-anatha) Kāl. XII, 32. tadātpano(ne) Gir. X, 1. tadiśe Shah. IV, 8; Man. IV, 14. tadopaya Gir. VIII, 5; Dhau. VIII, 3. ta(te)na Ğir. XII, 4. ta[nam] Mān. XIII, 5. [ta]phā Kāl. XIII, 35. tameva Käl. XIII, 17. tamhi Gir. IX, 8, XII, 4. taye Shah. VI, 14, 15; Man. VI, 29. -tavata[ke] Shah. XIII, 1. taśa Kal. XII, 31. tasi Kal. XII, 32.
tasia Kal. XIV, 22.
tasha Kal. XIV, 22.
tasha Kal. XIV, 22.
tasa Gir. II, 3, VI, 10, IX, 6, XII,
3, XIV, 4; Shāh. II, 4, VI, 15,
IX, 19, XII, 2, XIV, 13; Mān.
VI, 30, IX, 6, XII, 2, XIV, 14;
Dhan II a VI = IX 6 XIV Dhau. II, 2, VI, 5, IX, 5, XIV, 2, Sep. I, 14; Jau. II, 2, VI, 5. tasā Kāl. II, 5, VI, 19, IX, 26. tasi Shāh. XII, 3; Mān. XII, 3; Dhau. VI, 3, IX, 6; Jau. VI, 3.

t[ā] Kāl. V, 13. tādise Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 3. tānam Kāl. XIII, 38; Tōp. IV, 17. t[ā]namev[ā] Kāl. XIII, 38. tāni Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Tōp. VII, tāya Gir. VI, 7. täye All. Qu. 4 tā[yeth]ā[ye] Kāl. VI, 19. tārise Gir. IV, 5.
-tāvatakam Gir. XIII, 1. -tāvatake Kāl. XIII, 35. ti Gir. V, 8; Kāl. V, 1 Gir. V, 8; Kāl. V, 15, 16, IX, 26, X, 27, 28, XII, 31, 33, 34, XIII, 4; Shāh. V, 13, X, 21, XII, 6, 7; Mān. V, 24, 25, VI, 31, IX, 6, X, 9, 10, 11, XII, 2, 5, 6, 7; Dhau. V, 6, 7, VI, 2, 4, 5, 6, VII, 1, IX, 5, X, 3, XIV, 3, Sep. I, 6, 10, 12, 20, 21, 23, 26, II, 3, 5; Jau. VI, 2, 4, 6, VII, 1, X, 2, XIV, 2, Sep. I, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, II, 4, 5, 7, 10; Tōp. I, 10, II, 11, 16, III, 18, 19, IV, 8, 13, 19, 20, VI, 4, 6, VII, 16, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31; Ar. II, 2, III, 2, 3, IV, 2, 5; All. VI, 3, Qu. 5; Sām. 3, 8; Rum. 2, 4; Rup. 3, 5; Sah. 7, 8; Bair. 6, 7; Calc. 2, 4, 8; Mas. 6, 8; Brah. 6; Sidd. 12. timni Kāl. I, 3; Dhau. I, 4, Sep. I, 24; Jau. I, 4; Top. IV, 16, V, 12. tithiti Shah. IV, 10. tini Kāl. I, 4; Mān. I, 4, 5. tive Kāl. XIII, 35. ti[vr]e Shāh. XIII, 2; Mān. XIII, 2. -tisam Jau. Sep. I, 9. t[i]sa-na[kha]tena Dhau. Sep. I, 17. tisāyam Top. V, 11. tisāye Top. V, 15, 18. tisiyam Nand. V, 8. tisena Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 10; Jau. Sep. II, 15. tistamto Gir. IV, 9. tisteya Gir. VI, 13. tisyam Ar. V, 7. tī (nom. masc.) Gir. I, 10. tī (= ti) Tōp. II, 16; Mīr. III, 2. tīli ita-damdānam Top. IV, 16. tīlīta-damdānam All. IV, 2. Tīvala-mātu All. Qu. 5. Ilvaia-mati Ali, Qu. 5.

tī[v]o Gir. XIII, 1.

tīsu Tōp. V, 11, 16.

tu Gir. I, 6, V, 3, VI, 14, VII, 2, 3,

IX, 3, 4, 7, X, 3, 4, XII, 2, 3, 4;

Shāh. VI, 16, IX, 18, X, 22,

XII, 2, XIII, 11; Mān. IX,

X, 11, XII, 2; Dhau. Sep. I, 13;

Lou Sop. I & Bab. 2, 4, 5idd. Jau. Sep. I, 7; Brah. 2, 4; Sidd. 5, 6, 9. tuthāyatan[ā]ni Top. VII, 27. tupaka (read perhaps tuphākam) Rūp. 5. t[u]phāk[a] Dhau. Sep. I, 13, II, 8. tuphākam Sār. 9. tuphākamtikam Sār. 6.

tupheni Jau. Sep. II, 8, 11. tuphesu Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2. tuphehi Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep. Turamaye Shāh. XIII, 9. Turamāyo Gir. XIII, 8. -[tulanā] Jau. Sep. I, 6. Tulamaye Kāl. XIII, 7. t[ul]āya Jau. Sep. I, 6. tuse Top. V, 9. -[tū]![a]nā Dhau. Sep. I, 12. tūlanā [ya] Dhau. Sep. 1, 12.
tūlanā [ya] Dhau. Sep. 1, 11.
te Gir. V, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, VII, 1, 2;
Kāl. V, 14, 15, 16, VII, 21, XIII,
11; Shāh. V, 11, 12, 13, VII,
2, 3, XIII, 10; Mān. V, 21, 23, 24, 25, VII, 32, 33, XIII, 11; Dhau. V, 3, VII, 1, 2, Sep. II, 13, 25, II, 4; Jau. VII, 1, Sep. II, 9; Tōp. IV, 9, VII, 22, 25, 26, 27; Sār. 7; Rūp. 2; Mas. 4. tedasa-va[sā]bhīsitena Dhau. V, 3. t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā Kāl. V, 14.
tena Gir. V, 2, XI, 4, XII, 4, XIII,
8; Kāl. XII, 32; Shāh. V, 11,
IX, 20, XI, 25, XII, 4, XIII, 9;
Mān. V, 20, IX, 8, XI, 14, XIII, 3; Dhau. V, 2, Sep. I, 9, 13; Jau. Sep. I, 5; Top. VII, 28. tenatā Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 2. tenada Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, tenā Kāl. IX, 27, XI, 30, XIII, 6. tenesā Gir. VIII, 3. tesha Shāh. XIII, 5, 6, 8; Mān. XIII, 8. tesham Kal. XIII, 37; Shah. XII, 8. tesa Gir. XIII, 4; Dhau. Sep. II, tesam Gir. XIII, 7; Jau. Sep. II, 12; Tōp. IV, 3. tesu Tōp. VII, 26. tehi Gir. XII, 8; Kāl. V, 14, XII, 34; Mān. XIÍ, 7. to (read ti) Mān. V, 25. todaśa-vashabhisitena Shāh. V, II. toshe Mān. VI, 29. tosho Shāh. VI, 15. Tosaliyam Dhau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1. tose Dhau. VI, 4; Jau. VI, 4. to so Gir. VI, 8. trayo Shāh. I, 3. trī Gir. I, 12. tredaśa-va[sha]bhisitena Mān. V, traidasa-vāsābhi[s]i[tena] Gir. V, 4.

Th

-tham bh a Sah. 8.
-tham bh ani Top. VII, 23, 32.
-thabhe Rum. 3.
-thitika Shāh. V, 13, VI, 16.
-thitika Top. II, 16.
-thitika Kāl. V, 17.
-thitika Ar. II, 4.
-thitike Sām. 8.
thube Nig. 2.

12; Sar. 10.

tuphe Dhau. Sep. I, 4, 7, 18, II, 6,

8, 9, 11; Jau. Sep. I, 3, 4, II,

thaira-susrusā Gir. IV, 7. thairānam Gir. VIII, 3. thairesu Gir. V, 7.

-da m data Shah. XIII, 11. -damdatā Kāl. XIII, 17 damda-samatā Top. IV, 15. -damdanam Top. IV, 16. damde Top. IV, 4, 14. dakhati Kāl. I, 2; Shāh. I, 1; Mān. I, 2. dakhāmi Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1; Jau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1. dakhitaviye Mas. 5. -dakhināye Ar. II, 3. da kheya Dhau. Sep. I, 13. dakh e ya Jau. Sep. I, 7. dadha-bhati[t]ā Gir. VII, 3. dana Gir. IX, 7; Shāh. IX, 19, XI, 24, XII, 1; Mān. XII, 1. -dana Shāh. XI, 23. danam Shah. VIII, 17, XI, 23, XII, 8; Man. XII, 7. dana-samyute Man. V, 25. dana-s[a]yute Shah. V, 13. dane Shah. VII, 4; Man. III, 11, VII, 33, VIII, 35, IX, 5, XI, 12, -dane Man. XI, 12. danena Shāh. XII, 1; Mān. XII, 1. -danena Shāh. XI, 25; Mān. XI, 14. dapa[ka] Shāh. VI, 14. dapakam Shah. VI, 15; Man. VI, daya Ar. II, 1. dayā Top. II, 12, VII, 28. -darsaṇā Gir. IV, 3. da[v]iye Dhau. Sep. I, 9. dasana Shāh. VIII, 17. daśa-vashabhisite Man. VIII, 35. daśa-vashabhisito Shāh. VIII, 17. -da[sa]nā Gir. IV, 3. dasane Gir. VIII, 3. -dasanam Dhau. IV, 2. -dasan a Kal. IV, 9. dasane Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 2, 3; Jau. VIII, 2; Sōp. VIII, 7. dasa-bhatakanam Shāh. XI, 23, XIII, 5. dasa-bhatakasa Shāh. IX, 19. dasa-bhatakasi Mān. IX, 4, XI, 12. dasayitu Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 3. dasayitpā Gir. IV, 4. dasa-varsābhisito Gir. VIII, 2. dasa-vasābhisite Kāl. VIII, 22; Dhau. VIII, 2. daspanam Gir. VIII, 4. da(du)ļī Top. V, 4. -dākhināye Top. II, 14. dānam Gir. III, 5, IX, 5, 7, XI, 1, 2, XII, 2, 8; Kāl. XII, 34; Tōp. IV, 18. -dānam Gir. IX, 7, XI, 1. dāna-[gah]e All. Qu. 3 dāna-visagasi Top. VII, 27. dāna-visagesu Top. VII, 27.

dāna-samvibhāge Ar. IV, 10.

dāna-sayute Dhau, V, 7.

dāna-savibhāge Top. IV, 20. dāna-suyute Kāl. V, 16. -[da]na Mīr. II, 2. dāni Rūp. 2; Mas. 4.
dāni Rūp. 2; Mas. 4.
dīne Gir. VII, 3, VIII, 3; Kāl.
III, 8, VII, 21, VIII, 23, IX, 25,
XI, 29, XII, 31; Dhau. III, 3,
VII, 2, VIII, 2, IX, 4, 5; Jau.
III, 3, VII, 2, VIII, 2, IX, 4, 5;
Tōp. II, 12, VII, 28; All. Qu. 2. -dāne Kāl. XI, 29; Dhau. IX, 6; Jau. IX, 5; Tōp. II, 12. dānena Gir. XII, 1; Kāl. XII, 31. danana Gir. XI, 4.
danana Gir. XI, 4.
danana Kal. XI, 30.
dapakam Gir. VI, 6; Kal. VI, 18;
Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3.
dalakanam Top. VII, 27. -dāle Kāl. VI, 20. dāve Top. V, 10. dāśa-bha[ta]kash[i] Kāl. XIII, 37. dāsha-bhatakashi Kāl. XI, 29. dāsa-[bha] Gir. XIII, 3 dāsa-bhatakasi Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau. IX, 3. dāsa-bhatakesu Top. VII, 29. dāsa-bhatakamhi Gir. IX, 4, XI, 2. dāhamti Top. IV, 18. diadha-mat[r]e Shāh. XIII, 1. dimne Top. II, 12, IV, 17. dighāya Gir. X, 1. didha-bhatitā Kāl. VII, 22, XIII, dinā Bar. I, 2, II, 4, III, 4 f. dipana Shāh. XII, 10; Mān. XII, 9. dipanā Kāl. XII, 35. dipayama Mān. XII, 5. dipayami Shāh. XII, 6. dipayema Käl. XII, 33. di jpayema Kai. XII, 33.

-dipi Shāh. I, 1, 3, V, 13, XIII, 11,
XIV, 13; Mān. I, 1, 4, V, 26, VI,
31, XIII, 12, XIV, 13.

dipikarasa Shāh. XIV, 14.
[di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e Mān. XIII, 1.

diyadha-mite Kāl. XIII, 35. diyadhiya Rūp. 4. diyadhiyam Sah. 6; Bair. 8; Mas. 8; Brah. 7; Sidd. 15; Jat. 11. diyādhiyam Sah. 6. divani Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13. -diva[sa] Mān. I, 4. -divasam Gir. I, 8; Kāl. I, 3; Jau. divasāni Top. IV, 16, V, 12, 13. -divasāye Top. V, 16. -divaso Shāh. I, 2 divi[y]āni Dhau. IV, 2; Jau. IV, 3. divyāni Gir. IV, 4; Kāl. IV, 10. dishā Kāl. XIV, 23. disāsu Top. VII, 27. diseyā Calc. 3. dī gh avuse Brah. 12; Śidd. 19; Jat. 19. dīp a nā Gir. XII, 9. dīpayema Gir. XII, 6. duahale Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. I, 8. dukata Mān. V. 20. dukatam Kāl. V, 14; Shāh. V, 11; Dhau. V, 2. [du]katam Gir. V, 3.

[du]kara Shāh. VI, 16. dukaram Gir. V, 1, VI, 14, X, 4; Shāh. V, 11; Mān. V, 19. dukare Shāh. X, 22; Mān. VI, 32, X, 11. dukalam Kal. V, 13; Dhau. V, 1. dukalatale Dhau. X, 4; Jau. X, 3. dukale Kāl. V, 13, VI, 21, X, 28, 29; Dhau. V, 1, VI, 7, X, 3; Jau. VI, 7. dukha[m] Dhau. Sep. II, 5. [du*]kha[m] Jau. Sep. II, 6. dukhiyati Dhau. Sep. I, 9. -dukhīyanam Top. IV, 6. dudī All. V, 2. duta Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, II. dutā Kāl. XIII, 10. dutiyam Nig. 2. dutiyāye All. Qu. 2. dutīyāye All. Qu. 5. dupativekhe Top. III, 19. dupada-chatupadesu Top. II, 12 f. duva[da]śa-vashabhise(si)tena Man. duva[da]śa-vashabhisitena Mān. IV, duv[a]das[a]-vas[a]bhisitena Kal. IV, 13. duvādasa-vasa-abhisitena Top. VI, If. duvādasa-vasābhisitena Kāl. III, 7; Rām. VI, 1. duvādasa-vasābhisitenā Bar. I, 1, duvādasa Dhau. IV, 8. duvādasa-vasābhisitena Dhau. III, r; Jau. III, r. duvāl[a] Dhau. Sep. I, 3; Jau. Sep. II, 2. duvālam Jau. Sep. I, 2. duvālate Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2. duvālā Dhau. Sep. II, 2. duvā[la]s[a-va]sābhisitena Nand. VI. I. duv[i] Shāh. I, 3, II, 4. duve Kāl. I, 4, II, 5; Mān. I, 4, II, 7; Jau. I, 4; Sah. 6. duvehi Top. VII, 29. dusampatipādaye Top. I, 3. dusāni All. Kaus. 4; Sām. 6; Sār. 4. duļi Ar. V, 3. dūti(tā) Gir. XIII, 9. dekhamti Ar. III, 1. dekhata Dhau. Sep. I, 7, 14. dekhati Top. III, 17, 18. dekhiye Top. III, 19, 21. -deva Sah. 3. Devanapriy[e] Shah. I, 1. Devanampiye Kāl. X, 28. Devanampriya Shāh. VIII, 17. Devanampriyasa Shāh. II, 3, 4, IV, 7, 8, 9, VIII, 17, XII, 7, XIII, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10; Mān. XIII, 6. [De]vana[m]priye Man. I, 2, XII, 2. Devanampriyena Shāh. IV, 10, XIV, 13; Mān. I, 1, V, 19. Devanampriyo Shāh. III, 5, VI, 14,

XII, 1, VIII, 17, IX, 18, X, 22, XI, 23, XII, 1, 2, 8, XIII, 8, 11. Devanapiasa Shāh. I, 2. Devanapriasa Shāh. I, 1, 2, XIII, I, 2. Devanapri[ya] Mān. VIII, 34. Devanapriyasa Shāh. XIII, 2; Mān. I, 3, II, 5, IV, 13, 14, 16, VIII, 36, XIII, 6, XIII, 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, Devanapriye Shāh. X, 21; Man. III, 9, IV, 15, VI, 26, VIII, 34, IX, 1, X, 9, 10, XI, 12, XII, 1, 7, XIII, 12. Devanapriyena Man. IV, 18, XIV, Devanapriyo Shah. V, 11; Man. VII, 32. devā Rūp. 2; Mas. 4. -[de]vā Ŝah. 2. Devanampiy asa Jat. 20. Devāņampiye Brah. 1, 8. Devānam Gir. X, 3, XIII, 6. Dev[āna]mp[i]namya (read opiyasa) Kāl. XIII, 11. De vānampiyasha Kāl. XIII, 35. Devānampiyashā Kāl. XII, XIII, 36, 38, 39, 10; All. Qu. 1. Devānampiyasa Gir. VIII, 5, XII, 7, XIII, 2, 6, 7, 9; Dhau. II, 1, IV, 2, 3, 5, 8, VIII, 3, Sep. I, 1, 14, II, 1, 8; Jau. I, 2, 3, II, 1, IV, 2, VIII, 3, Sep. I, 7; Mas. I. Devānampiyasā Kāl. I, 2, 3, II, 4, 5, IV, 9, 10, 11, VIII, 23, XIII, 11. Devānampiyā Kāl. VIII, 23, XIII, 11. Devānampiyā Kāl. VIII, 22. Devanampiye Gir. XII, 1; Kal. I, 2, III, 6, IV, 11, V, 13, VI, 17, VII, 21, VIII, 22, IX, 24, X, 27, VII, 21, VIII, 22, 1X, 24, X, 27, XI, 29, XII, 31; Dhau. III, 1, IV, 5, V, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, VIII, 1, IX, 1, X, 1, 2, Sep. II, 4, 5, 7; Jau. I, 2, III, 1, V, 1, VI, 1, VIII, 1, IX, 1, X, 2, Sep. I, 1, III, 1, Tōp. I, 1, II, 10, III, 17, IV, 1, V, 1, VII, 11, 14, 19, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31; All. Kané 1: Sar 6: Rūp. I: Side, 3. Kauś. 1; Sar. 6; Rup. 1; Sidd. 3. Devanampiyena Dhau. I, 1, II, 2, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, II, 2; Nig. 1. Devanampiyena Kal. I, 1, IV, 13, XIV, 19. Devānampiye(ya)shā Kāl. XIII, 5. Devānampiyo Gir. III, 1, VII, 1, IX, 1, X, 1, 2, XII, 2, 8.
Devānampriyasa Gir. I, 6 f., 8, II, 1, 4, IV, 2, 5, 8, XIII, 2, 8. Devanampriyena Gir. I, 1, IV, 12, XIV, T. Devanampriyo Gir. I, 5, IV, 7, V, 1, VIII, 2, XIII, 11. Devana pi yena Rum. 1. Devānāmpiye Sah. 1; Bair. 1. Devānāpiye Kāl. XII, 30, 34. devi-kumālānam Top. VII, 27. devinam Top. VII, 27. Devi(vā)nampriyo Gir. XI, 1. deviye All. Qu. 4, 5. deviye All. Qu. 2. Dev[e]nam[pi]ne (read Devanampiye) Kal. XIII, 14.

devehi Bair. 4; Brah. 4; Śidd. 8. deśa Mān. V, 20. deśam Shāh. XIV, 14. -deśam Shāh. VII, 3; Mān. VII, desam Gir. V, 3, XIV, 5; Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 2, Sep. I, 7; Jau. Sep. I, 4.
-desam Gir. VII, 2; Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau. VII, 2. -desä-āy ut like (read -desāyutike) Jau. Sep. II, 12. desāvutike Dhau. Sep. II, 8. dosha Shāh. I, 1; Mān. I, 2. dosam Gir. I, 4; Jau. I, 2. dosā Kāl. I, 2. dose (for tose) Kal. VI, 19. dbādasa-vāsābhisitena Gir. III, 1, IV, 12. drakhati Jau. I, 2. draśana Shāh. VIII, 17. -draśana Mān. IV, 13. draśanam Shāh. IV, 8. draśane Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 35, 36. draśayitu Shāh. IV, 8. draśeti Mān. IV, 13. drasayitu Jau. IV, 3. drahyitavyam Brah. 9; Sidd. 17; lat. 14. dridha-bhatita Shāh. VII, 5, XIII, 5; Man. VII, 33. dve Gir. II, 4. dvo Gir. I, 11.

Dh

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-bhamdata Shāh. III, 7. -bhamdatā Kāl. III, 8; Dhau. Ш, з. bhamte Calc. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8. -bhagam Shāh, XIII, 7. Bhagavam Rum. 4. bhagavatā Calc. 3, 6. bh[agi]ni[nā] Kāl. V, 16. bhaginīnam Dhau. V, 6. bhage Man. VIII, 37. -bhage Shāh. XIII, 7; Mān. XIII, 7. bhago Shāh. VIII, 17. -bhatakanam Shāh. XI, 23, XIII, 5. -bhatakashi Kāl. XI, 29, XIII, 37. -bhatakasa Shāh. IX, 19.
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IX, 3. -bhatakesu Top. VII, 29. bhatamayeshu Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22 f. bhatamayesu Kāl. V, 15. bhati[mayesu] Dhau. V, 4.
-bha[data] Mān. III, 11. -bhatakamhi Gir. IX, 4, XI, 2. bhata(tu)na Mān. V, 24. bhatamayesu Gir. V, 5. -bhatita Shāh. VII, 5, XIII, 5; Mān. VII, 33. -bhatitā Gir. VII, 3; Kāl. VII, 22, XIII, 37.
-bhatiya Shāh. XII, 5; Mān. XII, 5. -bhatiyā Gir. XII, 6; Kāl. XII, 33. bha dak e Mas. 7. -bhayani Calc. 5. bhayena Ar. I, 3. bhayena Tōp. I, 4. bhavati Gir. IV, 10, VI, 7, VIII, 5, XI, 2, 4. bhava-śuti(dhi) Mān. VII, 33. bhava-śudhi Shāh. VII, 2, 4 f.; Mān. VII, 32. bhave Gir. XII, 3 bh[ā]khati All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5; Sär. 4. -bhāgiye Rum. 5. bhāge Gir. VIII, 5.; Kāl. VIII, 23, XIII, 39; Dhau. VIII, 3; Jau. VIII, 4; Sop. VIII, 10.
-bhage Kal. XIII, 39. -bhāgo Gir. XIII, 6. -bhādatā Gir. III, 5. bhāt[ā] Gir. XI, 3. bhā[tina]m Kāl. V, 16. bhātinā Kāl. IX, 25, XI, 30; Dhau. IX, 4; Jau. IX, 4. bhāi[ī]naṁ Dhau. V, 6. bhātrā Gir. IX, 6. bhāva-sudhi Kāl. VII, 21, 22. bhāva-sudhim Gir. VII, 2. bhāva-sudhitā Gir. VII, 3. bhāva-sudhī Dhau. VII, 1, 2; Jau. VII, r. bhāsite Calc. 3, 6. bhikhu All. Kauś, 3; Sām. 5. bhikhuni All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 5; Sār. 4. bhikhuniye Calc. 7.

bhi khun inam Sam. 3. bhikhu-[p]āye Calc. 7. bhikhu-samghasi Sar. 5. [bhikh]ū Sār. 4. [bhi*]khūna[m] Sām. 3. bhīta Ar. IV, 2, 6. -bhītā Tōp. IV, 4, 12. bhumija mānasa Gir. VI, 3. bhutana Mān. IV, 14. -bhutana Shāh. XIII, 8. bhutanam Shāh. IV, 7, 8, VI, 16; Mān. IV, 12, VI, 30. bhuta-pruva Shāh. V, 11; Mān. V, 21. bhuta-pruvam Shāh. VI, 14. bhuta-pruve Shāh. IV, 8. bhutānam Kāl. IV, 9, 10, VI, 20; Top. VII, 30. -bhumika Shāh. XII, 9; Mān. XII, 8. -bhfu mikyā Kāl. XII, 34. bhuya Gir. VIII, 5. bhuye Kāl. VIII, 23; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 36; Dhau. VIII, 3; Tōp. VII, 30. bhūta-puve Gir. IV, 5. bhūta-pru[v]. Gir. VI, 2. bhūta-pruvam Gir. V, 4. -bhūtā Mas. 4 bhūtānam Gir. IV, 1, 6, VI, 11; Dhau. IV, 1, 4, VI, 5; Jau. IV, 4.
-bhūtānām Gir. XIII, 7. -bhūmīkā Gir. XII, 9. bhetave Sām. 2; Sār. 3. bheri-ghosha Shāh. IV, 8. bheri-ghoshe Man. IV, 13. bhe rī-ghoso Gir. IV, bheli-ghosam Dhau. IV, 2. bheli-ghose Kāl. IV, 9. -bhogasi Top. V, 14 Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Shāh. XIII, 10; Man. XIII, 10. Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u Kāl. XIII, 9, bhoti Shāh. IV, 10, VI, 14, 15, VIII, 17, IX, 20, XII, 9, XIII, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11; Man. XII, 9. bhotu Shah. V, 13, VI, 16, XIII, bhrata(tu)na Shāh. IX, 19. bhratuna Shah. V, 13, XI, 24; Mān. IX, 5, XI, 13.

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XIII, 11; Mān. IV, 18.
maa Shāh. III, 5, V, 11, 13; Mān.
V, 19, 25.
maṁ Tōp. IV, 8, 9.
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-maṁgalaṁ Gir. IX, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6;
Kāl. IX, 24; Shāh. IX, 18, 19;
Mān. IX, 3; Dhau. IX, 1, 2;
Jau. IX, 2.
-maṁgalaṁ Gir. IX, 5; Shāh. IX,
19.
maṁgalaṁ Gir. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25;
Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 2.
-maṁgale Gir. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25;
Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 2.

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bhikhuni-samghasi Sār. 5.

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-mamgalena Shāh. IX, 20. mamnate Gir. XII, 2, 8. mamnā Gir. XIII, 11. mamnam[ti] (read mamnati) Kal. XIII, 14. mamnat[i] Kal. XII, 34. mamn ate Dhau. X, I. Maka Shah. XIII, 9; Man. XIII, Makā Kāl. XIII, 7. magalam Gir. IX, 3; Kāl. IX, 24; Mān. IX, 1, 3. -magalam Shāh. IX, 20. magale Kāl. IX, 26; Shāh. IX, 20; Mān. IX, 4, 6. -magale Kāl. IX, 25, 26; Mān. IX, 4, 5, 7.
-magalen[ā] Kāl. IX, 27. magavyā Gir. VIII, 1. Magā Gir. XIII, 8. malgeshul Man. II, 8. magesu Kāl, II, 6; Dhau, II, 4; Jan, II, 4; Tōp, VII, 23. mago Gir, I, 11, 12. machhe Top. V, 13.
-machhe Top. V, 4, 5. majura Shāh. I, 3; Mān. I, 4f. majūlā Kāl. I, 4; Jau. I, 4. majham Dhau. Sep. I, 10; Jau. Sep. I, 5. majhamena Gir. XIV, 2. majhimā Top. I, 7. majhime[na] Dhau. XIV, 1; Jau. XIV, 1. majhimenā Kāl. XIV, 20. mañati Shāh. X, 21, XII, 2, 8; Man. X, 9, XII, 2. maña[tu] Shāh. XIII, 11. mañate Gir. X, 1 mañishu Shāh. XIII, 11. mate Kāl. XIII, 35, 39; Mān. XIII, 2. manati Man. XII, 7, XIII, 12. man[ishu] Man. XIII, 12. mata Gir. XIII, 1. -mata Gir. XIII, 2; Man. I, 3; Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2; Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2. -matam Shah. VI, 15, XIII, 3, 6, 7. -matataram Shāh. XIII, 3. -matatalain Shan. KH, 3.

-matatale Kāl. XIII, 36.

mata-pitushu Shāh. III, 6, IV, 9,
XI, 23, XIII, 4; Mān. III, 10,
IV, 15, XI, 12, XIII, 4.

-matā Gir. I, 6; Kāl. I, 2; Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2. -mate Gir. VI, 9; Kāl. XIII, 38, 39; Shāh. I, 2, XIII, 7; Mān. VI, 30, XIII, 3, 6, 7; Dhau. VI, 4; Tōp. VI, 9. -mat[o] Gir. XIII, 6. -matre Shāh. XIII, 1; Mān. XIII, madava Kāl. XIII, 4. madave Top. VII, 28. madhuriyaye Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14. madhuliyāye Kāl. XIV, 22. manati Kāl. X, 27, XII, 31. manatu Kāl. XIII, 17.

manishu Kāl. XIII, 16.

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mamayā Kāl. V, 13, 14, VI, 17,
19; Dhau. VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1;
Tōp. VII, 24; Bair. 3.
mamā Kāl. V, 13, 16; Dhau. Sep.
I, 5, 12, II, 6; Tōp. IV, 12. mamāye Dhau. Sep. II, 4. mamiyā Top. VII, 28. mamiyaye Jau. Sep. II, 6. maya Shāh. V, 11, 12, VI, 14, 15; Mān. V, 19, 21, VI, 27, 29. mayā Gir. III, 1, V, 2, 4, VI, 2,8; Brah. 3; Sidd. 6. maye Dhau. Sep. II, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 11. maranam Gir. XIII, 2; Shah. XIII, 3. [maraṇe] Mān. XIII, 3. malane Kal. XIII, 36. mahamte Dhau. XIV, 2; XIV, 1. mahathavaha Shāh. X, 21. mahatatā Rūp. 2; Sah. 3. ma[ha]taneva Bair. 5. [ma]hathāvā (read othāvahā?) Kāl. X, 27. mahathravaham Man. X, 9. mahana[sa]si Shāh. I, 2; Mān. I, 3. maha-phala Shāh. IX, 18, XIII, 11; Man. XIII, 12. maha-phalā Kāl. XIII, 14. maha-phale Man. IX, 4. mahamatā Jau. Sep. II, 1; All. Qu. I. -mahamatra Shah. V, 11, 12, 13, XII, 9; Man. V, 21, 26, XII, 8. mahamatrana Shāh. VI, 14. mahamatranam Shāh. VI, 15. mahamatrehi Mān. VI, 28. mahalake Shāh. V, 13, XIV, 13; Mān. V, 24. mahā-apāye Dhau. Şep. I, 15. mahātpā Brah. 6; Sidd. 12. mahātpeneva Brah. 4; Sidd. 9. mahāthāvah [ā] Gir. X, 1. mahānas amhi] Gir. I, 7. mahānasasi Kāl. I, 3; Jau. I, 3. mahāpāy[e] Jau. Sep. I, 8. mahā-phale Gir. IX, 4; Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau. IX, 3, Sep. I, 14; Jau. Sep. I, 8.

-mahāmatā Kāl. V, 14, 16. mahāmat[e]hi Kāl. VI, 18. mahāmāta Dhau. Sep. I, 1; All. Kauś. r. mahāmāta[m] Jau. Sep. I, 11. mahāmātā Dhau. Sep. I, 25, II, 1, 9; Jau. Sep. I, 1, 10, II, 14; Top. VII, 26; Brah. 1; Sidd. 2. -mahāmātā Gir. V, 4, 9, XII, 9; Kāl. V, 14, XII, 34; Dhau. V, 3, 7; Töp. I, 9, VII, 23, 25, 26. mahāmātāṇam Brah. 1; Sidd. 1 f. mahāmāte Sār. 8. mahāmātehi Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3. mahāmātresu Gir. VI, 6. -mahālakānam Top. VII, 29. mahālake Gir. XIV, 3; Kāl. V, 16, XIV, 20; Dhau. V, 6. ma[hāla]kesu Dhau. V, 5. mahidāyo Gir. IX, 3. mahīyite Rum. 2; Nig. 3. mā Gir. XIII, 11; Kāl. IV, 13; Dhau. IV, 7; Jau. IV, 8; Top. III, 21. Māgadhe Calc. 1. māta-pitisu Kāl. III, 8. mātari Gir. III, 4, IV, 6, XI, 2. mātā-pitishu Kāl. XI, 29. m[ā]tā-piti-shushushā Kāl. XIII, 37. mātā-pitisu Kāl. IV, 11; Dhau. III, 2; Top. VII, 29; Brah. 9. [ma]t[a]-pitusu Jat. 13. mati i pitu-sususa Dhau. IV, 4. -mātu All. Qu. 5. -mātram Gir. XIII, 1. mātr[i] Gir. XIII, 3. mādava Gir. XIII, 7. mādhuliyāye Jau. XIV, 2. mādhūratāya Gir. XIV, 4. mānusānam Gir. XIII, 5. māne Top. III, 20. migaviyā Kāl. VIII, 22; Dhau. VIII, 1. mige Kāl. I, 4; Jau. I, 4. mita - śainth[u] a - sha[h]āya -[nā]tikya Kāl. XIII, 38. mita-śamthutā(te)nā Kāl. XI, 30. mita-shamthuta-nātikyānam XI, 29. mita-shamthuta-shahaya-natikeshu Kāl. XIII, 37. mita-samthuta-nātikyān[am] Kāl. III, 8. mita-samthuten[ā] Kāl. IX, 25. mita-samthute[s]. Jau. III, 2. mita - samsta(stu)ta - sahāya ñātike[su] Gir. XIII, 3. mita-[sa]stuta-ñātikānam Gir. XI, 2. mita - sastut[a] - ñāi[i]k[e]na Gir. XI, 3 -mite Kal. XIII, 35. mitena Jau. IX, 5. mitra-[sam] ... Man. XIII, 5. mit[r]a-sa[m]stu . . Mān. XIII, 4. mitra - sam[stuta] - ñatikana Mān. XI, 13. mitra-samstuta-ñatikanam III, 6, XI, 23; Man. III, 10 f. mitra-samstuta-ñātīnam Gir. III, 4. mitra-samstuta(te)na Shāh. XI, 24.

mitra-samstuta-sahaya-natika Shah. XIII, 5.

mitra - samstuta - sahaya - ñatikeshu Shāh. XIII, 4 f. mitra-samstutena Mān. IX, 6, XI,

13. mitra-sastutena Shāh. IX, 19. mitrena Gir. IX, 7. mina Top. III, 18. min[a] Mir. III, 2.

[m]isam-deva Sah. 3. misā Rūp. 2; Brah. 4; Śidd. 8. misibhūtā Mas. 4.

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Jau. VI, 3. mukhato Gir. VI, 5; Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. VI, 28.

mukha-mut[a] Shāh. XIII, 8. [mukha]-mute Man. XIII, 9. mukhā Top. VII, 27. mukhya-mute Ar. VI, 5. m[ute] Shāh. XIII, 1. mut[o] Shāh. XIII, 6. -mut[a] Shāh. XIII, 8.

-mute Kal. VI, 19, XIII, 36; Man. XIII, 9; Ar. VI, 5.

-mu[n]ā (read -munisā) Jau. Sep. I, 2.

Muni-gāthā Calc. 5. -m[uni]śanam Mān. II, 8. munisā Dhau. VII, 1; Jau. VII, 1;

Sah. 3; Brah. 3. -munisā Jau. Sep. II, 2 f. munisānam Dhau. IV, 3, Sep. I, 4; Jau. IV, 3, Sep. I, 2, 10; Top. IV, 16, VII, 29, 30.

-munisanam Kal. II, 6; Top. VII,

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-munisesu Dhau. Sep. I, 6; Jau.

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II, 3. mula Shāh. XII, 2. mulam Shāh. VI, 15. mulani Mān. II, 8. mulāni Kāl. II, 6.

mule Kāl. VI, 19, XII, 31; Mān.

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26, 27, 30, 31; Sām. 7; Calc. 8; Brah. 3; Sidd. 7; Bar. III, 3. meñati Shāh. XIII, 11. mai (read me) Brah. 6. mokshay[e] Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V,

-mokhāni Top. V, 20. mokhāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5; Jau. V, 6.

mokhiya-mata Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 2. mokhya-mata Dhau. Sep. I, 3, II, 2. mokhya-mate Top. VI, 9. mokhya-mute Nand. VI, 6. Moneya-sûte Calc. 5. morā Gir. I, 11. mrigaviya Mān. VIII, 34. mrig[e] Mān. I, 5. mrugaya Shāh. VIII, 17. mrugo Shäh. I, 3.

ya Gir. IV, 10, V, 2, VI, 5, 6, 11, IX, 4, X, 3, XII, 3, 9, XIII, 6; Shāh. XIII, 7, 12; Mān. XIII, 13; Rūp. 1; Bair. 2; Brah. 2; Sidd. 5; Jat. 3. [ya] (read ye) Kāl. XIII, 37.

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yata Gir. II, 6, 7, XIII, 9; Kāl.

XIII, 10; Sah. 7.

yatā Kāl. XIII, 38, 39. yatra Gir. II, 7, XIII, 5; Shāh. II, 5, XIII, 9, 10; Mān. XIII, 6, 11. -yatra Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII,

yatha Shāh. II, 3, XII, 2, 8; Mān. III, 10.

[ya*][tha] Shāh. III, 6. yathā Gir. II, 2, III, 3, IX, 9, XII, 2, 8; Kāl. III, 7; Tōp. VII, 22; Sidd. 11.

yathāraham Brah. 11; Sidd. 20;

Jat. 18. yada Shāh. I, 2. -yada Mān. VIII, 35. yadā Gir. I, 10; Kāl. I, 3. yadi Shāh. IX, 20. yadiśam Shāh. IV, 8, XI, 23. yamatro Shāh. XIII, 6.

yava Shāh. IX, 19. yavatake Mān. XIII, 7. yaśo Shāh. X, 21; Man. X, 9, 10. yasho Kāl. X, 27, 28. yasa Gir. VII, 3; Shāh. VII, 4;

Mān. VII, 33.

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-yātā Gir. VIII, 3; Kāl. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 2.

-yātām Gir. VIII, 1. yāti Sār. 9. yani Gir. II, 5; Top. V, 14, VII, 28, 30. yārisam Gir. IX, 7, XI, 1. yārise Gir. IV, 4. yāvataka Rūp. 5. y[a]vata[k]o Gir. XIII, 5. yava - saduvīsati - vasa - abhisitena Top. V, 19. yāva-saduvīsati-vasābhisitasa Ar. V, yāva - saduvīsati - vasābhisitena

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-yutasa Gir. V, 5; Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22; Dhau. V, 4. -yutas[ā] Kāl. V, 15. -yutasi Kāl. V, 16; Shāh. V, 13;

Mān. V, 25; Dhau. V, 7. yutā Gir. III, 2; Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. III, I.

-yutanam Gir. V, 6. yutāni Kāl. III, 8; Dhau. III, 3. -yutāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 5. yute Gir. III, 6. -yutena Top. IV, 6; Mas. 5.

y[ū]jeyū Jau. Sep. I, 3. yūjevū Dhau. Sep. I, 6, 20. ye Gir. II, 3, V, 5, 8, XII, 8; Kāl. II, 4, 5, V, 14, VI, 18, IX, 25, XII, 32, XIII, 35, 5, 12, 17; Shāh. II, 3, 4, V, 11, 12, 13, VI, 14, 15, IX, 18, 20, XII, 7,

XIII, 1, 3; Man. II, 5, 6, V, 19, 20, 22, 25, VI, 28, IX, 4, XII, 5, XIII, 9, 11; Dhau, V, 1, 2, Sep. I, 8; Jau. Sep. I, 4; Tōp. II, 16, IV, 3, V, 7, VII, 11, 30; Sām. 4; Mas. 4.

yena Kāl. XIV, 22; Shāh. XIV,

13; Man. XIV, 14; Top. IV, 9, 12.

yeva Mān. I, 4, IV, 15; Dhau. IV, 6; Jau. I, 4, IV, 6; Top. VII, 29; Mīr. V, 7. yevā Kāl. I, 3, XIV, 19; Top. V,

yeśu Kāl. XIII, 37. yesha Shāh. XIII, 5. yesham Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 5.

yesam Gir. XIII, 4. yesu Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. XIII, 4. yeham Kal. VI, 20; Man. VI, 31;

Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 6. yo Gir. V, 1, 3, 8, XII, 5; Shāh. V, 11, X, 21, XII, 5, XIII, 3, 7, 8, 10, 12. yo (= ēva) Shāh. IV, 9, XIII, 11,

XIV, 13; Man. IV, 16.

"yojana-śateshu Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 9. [yo]jana-shateshu Kāl. XIII, 6. Yona-K[a]mbo[ja]-Gamdhārānam Gir. V, 5. yote Top. IV, 17. [Y]o[na]-Kambo . . Gir. XIII, 9. Yona - Kambocha - Gamdhālesu Dhau. V. 4. Yona - Kamb[o]ja - Gamdhālānam Kāl. V, 15. Yona-Kamboja-Gadharana Mān. Yona-Kambojeshu Kāl. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 10. Yona - Kamboya - Gamdharanam Shāh. V, 12. Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu Shāh. XIII, 9: Yona-raja Shāh. II, 4, XIII, 9; Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9. Yo na-rāja Gir. XIII, 8. Yona-tājā Gir. II, 3. Yona-tājā Kāl. II, 5, XIII, 6; Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 2. Yoneshu Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān.

XIII, 6.

Yone[su] Gir. XIII, 5.

-rage Man. VII, 33. rago Shāh. VII, 3.
raja Shāh. III, 5, VII, 1, VIII, 17;
Mān. I, 2, III, 9, IV, 16, V, 19,
VI, 26, VII, 32, VIII, 35, IX, 1, X, 9, 10, XI, 12, XII, 1. -raja Shāh. II, 4, XIII, 9; Mān. II, 6, XIII, 9. rajani Shāh. XIII, 9. ra[jane] Mān. II, 6. rajano Shah. II, 4. raja-vishava[si] Mān. XIII, 10. raja-vishavaspi Shāh. XIII, 9. rajina Mān. I, 1, IV, 18. rajine Mān. I, 3, 3 f. II, 5, 6, IV, 13, 14, 16, VIII, 37, XIII, 1. rajuko Shāh. III, 6. raña Shāh. IV, 10, XIV, 13. raño Shāh. I, 1, 2, II, 4, IV, 7, 8, 9, VIII, 17, XIII, 1. Rathikanam Shāh. V, 12. Rathika-Pitinikana Man. V, 22. rati Gir. VIII, 5; Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 36. -rati Shah, XIII, 12; Man. XIII, 13. [ra]tī Söp. VIII, 9 rabhasiye Shah. XIII, 8. raya Shah. I, 1, V, 11, VI, 14, IX, 18, X, 21, 22, XI, 23, XII, 1. -raso Gir. XIII, 10; Shāh. XIII, -rāgo Gir. VII, 2. -rāja Gir. XIII, 8. rāja-vi[sa]yambi Gir. XIII, 9.
rājā Gir. I, 5, III, 1, IV, 8, V, 1,
VI, 1, VII, 1, VIII, 2, IX, 1,
X, 1, 2, 3, XI, 1, XII, 1.
-rājā Gir. II, 3.
rājāno Gir. II, 4, VIII, 1, XIII, 8.

rājūke Gir. III, 2.

rāñā Gir. I, 2, IV, 12, XIV, 1. raño Gir. I, 7, 8, II, 1, 4, IV, 2, 5, 8, VIII, 5: Ri(Rā)stika-Pfe tenikānam Gir. V, ruchhani Man. II, 8. rupani Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 13. rūpāni Gir. IV, 4 rochetu Shāh. XIII, II. ropapita Mān. II, 7, 8. [ropa]pi[tani] Mān. II, 8. ropāpit[ā] Gir. II, 8. ropāpitāni Gir. II, 6, 7.

lajūkā Top. IV, 2, 4, 8, 9, 12, VII,

lakhane Top. V, 19.

laghamti Töp. IV, 8. lajā Kāl. X, 27, 28. lajāne Kāl. XIII, 7.

lajinā Kāl. XIV, 19.

la[j]u[k]e Dhau. III, r. lajūka Ar. IV, 2, 5, 6.

lajūkānam Top. IV, 13. laj[ū]k[e] Kāl. III, 7. Lathika-[P]itenikesu Dhau. V, 4. -lati Käl. XIII, 18. ladha Shāh. XIII, 11. ladham Shāh. IX, 20. ladhā Gir. XIII, 10. ladhe Kāl. IX, 27, XIII, 5, 12; Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, 9, ladhesha(shu) Kāl. XIII, 35. ladh[e]shu Kāl. XIII, 39; Shāh. XIII, 2; Mān. XIII, 2. ladhesu Gir. XIII, 1. ladho Gir. XIII, 8; Shah. XIII, 8. [la]pitam Shāh. XIV, 13. la[p]it[e] Kāl. XIV, 21f.; Mān. XIV, 14. -lase Kal. XIII, 13. laha(hu)kā Kāl. XII, 32. Ifa hiye All. Kauś. 2. lahu Top. VII, 30. lahuka Shāh. XII, 3, XIII, 11; Mān. XII, 3. lahukā Gir. XII, 3; Kāl. XIII, 14. [lahuke] Töp. VII, 24. lahu-da[m]data Shāh. XIII, 11. lahu-damdatā Kāl. XIII, 16 f. lahey[ū] Jau. Sep. II, 6. lahevu Dhau. Sep. II, 5. lā(li)khāpetavaya Rūp. 5. -laga Dhau VII, 2; Jau. VII, 1. -la[g]e Kal. VII, 21. Laghulovade Calc. 5 f. lāja Kāl. IV, 11; Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Top. I, I, II, 10, III, 17, IV, 1, V, I, VI, I; Bar, III, I. l[ā]ja-vachanik[a] Jau. Sep. II, I. la[ja]-viśavashi Kal. XIII, 9. lājā Kāl. I, 2, III, 6, V, 13, VI, 17, Ja Kal. 1, 2, 111, 6, V, 13, VI, 17, VII, 21, VIII, 22, IX, 24, X, 28, XI, 29, XII, 31; Dhau, III, 1, IV, 5, V, 1, VII, 1, VIII, 1, VIII, 2, IX, 1, X, 1; Jau, I, 2, III, 1, VI, 1, VII, 1, IX, 1, Sep. II, 5, 6, 10; Tōp. VII, 11, 14, 19, 23,

26, 28, 29; All. I, I, II, I, III, I, V, I; Calc. I. -lājā Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 1; Jau. II, 2. lājāne Dhau. II, 2, VIII, 1; Jau. II, 2; Tōp. VII, 12, 15. lā[j]āno Kāl. II, 5. lajfa]la[dh]i Dhau. Sep. I, 15. lājā la* dhi Jau. Sep. I, 8. lājina Rum. 1; Nig. 1. lājinā Kāl. IV, 13; Dhau. I, 1, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, II, 2; Bar. I, т, П, т. I, II, I.

lājine Kāl. I, 2, 3, II, 4, 5, IV, 9,
10, 11, VIII, 23, XIII, 35;
Dhau. I, 3, IV, 2, 3, 5, 8, VIII,
3, Sep. I, 26; Jau. I, 3, II, 1,
IV, 2, 6, VIII, 4, Sep. II, 11.

lājīhi Tōp. VII, 24.
lāti Kāl. VIII, 23. lāti-satā Sah. 6 f. -lābhesu Gir. IX, 2. li khapita Man. I, 1, XIV, 13. likhapitu(ta) Shah. I, 1. likhapite Man. IV, 18. likhapeśami Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. XIV, 14. [likhapayatha] Sah. 8. likhāpa]yāthā Sah. 7. likhā pa yāmi Calc. 8. likhāpayisam Gir. XIV, 3. likhāpāpitā Töp. VII, 31. likhāpita Ar. I, 2, II, 3, IV, 1, VI, likhāpitā Kāl. XIV, 19; Dhau. I, 1; Jau. I, 1; Top. I, 2, II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10. likhita Shāh. I, 3; Mān. I, 4, V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 12; Dhau. Sep. I, 19; Jau. Sep. II, 14. likhitam Gir. XIV, 3, 5; Shah. XIV, 14; Jat. 21. likhitā Gir. I, 10, V, 9; Kāl. XIII, 15; Dhau. I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, Sep. II, 9; Jau. I, 4, VI, 6, Sep. I, likhite Kāl. IV, 12, XIV, 21, 23; Shāh. XIV, 13; Mān. IV, 18, XIV, 14; Dhau. IV, 7, 8, XIV, 2, 3; Brah. 13. likhiyis[āmi*] Dhau. XIV, 2. lipi Dhau. Sep. I, 17, 19, II, 9, 10.
-lipi Kāl. I, 1, 3, V, 17, VI, 20,
XIII, 15, XIV, 19; Tōp. I, 2,
II, 15, IV, 2, VI, 2, 10. lipim Sār. 7. lipikarāparadhena Gir. XIV, 6. li[pi]karena Brah. 13; Jat. 22. li[p]ikalapalādhena Kāl. XIV, 23. lipī Jau. Sep. I, 9, 10, II, 14, 15; Sār. 6. -lipī Gir. I, 1, 10, V, 9, VI, 13, XIV, 1; Dhau. I, 4, V, 8, VI, 6, XIV, 1; Jau. I, 1, 4, VI, 6; All. VI, 3. -libi Top. VII, 31, 32. Lummini-game Rum. 4. lukhāni Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 4; Jau. II, 4. lupāni Kāl. IV, 10. lūpāni Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3.

Jekhapitam Gir. IV, 11, 12. Tekhapita Gir. I, 2, VI, 13, XIV, 1. lekhāpeta Rüp. 4. lekhāpeśāmi Kāl. XIV, 21. lekhitā Kāl. I, 1, 3, IV, 13, V, 17, VI, 20. -loka Dhau. Sep. II, 6. -loka- Gir. VI, 9, 11, 14, colophon; Kāl. VI, 19, 20; Shāh. VI, 15, 16; Mān. VI, 30, 32; Dhau. VI, 4, 5, 7; Jau. VI, 5, 7. -loka[m] Dhau. Sep. II, 6. lokasa Top. VII, 28; Ar. VI, 1, 2. lokasā Top. VI, 2, 4. loke Top. VII, 24, 28. -logam Jau. Sep. II, 7.
-lochayitu Kāl. XIV, 23; Dhau. XIV, 3. lochetavyā Gir. IV, 12. -locheti Shāh. XIV, 14. lochetu Kāl. XIII, 17. -lochetpā Gir. XIV, 6. lo[ch]e[sh]u Shāh. IV, ro. lopāpitā Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 3, 4; Jau. II, 4; Top. VII, 23. lopāpitāni Dhau. II, 4; Top. VII, lopitāni Kāl. II, 6.

va (= ēva) Kāl. IX, 26; Shāh. IX, 18, 19, X, 22, XII, 3, 5, XIII, 7, XIV, 14; Man. III, 10, IX, 6, 7, X, 10, XII, 3, 5, XIII, 7; Dhau. IV, 1, Sep. I, 7, 23, II, 5; Jau. IV, 1; Töp. III, 21, VII, 30; Ar. III, 2; Rüp. 3; Sah. 3; Mas. 6. Mas. 6.
va (=vā) Gir. V, 5, 8, VI, 2, 3, 7,
9, VII, 2, 3, IX, 5, 7, 8, X, 1, 2,
4, XI, 1, 3, XII, 2, 3, 5, 8, XIII,
2, 3, 4, 6, XIV, 5, 6; Kāl. XII,
31, XIII, 37; Shāh. V, 12, &c.;
Mān. V, 22, &c.; Dhau. V, 1,
2, 6, 7, VI, 1, 3, VII, 2, Sep.
I, 20, 21; Jau. V, 2, VI, 1, 3,
VII, 2; Tōp. IV, 14, 17, 18, V,
8; Ar. IV, 2, 7, 8, V, 7; All.
Ou. 2. va (abbreviation for vasāni) Rūp. I. vamnanato Shah. III, 7. vagam Dhau. Sep. I, 24. [va]ge Jau. Sep. I, 5. vagenā Kāl. X, 28. vagrena Shāh. X, 22; Mān. X, 11. vacha-guti Kāl. XII, 31; Shāh. XII, 2; Man. XII, 2. -vachanik[a] Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1. vachanena Dhau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; Brah. 1; Sidd. 2. v[a]chanenā All. Qu. 1. vacha-bh[u]mikyā Kāl. XII, 34. vacha-bhūmīkā Gir. XII, 9. vachamhi Gir. VI, 3.

vachasi Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 2;
Jau. VI, 2.
vachi-gutī Gir. XII, 3.
v[a]titaviya Jau. Sep. I, 7.
va[t]ita[v]iy[e] Dhau. Sep. I, 13:
-vachikā All. Qu. 3.

-vadikyā Top. VII, 23. vadhati Top. IV, 20. vadhayati Gir. XII, 4; Man. XII, 4. vadhayisati Gir. IV, 7; Dhau. IV, vadnayısarı Gir. 1v, 7, 2. vadni Shāh. IV, 10; Rüp. 4. vadni Kāl. XII, 31, 34, 35; Shāh. XII, 2, 8, 9; Mān. XII, 2, 7, 9; Töp. VI, 3, VII, 29, 30. vadnita Ar. I, 4. vadnitah Shāh IV 0. vadhitam Shāh. IV, 9. vadhitā Tōp. I, 6, VII, 28, 29, 30. vadhite Gir. IV, 5, 7; Kal. IV, 10; Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14; Dhau. IV, 1, 3, 5; Jau. IV, 1, 5; Nig. 2. vadhito Gir. IV, 1; Shāh. IV, 7. vadhithā Top. VII, 14, 17. -vadhiya Shāh, V, 12. vadhiyati Kāl. XII, 32. -vadhiyā Kāl. V, 15; Top. VII, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22. -[va]dhiye Dhau. V, 4. vadhisati Shāh. IV, 9. vadhisamti Tōp. VII, 29. vadhisata (read °siti) Rūp. 4. vadhisati Tōp. VII, 22, 28; Ar. I, 4; Sah. 5, 6; Bair. 7, 8. vadhisiti Rup. 4; Mas. 7 f.; Brah. 7, 8; Sidd. 14, 15. vadhī Dhau. IV, 7. -vadhī Gir. XII, 2, 8, 9. vadhīsati Top. I, 6. vadheti Shāh. XII, 4. vadheyā Töp. VII, 13, 16, 18. -vatam Kāl. X, 27. vataviya Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1. vataviyam Brah. 10; Sidd. 17; Jat. vataviyā Jau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1; All. Qu. 2; Mas. 6 f.; Brah. 1; Śidd. 3. vataviye Kāl. IX, 25, XI, 30, XII, 34; Mān. IX, 5, XI, 13, XII, 7; Dhau. IX, 4, Sep. I, 13. vatavo Shāh. IX, 19, XI, 24, XII, 8. vatavyam Gir. IX, 5, XI, 3, XII, 8. vadha Kāl. XIII, 36; Shāh. XIII, 3. -vadhānam Top. IV, 16. vadhi Gir. IV, 11; Kāl. IV, 12, 13. vadhi-kukuṭe Tōp. V, 9. vadhite Kāl. IV, 9, 11; Mān. IV, 12. -vadhi[y.] Top. V, 8. -vadhiyāni Top. V, 2. vadhiyisati Käl. IV, 11. -vadhiye Top. V, 13. [va]dhī Gir. IV, 11. vadhe Kāl. XIII, 37; Mān. XIII, 5. vadho Gir. XIII, 2; Shāh. XIII, 5. -vadhya Ar. V, 6. -vadhyani Ar. V, 1. -vadhye Ar. V, 8. vadhra(dhri) Mān. IV, 18. vadhrayiśati Mān. IV, 15. vadhri Mān. IV, 17. vadhrite Man. IV, 15. -vadhriya Mān. V, 22. -vanasi Tōp. V, 14. vapata Shāh. V, 12, XII, 9. vaputa Mān. V, 22, 25, XII, 8.

vayajanenā Rūp. 5. -vayata Shāh. III, 7; Mān. III, 11. vayo-mahālakānam Top. VII, 29. -varsa- Gir. VIII, 2. -valākesu Top. VII, 29. -valakesh 105. va., -vasa- Kāl. IV, 13. -vasha- Kāl. XIII, 35; Shāh. III, 5, IV, 10, V, 11, VIII, 17, XIII, 1; Mān. III, 9, IV, 18, V, 21, VIII, 1 VIII, 35, XIII, 1. vashati Kāl. XIII, 37. vasha-śatani Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. IV, 12, vasha-śatehi Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14 vashā[ni] Mas. 2. vasheshu Shāh. III, 6; Mān. III, 9. -vasa- Kāl. III, 7, V, 14, VIII, 22; Dhau. III, 1, V, 3, VIII, 2; Jau. III, 1; Tōp. I, 2, IV, 1, V, 1, 19, VI, 2, 9, VII, 31; Rum. 1; Nig. 1, 3; Bar. I, 1, II, 2, III, 2. vasati Shāh. XIII, 4. vasana Shāh. XIII, 5. vasa-satāni Kāl. IV, 9; Dhau. IV, 1; Jau. IV, 1. vasa-satehi Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3. -vasāṇi Calc. 5. vasāni Dhau. IV, 8, Sep. I, 24; Bair. 2; Brah. 2; Sidd. 4. vaseyu Gir. VII, 1; Shāh. VII, 2; Mān. VII, 32. vas[e]vu Kāl. VII, 21. va sevu Dhau. VII, r. vasesu Kāl. III, 7; Dhau. III, 2, Sep. I, 21 f.; Jau. III, 2, Sep. I, II. vā passim. vā (= ēva) Kāl. III, 7, IV, 9, X, 28, 29, XII, 33, XIII, 39; Jau. X, 2, Sep. II, 5; Tōp. III, 18; Calc. 3 vsāltave Calc. 4. -vādam Calc. 6. vālata Rūp. 4. -vālichalesu Tōp. II, 13. -vāsa- Gir. III, 1, IV, 12, V, 4. vāsa-satāni Gir. IV, 1. v[āsa]-satehi Gir. IV, 4. vā[sā]petaviy[e] Sām. 7. vāsesu Gir. III, 2. vimnapayitaviye Sār. 5. viketaviye Top. V, 13. vigadabhī Rum. 3. vijay[a] Kāl. XIII, 16. vijayam Gir. XIII, 11; Kāl. XIII, 17; Shāh. XIII, 11. vija[yam*] Shāh. XIII, 11. vijayataviya Kāl. XIII, 16. vi[ja]yashi Kal. XIII, 16. -vijayashi Kāl. XIII, 13 f. -vijayaspi Shāh. XIII, 11. vijaye Gir. XIII, 11; Kāl. XIII, 13; Shāh. XIII, 8, 11; Mān. XIII, 9,11; Dhau. XIV, 2; Jau. XIV, 1. -vijaye Kāl. XIII, 5, 17; Mān. XIII, 9. vijayo Gir. XIII, 10; Shāh. XIII, 10, 11.

wijayo Shah. XIII, 8, 12. vi[j]ita Shāh. XIII, 1; Mān. XIII, vijitam Gir. XIV, 3 -vijitam Kāl. XIII, 36; Shāh. XIII, 3 vijitamhi Gir. II, 1. vijitasi Kāl. II, 4, III, 7, V, 16; Mān. II, 5, III, 9, V, 25, XIII, 8; Dhau. II, 1, III, 1; Jau. II, 1. vijitā Kāl. XIII, 35. -vijitānam Dhau. Sep. II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 4 f. vijite Gir. III, 2; Kāl. XIV, 20 f.; Shāh. II, 3, III, 6, V, 13, XIII, 7, XIV, 13. vijinamane Kāl. XIII, 36. [vi]jinamano Shāh. XIII, 3. vijiniti Shāh. XIII, 2. vijin[i]tu Kāl. XIII, 36. vijetav[i]a Shāh. XIII, 11. vijetavyam Gir. XIII, 11. vithatena Jau. XIV, 1. vithatenā Kāl. XIV, 20. vidahāmi Top. VI, 6. vidite Calc. 2. vidhanam Kāl. XIII, 11; Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, 11. vidhāne Top. I, 9. vidhi Top. I, 9. [vinati] All. Qu. 4. Vinaya-samukase Calc. 4. vinifk ramani Man. XIII, 5. vinikhamana Gir. XIII, 4. vinikhamane Kāl. XIII, 37. vin[itasi] Kāl. VI, 18. vinitaspi Shāh. VI, 14; Mān. VI, 27. vinītamhi Gir. VI, 4. vinītasi Dhau. VI, 2; Jau. VI, 2. vipatipātayamtam Jau. Sep. I, 8. [vi]pat[i]pādayamine Dhau. Sep. I, -vipahine Kāl. XIII, 38; Mān. XIII, 5. vipula Rūp. 4. vipulam Sah. 5; Brah. 7; Sidd. 14; Jat. 11.
vipule Gir. VII, 3; Kāl. VII, 21;
Shāh. VII, 4; Mān. VII, 33;
Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. VII, 2; Shāh. 4; Bair. 6; Brah. 5; Sidd. 10. -viprahino Shāh. XIII, 5. -vimana Nand. IV, 7. vimana-dasan[ā] Kāl. IV, 9. vimana-draśana Mān. IV, 13. vimanana[m] Shāh. IV, 8.
-vimanā Top. IV, 13. vimāna-darsanā Gir. IV, vimāna-darsaņā Gir. IV, 3. vimāna-dasanam Dhau. IV, 2. viyamjanate Kāl. III, 8; Mān. III, 11 f.; Dhau. III, 3; Jau. III, 4. viyamjanena Sār. 10, 11. viyata Top. IV, 11. -viy[a] [a] Dhau. III, 3. viyaiāye Top. IV, 10.
viyapata Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 25.
viyapatā Kāl. V, 15.
viyaputa Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 23.
viyaprata Mān. V, 24. viyashanam Kāl. XIII, 38.

-v[i]vātā Kāl. III. 8. viyāpatā Kāl. V, 14, 16, XII, 34; Dhau. V, 4, 5, 6, 7; Tōp. VII, 25, 26, 27. viyāpatāse Top. VII, 25, 27. viyovadita[viye*] Dhau. IX, 6. viyovadisamti Top. IV, 7, 9. -viyohālaka Jau. Sep. I, 1. -vi[y]ohālakā Dhau. Sep. I, 1, 20. viyohāla-samatā Top. IV, 15. vivade Shāh. VI, 14, 15; Mān. VI, vivasetavā[ya] (read oviye) Rūp. 5. vi va hasi Man. IX, 2. vivahe Shah. IX, 18. vivāde Kāl. VI, 19; Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3. vivādo Gir. VI, 7. vivā(vi)dhāya Gir. XII, 1. vivāsayātha Sār. 10. vivāsā Rūp. 6. vivāsāpayāthā Sār. 11. vivāhasi Kāl. IX, 24. vividhaye Kāl. XII, 31; Shāh. XII, 1; Man. XII, 1. vividhani Top. VII, 22. vividhāya Top. VI, 8. vividhāyā Top. VII, 24. vividhe Top. II, 13, IV, 20. vivuthā Sah. 7. [v]ivuthena Sah. 6 -viśavashi Kāl. XIII, 9. -vishava[si] Mān. XIII, 10. -vishavaspi Shāh. XIII, 9. -vishavesu Sār. 10. -visagasi Top. VII, 27. -visagesu Top. VII, 27. -vi[sa]yamhi Gir. XIII, 9. vistata(te)na Gir. XIV, 2. vistrițena Shāh. XIV, 13. visvainsayitave Sār. 8, 9. vihara-yatra Shāh. VIII, 17; Mān. VIII, 34. vihāra-yātām Gir. VIII, r. -vihālatam Calc. 1. v[i]h[a]la-yatam Kal. VIII, 22; Dhau. VIII, 1. vihimsā Gir. IV, 1. -vihimsāye Tōp. VII, 30. vihita Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. XIII, 4. -vihitanam Shāh. XIII, 5; Mān. XIII, 5. vihitā Kāl. XIII, 37. -vi[hi]tā Dhau. Sep. I, 8. -vihi[t]ānam Kāl. XIII, 38. vihisa Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. IV, 12. -vihisa Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14. vihisā Kāl. IV, 9; Dhau. IV, 1.
-vihisā Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 4; Jau. IV, 4. vihisāye Top. V, 10. -vihīsā Gir. IV, 6. -vijayamhi Gir. XIII, 10. [v]ī[vāha] . . Dhau. IX, 1. -vīvāhesu Gir. IX, 2. vīsati-vasābhisitena Rum. 1. vu (read chu) Kāl. XII, 33, XIII, 4, 14. vuchati Shāh. XIII, 8; Mān. XIII, -vutam Shah. XIII, 10.

vudhana[m] Shāh. IV, 9, VIII, vu[dha]-sususa Dhau. IV, 4. vudhānam Dhau. VIII, 2; Jau. VIII, 2; Sop. VIII, 7. vudheshu Shāh. V, 12. vuta Shah. II, 5. -vuta Man. XIII, 11 vutam Gir. IX, 6, XIV, 4. -vutam Gir. X, 2; Kāl. XIII, 11; Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X, 10. v[u]te Dhau. IX, 5, XIV, 2. vudh[ā]nam Kāl. VIII, 23. [v]udhesu Kāl. V, 15. vudhrana Mān. IV, 15, VIII, 35. vudhreshu Mān. V, 23 ve Calc. 2; Mas. 7. vedana-mata Gir. XIII, 2. v[e]dani[ya]-ma[tam] Shah. XIII, vedaniya-mate Mān. XIII, 3. vedaniya-mute Kāl. XIII, 36. vedayati Jau. Sep. I, 5. vedaveyake Top. V, 4. [v]e[di]ta(tu) Jau. Sep. II, 11. veditu Dhau. Sep. II, 6, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 8 f. vo Shāh. I, 3, III, 6, IV, 7, IX, 20, XII, 6, XIII, 6, 7, XIV, 13; Mān. IV, 12, XII, 6. vyamjanato Gir. III, 6. -vyayatā Gir. III, 5 vyasanam Gir. XIII, 4. vyāpatā Gir. V, 4, 6, 7, 8, XII, 9. vy [u]thenā Rūp. 5. vyūthena Brah. 8. vrakshamti Shāh. V, 11. vrachamti Shāh, XIII, ro. vracha-bhumika Shāh. XII, Mān. XII, 8. vrachaspi Shāh. VI, 14: Mān. VI, v[r]acheyam Shāh. VI, 16. vrachhā Gir. II, 8. -vrudhi Mān. XII, 2.

-śamth[u]ta- Kāl. XIII, 38. -śamthutā(te)nā Kāl. XI, 30. -Sake Mas. 2. śako Shāh. XIII, 7. śa[cha]m Śidd. 17.
-śatani Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. IV, 12.
śata-bhage Shāh. XIII, 7; Mān. XIII, 7. [śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite Kāl. XIII, 35. -śata-sahasani Shāh. I, 2. -śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani Mān. I, śata-sahasra-matre Shāh. XIII, 1. -śata-[saha]sre Shāh. XIII, r. -sateshu Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, -śatehi Shāh. IV, 8; Mān. IV, 14. śamana-bramanana Shah. IX, 19;

Mān. VIII, 35. [śa]yā (read śiyā) Kāl. XII, 31. ś[a va-pāśadāna Kāl. XII, 31. śa[śa]yike Mān. IX, 7. śālā-vadhi Kāl. XII, 31. śiyā Kāl. XII, 32, 34.

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siyāti Kāl. XII, 31. -[silana] Shāh. XIII, 2. -šilasa Šhāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 17. śile Shāh. IV, 9; Mān. IV, 16. -śuti(dhi) Mān. VII, 33. -śudhi Shāh. VII, 2, 5; Mān. VII, [ś]e Kāl. XI, 30. śrama[na] Shāh. XIII, 4. -śramanana Shāh. IV, 9; Mān. IV, 15. -śramanana[m] Shāh. III, 6; Mān. III, 11. śramana-bramanana Shah. XI, 23; Man. IV, 12, IX, 5, XI, 13 śramana-bramananam Shāh. IV, 7, VIII, 17. śra[mane] Mān. XIII, 6. śravaka Shāh. VI, 14, 15. śravakam Mān. VI, 28. śruneyu Shāh. XII, 7; Mān. XII, 6. -śruta Shāh. XII, 7; Mān. XII, 6. śrutu Shāh. XIII, 10; Mān. XIII, śvage Bair. 6.

Sh sha Shah. VI, 16. shamkheye (read okhāya) Kāl. XIV, -shamthuta- Kāl. XI, 29, XIII, 37. -shambadh[e] Kāl. XI, 29. -shat[a]-shaha[ś]e Kāl. XIII, 35. shat[e] Kāl. XIII, 39. -shateshu Kāl. XIII, 6. [shamacha]liya[m] Kāl. XIII, 4. shama[nā*] Kāl. XIII, 37. shamane Kāl. XIII, 39. shamavāye Kāl. XII, 33. shamyā-paṭipati Kāl. XI, 29, XIII, shayakashi Kāl. XIII, 16. shayama | Kāl. XIII, 4. [sha]va Kāl. X, 28. shava[m] Kāl. X, 28. sha vatā Kāl. XIII, 10. shava-pāshamdatim (read odānam ti) Kāl. XII, 34. sha[va-bhu][tānam*] Kāl. XIII, 4. sh a va-manu shana m Kal. XIII. shavā Kāl. XIII, 18. sh[a]vām[i]kyena (read shu°) Kāl. XI, 30.
-shav[i]bhage Kāl. XI, 29. shave Kal. XII, 33. shaveshu Kal. XIII, 6. shashu Kāl. XIII, 6; Shāh. XIII, 9; Mān. XIII, 9 -shaha[ś]e Kāl. XIII, 35. -[sha]hasha- Kāl. XIII, 35. shah[a]sha-bhāge Kāl. XIII, 39. -shahāya- Kāl. XIII, 37, 38. shā Kāl. XIII, 18. shādhu Kāl. XI, 30, XII, 33. shā(shi)yā Kāl. XIV, 22. sh[a]la-v[a]dhi Kal. XII, 34. shava-pasham[dan]i Kal. XII, 31. shinehe Kal. XIII, 38. shiyāti Kāl. X, 28.

-shutā Kāl. XII, 34.
shune[y]u Kāl. XII, 33.
shuvihi[t]ānath Kāl. XIII, 38.
shushushā Kāl. XI, 29.
-shushushā Kāl. XIII, 37.
-shu[shu*]shā Kāl. XIII, 37.
shushusheyu Kāl. XIII, 33.
she Kāl. XII, 33, XIII, 36, 38, 39,
5, 17, XIV, 22; Mān. VI, 31;
All. Qu. 4.

sa Shah. V, 11, XIII, 10, 11, 12; Mān. XIII, 13; Jau. Sep. I, 8, II, 9. samkuja-machhe Top. V, 5. samkshitena Shāh. XIV, 13. samkhaya Shāh. XIV, 14; Mān. XIV, 14. samkhit[e]na Gir. XIV, 2. samgham All. Kauś. 3; Sām. 4; Sār. 4; Calc. 1; Mas. 3. samghathasi Top. VII, 25. sa[m]gh[a]si All. Kauś. 2.
-samghasi Sār. 5. samghasī Calc. 2. samghe Sām. 2, 8; Sār. 3; Brah. 3; Sidd. 6. samchalitaviy[e] Dhau. Sep. I, 13. samchalitavye Jau. Sep. I, 7. samchalitu Jau. Sep. I, 7. samdake Top. V, 6.
samta Mān. VI, 29; Sah. 2.
samtam Kāl. VI, 19, VIII, 22;
Shāh. VI, 15; Mān. VIII, 35;
Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. Sep. II, 16; Töp. IV, 13. -samtirana Shah. VI, 15. -sa m tiranaye Shah. VI, 15; Man. VI, 29. -samtilanā Kāl. VI, 20. -samtil[a]nāye Kāl. VI, 19. -samtīraņā Gir. VI, 10. -samtīraņāya Gir. VI, 9. -samtīlanā Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 5. -samtīlanāya Dhau. VI, 4; Jau. VI, 4. samto Gir. VI, 7, VIII, 2. -samtha ve Man. XI, 12. -samthuta- Kāl. III, 8. -samthuten[ā] Kāl. IX, 25. -samthute[s]. Jau. III, 2. [sa]mnamdhāpayiyā Sār. 4. sampatipajati Dhau. Sep. I, 10. sa[m]patipajam[ī]n[e] Dhau. Sep. I, 16; Jau. Sep. I, 8. sampatipajisati Ar. II, 4. sampatipajīsati Top. II, 16. sampatipati Kāl. IV, 11; Shāh. IV, 8, 9; Mān. IV, 15; Dhau. IV, 4. -sampatipati Kāl. IV, 9; Shāh. IV, 7; Mān. IV, 12; Dhau. IV, 1, Sep. I, 15; Jau. Sep. I, 8. sampatipatī Gir. IV, 6. [sampatipa]ta[yam]tam Jau. Sep. sampațipătayit[av]e Jau. Sep. II, [sampa]tipāda Dhau. Sep. I, 14.

sampatipādayamti Top. I, 8. sampatipādayitave Dhau. Sep. I, 19, II, 11. sampatīpatiyā Top. VII, 29. -[s]ampratipatī Gir. IV, 2. -sampratīpatī Gir. IV, 2. -samba[m]dha Shāh. XI, 23. -sa[m]ba[m]dh[e] Man. XI, 12. -sambadho Gir. XI, 1. Sambodhi Kāl. VIII, 22; Dhau. VIII, 2. Sambodhim Gir. VIII, 2. sammma-pațipati Shāh. XI, 23. sammyā-patipati Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 3. sa[m]yamam Shah. XIII, 8. samyame Kāl. IX, 25; Top. IV, sa[m]yamo Shāh. IX, 19. -samyute Mān. V, 25. samvachhare Sidd. 6. samvachharem (read ore) Brah. 2. samvata-kapā Gir. V, 2.
-samvibhaga Mān. XI, 12. -samvibhago Shāh. XI, 23. -samvibhage Ar. IV, 10. -samvibhāgo Gir. XI, 1. sa[m]sayikye Kāl. IX, 26. samsalanasi Sār. 6. -samsta(stu)ta- Gir. XIII, 3. -samstav[e] Shāh. XI, 23. -samstavo Gir. XI, 1. -samstuta- Gir. III, 4; Shah. III, 6, XI, 23, XIII, 4, 5; Man. III, 10, XI, 13. -samstuta(te)na Shāh. XI, 24. -samstutena Mān. IX, 6, XI, 13. saka Gir. IX, 8, XIII, 6. [saka]la - desā - āy[ut]ike (read -desāyutike) Jau. Sep. II, 11 f. sakale Gir. X, 3; Kāl. X, 28; Shāh. X, 22; Mān. X, 11; Dhau. X, 3; Jau. X, 2. sakiye Jau. IX, 6, Sep. II, 7; Rūp. sake Mas. 5; Sidd. 9, 10. Salke Rup. 1. Sakyamunī Rum. 2. sakye Brah. 4, 5. s[a]khinālambhe Dhau. Sep. I, 22. sagh[a] Rūp. 1. saghe Bair. 3. sacham Brah. 9; Jat. 14. sache Töp. II, 12, VII, 28. sachhāya Gir. XIV, 5. sajīve Töp. V, 9. -saduvīsati- Töp. V, 19. saduvīsati-vasa-abhisitena Top. I, I f., IV, I f., V, I f., VI, 9. saduvīsati-vasābhisitasa Ar. V, I. saduvīsati-vasābhisitena Ar. I, 1, IV, 1, VI, 5; All. V, 1. sata Rūp. 5 f. satam Shāh. VI, 14, VIII, 17. satavisati-vasābhis i tena Top. VII, -sata-sahasasu Tōp. IV, 3, VII, 22. [sa]ta-sahasra-mātrain Gir. XIII, 1. -sata-sahasrāni Gir. I, 9. -satā Sah. 7.

satani Gir. IV, 1; Kal. IV, 9; Dhau. IV, 1; Jau. IV, 1. Satiyapu[t]e Jau. II, 1. Satiyaputo Gir. II, 2. Sa[ti]ya[p]u[tra] Mān. II, 6. Satiyaputro Shah. II, 4. -satirana Man. VI, 30. -satehi Gir. IV, 4; Kāl. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 3; Jau. IV, 3. sadhamme Calc. 3. sadhu Shāh. III, 6, 7, IV, 10, IX, 19, XI, 24, XII, 6; Mān. III, 10, 11, IV, 17, IX, 6, XI, 14, XII, 6. sa[dhu]-mata Man. I, 3. sanamdhapayitu All. Kauś. 4; Sām. 6. sapamnā Sah, 6. -sapa[t]ipati Mān. IV, 12. Sabodhi Shah. VIII, 17; Man. VIII, 35. samain (read samayain) Jau. Sep. II, 14. samainta Shah. II, 4. samage All. Kauś. 2; Sām. 2, 8. sama[cha]riyam Shāh. XIII, 8. samachairam Gir. XIII, 7. samaja Shāh. I, 1; Mān. I, 3. [samajasa] Mān. I, 2. samaj[e] Mān. I, 2. samanā Gir. XIII, 3. -samanānam Gir. III, 5, IV, 6, VIII, 3, IX, 5. samata Mān. II, 6. -samatam Shāh. XIV, 14. -samatā Top. IV, 15. -samati Kāl. XIV, 23; XIV, 3. samana-bambhanānam Kāl. IV, 9, VIII, 23, IX, 25. samana-bābhanānam Dhau. VIII, 2, IX, 4; Jau. IX, 4. samana-bābhanesu Dhau. IV, 1, 4. -samanānam Kāl. III, 8, IV, 11. samanā-[ba]mbhanānā Kāl. XI, 29. -samanesu Töp. VII, 29. -samanehi Dhau. III, 3; Jau. samayam Dhau. Sep. I, 20; Jau. Sep. I, 10. sa ma yam*] Dhau. Sep. II, 9. sa maya spi Shah. I, 1. samaye Shah. I, 2. samavaye Mān. XII, 6. samavāyo Gir. XII, 6. samājamhi Gir. I, 5. samājasa Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2. samājasā Kāl. I, 2 samājā Gir. I, 6; Kāl. I, 2; Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2. samāje Kāl. I, 2; Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2. samājo Gir. I, 4.
-samāt[a]m Gir. XIV, 5. samādapayitave Top. I, 8. samānā Brah. 3; Šidd. 7. Samāpāyam Jau. Sep. I, 1, II, 1. -samukase Calc. 4. samma-patipati Shāh. IX, 19. samma-pratipa[ti] Shah. XIII, 5. samya-patipati Mān. IX, 4, XI, 12.

samya-pratipatī Gir. IX, 4, XI, 2. s[a]myā-patip[a]ti Kāl. IX, 25. -sayake Tōp. V, 5. sayama Shah. VII, 4; Man. VII, sayamam Gir. VII, 1, XIII, 7; Kal. VII, 21; Dhau. VII, 1; Jau. VII, 1. sayame Gir. VII, 3; Kāl. VII, 22; Shāh. VII, 2; Mān. IX, 5; Dhau. VII, 2; Jau. IX, 3; Ar. sayamo Gir. IX, 5; Shah: XII, 6. -sayute Shāh. V, 13; Dhau. V, 7. sayeme Man. VII, 33. sarasake Gir. XIII, 11. sarvata Gir. VII, 2, XIV, 2. sarvata Gir. II, 1, 7, III, 2, V, 8, VII, 1, XIV, 2. sarvata Gir. II, 4, VI, 5, 8. sarvatrā Gir. II, 6. sarva-pāsadānam Gir. XII, 8. sarva-loka-sukhāharo Gir. colophon. sa[rva]-loka-hitam Gir. VI, 9. sarva-loka-hitatpā Gir. VI, 11. [sa*]rva-sveto Gir. colophon. sarve Gir. VI, 8; Calc. 3. sala-vadhi Shāh. XII, 2, 8; Mān. XII, 2, 7. sala-vrudhi Mān. XII, 2. sava Mān. XIII, 13. savam Gir. X, 3, 4, XII, 6; Kāl. VI, 17, 19, VII, 21; Shāh. VI, 14, 15, X, 22; Dhau. VI, 1, 4, VII, 2, X, 3, Sep. I, 7; Jau. VI, 1, 4, Sep. I, 4. sava-chati-rati Shāh. XIII, 12. savachharam Brah. 2; Sidd. 5. [savachhalāni] Sah. 1. sav[a]chhale Sah. 2. savata-kapā Gir. IV, 9. savata Gir. XIII, 9; Shāh. V, 13; Dhau. II, 1, 2, 3, V, 7, VI, 2, 4, VII, 1, XIV, 1; Jau. II, 1, 2, 3, VI, 2, 4, VII, 1, XIV, 1; All. Qu. 1; Sār. 10. savatā Kāl. II, 4, 5, 6, III, 7, V, 16, VI, 18, 19, VII, 21, XIII, 13, XIV, 20. savatra Gir. VI, 4; Shāh. II, 5, III, 5, V, 13, VI, 14, 15, VII, 1, XIII, 10, XIV, 13; Mān. II, 5; Jau. II, 4. savathā Gir. XIII, 10. sava-nikāyesu Top. VI, 7. [savane] Sah. 6. sava-pāsharida Kāl. XII, 34. sava-[pāsa]mda Kāl. VII, 21. sava-pāsamdā Gir. XII, 7; Dhau. VII, 1; Jau. VII, 1; Top. VI, 7. sa va-pā samdānam Gir. XII, 2. sava-pāsamdāni Gir. XII, 1. sava-pāsamdesu Gir. V, 4; Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 3; Tōp. VII, 25. sava-puthaviyam Dhau. V, 7. sava-bhūtānām Gir. XIII, 7. sava-musna (read -munisa) Jau. Sep. I, 2. sava-munisä Jau. Sep. II, 2 f. sava-munisesu Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 4. savara(ta) Rūp. 5.

sava-loka-hitam Shāh. VI, 15. sava-lo[ka-hita]ye Shāh. VI, 16. sava-loka-hitāya Gir. VI, 14. sava-loka-hitāye Kāl. VI, Dhau. VI, 7; Jau. VI, 7. sava-loka-hite Kāl. VI, 19; Dhau. VI, 4; Jau. VI, 5.
sava-loka-hitena Shāh. VI, 16;
Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 5.
sava-lo[ka]-hitenā Kāl. VI, 20. savasa Dhau. Sep. I, 12; Jau. Sep. savasi Top. VII, 27. -savibhāge Top. IV, 20. save Gir. VI, 3, VII, 1; Kāl. VII, 21, XIV, 20; Shāh. VII, 2; Dhau. VII, 1, XIV, 1, Sep. I, 4; Jau. VII, 1, XIV, 1; Tōp. V, 7. savenā Jau. Sep. II, 3. savena Dhau. Sep. I, 5, II, 3; Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 3. saveshu Shāh. XIII, 8. savesu Ğir. XIII, 8; Kāl. V, 16; Dhau. V, 6; Tōp. VII, 26; Sār. savra Mān. VI, 27, 29.
savram Shāh. VI, 14, VII, 3, X, 22;
Mān. VI, 27, VII, 33, X, 10, 11.
savratra Shāh. H, 3, 4; Mān. II, 6,
7, 8, III, 9, V, 25, VI, 27, 28,
29, VII, 32, XIII, 11,
savratra Shāh. Mān. VII, 22, XII, 6 savra-pashada Mān. VII, 32, XII, 6. savra-pashadana Mān. XII, 2, 7. savra-pashadani Mān. XII, 1. savra-pa[sha]desha(shu) Mān. V, savra-prashamda Shāh. VII, r f., XII, 7. savra-prashamdanam Shah. XII, 2. savra-prashamdani Shah, XII, 1. savra-prashamdesh[u] Shāh. V, 12. savra-prashadanam Shāh. XII, 8. savra-bhutana Shāh. XIII, 8. savra-manuśanam Shāh. XIII, 6; Män. XIII, 6. sa[vra-lo]ka-hitaye Mān. VI, 31 f. savra-loka-h[i]te Mān. VI, 30. savra-loka-hitena Mān. VI, 30. savre Shah. XII, 5; Man. VII, 32, XII, 5. savreshu Shāh. V, 13; Mān. V, 24, XIII, 9 saśayike Shāh. IX, 20. sasavre (read savre) Shāh. XIV, 13. sasu(dhu)-mate Shah. I, 2. -sase Top. V, 5. -sastuta- Gir. XI, 2, 3. -sastutena Shah. IX, 19. sasvatam Dhau. Sep. I, 20; Jau. Sep. I, 10. -sahaya- Shāh. XIII, 4, 5. -sahasani Shāh. I, 2. -sahasāni Kāl. I, 3; Jau. I, 3. -sahasesu Jau. Sep. I, 2; Top. IV, 3, VII, 22. -sahasesum Dhau. Sep. I, 4. -sahasra- Gir. XIII, r; Shāh. XIII, -sahas r ani Man. I, 4. sahasra-bhagam Shāh. XIII, 7. sahasra-bhage Mān. XIII, 7.

sahasrāni Gir. I, 9. - saha]sre Shāh. XIII, 1. -sahāya- Gir. XIII, 3, 4. sahāya(ye)na Gir. IX, 8. sahāye[na] Dhau. IX, 6. sā Gir. XIII, 10; Kāl. XIII, 13,14. Sātiyaputo Kāl. II, 4. sāti ra kekāni (read sātirekāni) Rup. 1. satireke Mas. 2; Brah. 2; Sidd. 6; Tat. 4. sātileke Rūp. 1. sādha(dhu) Gir. IX, 8. sādhavāni Tōp. VII, 28. sādha[v]e Tōp. VII, 28. sādhi[ke] Sah. 2. sādhu Gir. III, 4, 5, IV, 11, IX, 4, 5, 6, 7, XI, 2, 3, XII, 6; Kal. III, 7, 8, IV, 12, IX, 26; Dhau. III, 2, 3; Jau. III, 3, IX, 4; Ar. II, 1. sādhu-matā Gir. I, 6; Kāl. I, 2; Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2.
sādhū Dhau. IV, 7, IX, 5; Jau. IX, 6; Tōp. II, 11.
sāmamtā Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 2; Jau. II, 2. sāmīp[am] Gir. II, 3. sāra-vadhī Gir. XII, 2, 8. sā(si)lā-th[abh]e Rūp. 5. sālika Ar. V, 2. sālikā Tōp. V, 3. sāvakam Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI, 3; Jau. VI, 3. sāvaņe Brah. 5, 8; Śidd. II, 15; Jat. 12. -sāvanāni Top. VII, 20, 22. sāvane Rūp. 3, 5. -[s]ā[van]e Tōp. VII, 23. sāvā(va)ne Sah. 4. sāvāpayāmi Tōp. VII, 20. sāvāpitāni Tōp. VII, 22. sāvāpite Brah. 5, 8. sāvite Śidd. 11. sāsanam Sār. 8, 9. sāsane Sār. 5. sāsvatam Jau. Sep. II, 14. si ne he Man. XIII, 5. simale Top. V, 5. siya Shāh. IX, 20, XII, 2, 3, XIV, 14; Mān. IX, 7, XII, 2, 3, 7, XIV, 14; Jau. Sep. I, 6; Top. IV, 15. siyati Shāh. X, 22, XII, 8; Mān. X, 11 siyasu Shāh. XII, 7 siyā Kāl. IX, 26; Dhau. Sep. I, 12, 21, II, 4; Jan. Sep. II, 4; Töp. VII, 32; Mīr. IV, 8; Sārh. 8; Rūp. 4. -silasā Kāl. IV, 12. silā Rum. 3. silā-ṭha[m]bhasi Rūp. 5. silā-tham bh a Sah. 8 silā-thambhāni Top. VII, 32. silā-thabhe Rum. 3. silā-phalakāni Top. VII, 32. [si]ho (read sineho) Shāh. XIII, 5. sīlamhi Gir. IV, 9.
-sīlasa Gir. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 7.
sīlasi Kāl. IV, 12; Dhau. IV, 6.

su Dhau. Sep. I, 4, II, 4; Jau. Sep. I, 2, II, 5. s[u]ag[e] Sah. 4. sukata Mān. V, 20. sukatam Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 2; Töp. II, 16. 1 op. II, 16.
sukatam Gir. V, 3.
sukaram Gir. V, 3; Shāh. V, 11.
s[u]kita[m] Shāh. V, 11.
suke Tōp. V, 3.
sukham Tōp. IV, 11, VI, 6.
-sukham Tōp. IV, 5.
sukhammeva Dhau. Sep. II, 5;
Jau. Sep. II, 6.
sukhayami Shāh. VI, 16; Mān. VI, 31. sukhayāmi Dhau. VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6. sukhayite Top. VII, 24. -sukhaye Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22, 23. sukhāpayāmi Gir. VI, 12. -[su]khā[ya] Gir. V, 6. sukhāyanāyā Töp. VII, 24. sukhāyāmi Kāl. VI, 20. -sukhāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 4, 5, Sep. II, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 12; Tōp. IV, 12, VI, 3. -sukhāharo Gir. colophon. sukhitenā (read samkhi°) Kāl. XIV. 19 f. sukhiyanā Top. I, 10. sukhīyana Nand. I, 6. sukhīyana-dukhīyanam Top. IV, 6. sukhīyanā All. I, 4. -[sukhe] Tōp. VI, 4. -sukhena Dhau. Sep. I, 5, II, 3; Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 3 f. sutu Kāl. XIII, 11; Tōp. VII, 21. sudivasāye Top. V, 16. -sudhi Kāl. VII, 21, 22. -sudhim Gir. VII, 2. -sudhitā Gir. VII, 3. -sudhī Dhau. VII, 1, 2; Jau. VII, 1. sun[e]yu Calc. 7. supathay[e] Shah. I, 2. supathāy e Kāl. I, 3. supa thra ye Mān. I, 4. supadarave Man. V, 21. supadālaye Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 3; Jau. V, 3. su[p]i[y]e Bar. III, 4. subhāsite Calc. 3. sumi Rūp. 1; Sah. 1; Mas. 2, 3.
-suyute Kāl. V, 16.
-suliyike Tōp. VII, 31. Suvamnagirīte Brah. 1; Sidd. 1. suvāmiken a Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau. IX, 5; Jau. IX, 4. suvitā Jau. Sep. I, 4. suvihitanam Shāh. XIII, 5; Mān. XIII, 5. suvi[hi]tā Dhau. Sep. I, 8. suve Top. I, 6. -suśra(śru)sha Shāh. X, 21. suśrusha Śhāh. III, 6, IV, 9, XI, 23, XIII, 4; Man. III, 10, IV, 15, XI, 12, XIII, 4 -suśrusha Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. X, 9, XIII, 4 suśrushatu Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X,

suśrusheyu Shāh. XII, 7; XII, 6. susumsā Gir. XIII, 3. -susumsā Gir. XIII, 3. susumsera Gir. XII, 7. -susushā Kāl. X, 27. susushātu Kāl. X, 27 sususā Kāl. III, 8, IV, 11. sususāyā Top. VII, 29. -susūsam Jau. X, r. susūsatu Dhau. X, 2; Jau. X, 1. su[s]us[a] Dhau. III, 2. -sususā Dhau. IV, 4. susūsāya Ar. I, 3 su sū sāyā Top. I, 4. susus[i]taviye Brah. 9. -susru m sā Gir. X, 2. susrusatā Gir. X, 2. susrusā Gir. IV, 7, XI, 2. -susrusā Gir. IV, 7. susrūsā Gir. III, 4 suhadayena Gir. IX, 7. sūkali Top. V, 8. sūkale Top. V, 17. -sūte Calc. 5. sūpathāye Dhau. I, 3; Jau. I, 3. sūpāthāya Gir. I, 9, 11. -[sū]ri[yi]ke Sām. 4. se Gir. I, 10; Kāl. I, 3, 4, IV, 9, 12, V, 13, 14, VI, 17, 20, IX, 25, 26, 27, XIII, 12, 13; Mān. I, 4, 5, IV, 13, 17, V, 19, 20, 21, VI, 31, VIII, 34, IX, 3, 5, 7, 8, XI, 14, XII, 6, XIII, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, XIV, 14; Dhau. I, 4, IV, 2, 7, XIV, 15; Dhau. II, 4, IV, 2, 10; Dhau. II, 4, IV, 2, IV V, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, VI, 1, VIII, 1, V, I, 2, 3, 5, 6, VI, I, VIII, I, IX, 3, 4, 5, Sep. I, 7, II, I4, II, 7, 8; Jau. I, 4, IV, 2, V, 3, VI, I, VIII, I, IX, 2, 5, Sep. I, 4; Tōp. II, 16, VI, 3, 9, VII, 17, 30, 31; All. Kauś. 3; Sār. 4; Sah. 4; Calc. 3; Mas. 7; Brah. 8, 10; Sidd. 11; Jat. 14. sethe Kāl. IV, 12; Dhau. IV, 6. seta-kapote Tōp. V, 6. seto Dhau. colophon. seto Dnau. colopholi.
-seyake Ar. V, 3.
seyatha Ar. V, 2.
seyathā Tōp. V, 2.
seste Gir. IV, 10.
so Gir. I, 11, V, 1, 3, VIII, 2, XI,
4, XII, 6, XIII, 4; Shāh. I, 2, 3,
IV, 7, 10, V, 11, VIII, 17, IX, 18, 19, 20, XI, 24, XH, 6, XIII, 2, 6, 8, 11, 12, XIV, 14. sochaye Top. II, 12. sochave Top. VII, 28. socheye Ar. II, 2. sotaviya Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 11. sotaviya Dhau. Sep. I, 17, II, 10; Jau. Sep. I, 9, II, 15, 16. stitā Gir. VI, 4. striyaka Shah. IX, 18. spa[kaspi] Shāh. XIII, 11. spagra Man. VI, 31. spagram Shāh. VI, 16. spamikena Shah. IX, 19, XI, 24; Man. IX, 5, XI, 13. spasa(su)na Shāh. V, 13. spas[u]na Mān. V, 24.
-sramaṇānam Gir. IV, 2, XI, 2.

srāvāpakam Gir. VI, 6.
sruņāru Gir. XII, 7.
-srutā Gir. XII, 7.
[s]retham Shāh. IV, 10.
srethe Mān. IV, 17.
[svaa]m Jat. 15.
svag[a]-āladhi Jau. Sep. I, 8.
svagam Gir. VI, 12, IX, 9; Kāl.
VI, 20; Dhau. VI, 6, Sep. I, 16,
II, 9; Jau. VI, 6, Sep. I, 9, II,
13.
svagasa Dhau. IX, 7, Sep. I, 15.
svagāradhī Gir. IX, 9.
svaga Jau. IX, 6; Rūp. 3; Brah.
5; Sidd. 10.
svayam Gir. VI, 6.
svasatam (read sasvatam) Dhau.
Sep. II, 9.
svāmikena Gir. IX, 6.
-sveto Gir. colophon.

H

hamche Kāl. IX, 26; Shāh. IX, haṁñaṁt[i] Shāh. I, 3. [ha]ṁñeyasu Shāh. XIII, 8. hamtaviyāni Top. V, 15. [ha]mtaviyānī Mīr. V, 8. hamse Top. V, 3. hakam Kal. VI, 18, 20; Dhau. VI, 2, 5, Sep. I, 2, 5, 6, 21, II, 1, 3, 6,8; Jau. VI, 5, Sep. I, 1, II, 1, 8, 11; Tōp. III, 21; Rūp. 1; Bair. 2; Calc. 4; Brah. 2; Sidd. 5; Jat. 3. hache Män. IX, 7, 8. hatam Gir. XIII, 1. hate Kāl. XIII, 35, 39; Shāh. XIII, r; Mān. XIII, 7. [ha]to Shāh. XIII, 6. ha thini Kāl. IV, 10. hathini Dhau: IV, 2. ha(hi)dha Rūp. 4. hapeśati Mān. V, 20. hapeśadi Shāh. V, 11. hamā Calc. 2. hamiyāye Calc. 3. harapita Shah. II, 5; Man. II, 7, 8. hasti Gir. colophon. hasti-da[sa]nā Gir. IV, 3. hahati Shāh. V, 11, XI, 23. hā(ho)ti Gir. XIII, 4. -hāpayitu Dhau. Sep. I, 25. hāpayisati Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 2. hāpesati Gir. V, 3. hārāpitāni Gir. II, 6, 7 hālāpitā Kāl. II, 6; Dhau. II, 3; Jau. II, 4. hi passim. ni passim.
-hitam Gir. VI. 9; Shāh. VI, 15.
-hitatpā Gir. VI, 11.
-hitaye Shāh. VI, 16; Mān. VI, 32.
hita-sukham Tōp. IV, 5.
[hita]-sukhaye Shāh. V, 12.
hita-sukhāye Dhau. V, 4, 5, Sep.
II, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 12; Tōp. IV, 12, VI, 3. hita-[sukhe] Top. VI, 4. hita-sukhena Dhau. Sep. I, 5, II, 3; Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 3 f.

-hitāya Gir. VI, 14. -hitāye Kāl. VI, 20; Dhau. VI, 7; Jau. VI, 7.
-hite Kāl. VI, 19; Mān. VI, 30; Dhau. VI, 4; Jau. VI, 5.
-hitena Shāh. VI, 16; Mān. VI, 30; Dhau. VI, 5; Jau. VI, 5.
-hitenā Kāl. VI, 20. hida Kāl. VI, 20, IX, 26, 27; Shāh. I, I, IV, 10, XIII, 9; Mān. I, 1, V, 24, IX, 7, 8, XIII, 9, 10; Dhau. V, 6, VI, 6, Sep. I, 19, II, 9; Jau. I, 1, VI, 6, Sep. II, 14; Tōp. VII, 27; Rum. 2, 4. hidatam Töp. IV, 7. hidata-pālate Töp. I, 3, VII, 31. hidatikāye Töp. III, 22. hidaloka Dhau. Sep. II, 6. hidalokika Kāl. XIII, 18; Shāh. XIII, 12. hidalokika-pālalokikāye Dhau. Sep. II, 3, 9. hidalo[kika]-pālalokike[na] Dhau. Sep. I, 5 f. hidalokike Kāl. IX, 26; Mān. IX, hidalokiko Shāh. XIII, 12. hidalokikya Kāl. XIII, 17. hidalokikye Kāl. XI, 30. hidaloke Mān. XI, 14, XIII, 13. hidalog[am] Jau. Sep. II, 7. hidalogi[ka] - p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e Jau. Sep. II, 12 f. hidalogika - pālaloki[k]e[na] Sep. II, 4 hi[dal]o[g]ik[a] - pālalokikena [au. Sep. I, 3. hida-sukhaye Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V, 22, 23. hida-sukhāye Kāl. V, 15. hidā Kāl. I, 1, V, 16, VIII, 22, IX, 26, XIII, 9. hini Kāl. IV, 13; Shāh. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 18. -hini Kal. IV, 12; Shah. IV, 10; Mān. IV, 17. hiramna-patividhano Gir. VIII, 4. hiramna-patividhane Sop. VIII, 7. [hi][ra*]ña - pativi[dhane] Mān. VIII, 35. hiraña-p[r]atividhane Shāh. VIII, hilamna-patividhane Kal. VIII, 23; Dhau. VIII, 3; Jau. VIII, 3. hīni Gir. IV, 11; Dhau. IV, 7; Jau. IV, 8. -hīni Dhau. IV, 7. -hīnī Gir. IV, 11. hīyam Brah. 4. huta-puluva Kāl. V, 14. huta-puluve Kāl. IV, 10, VI, 17. huta-pruve Man. IV, 14, VI, 27. huthā Top. VII, 15, 20. huvamti Dhau. VIII, 1; Jau. VIII, I. huvāti Sār. 6. [h]uveyā Dhau. X, 3; Jau. X, 2. huveyu Kāl. XII, 34; Mān. XII, 7. huvevu Dhau. Sep. I, 12. huvevū Dhau. Sep. II, 5. husam Brah. 2; Sidd. 5.

husu Kāl. VIII, 22; Mān. VIII, 34; Top. VII, 12; Rup. 2; Mas. hūta-puluvā Dhau. V, 3. hūta-puluve Dhau. IV, 3, VI, 1; Jau. VI, 1. hemmeva All. I, h[e]dishe Kāl. XI, 29. hedisānā(ni) Kāl. VIII, 22. hedise Kāl. IX, 25. heta Kāl. IX, 24, X, 28; Dhau. V, 2, XIV, 3; Jau. XIV, 2; Sop. VIII, 6. hetā Kāl. V, 14, VIII, 23, IX, 25, XIV, 21; All. Qu. 2; Sah. 8. hetute Mān. III, 11; Dhau. III, 3; Jau. III, 4. hetuto Gir. III, 6; Shāh. III, 7. hetuvatā Kāl. III, 8. hedisameva Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Sār. hedisā Sār. 6. hedisāye Dhau. IX, 2; Jau. IX, 2. hedise Dhau. IX, 3; Jau. IX, 3. hemeva Dhau. Sep. I, 24; Jau. Sep. I, 3; Tōp. VII, 25; Ar. I, 5, VI, 4; Sār. 10; Brah. 9, 10; Śidd. 18, 19; Jat. 12, 13, 16, 19. hemevā Tōp. I, 8, VI, 6. heva Kāl. XII, 32; Rām. I, 1. hevam Kāl. III, 6, VI, 17, 19, XI, 29, XII, 33; Dhau. III, 1, 2, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, IX, 1, 5, Sep. I, 14, 18, II, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11; Jau. III, 1, VI, 1, 4, Sep. I, 1, 6, 7, II, 1, 5, 6, 9, 10 f., 13, 16; Tōp. I, 1, II, 11, 15, 16, III, 17, 19, IV, 1, 12, 19, V, 1, VI, 1, 4, 5, VII, hevammeva Dhau. Sep. I, 13; Jau. Sep. II, 4; All. VI, 2. hevammevā Calc. 8. hevamevā Kāl. XIII, 8.
hoti Gir. VIII, 3, XI, 4, XII, 9,
XIII, 10; Kāl. IV, 12, VI, 19,
VIII, 23, IX, 27, XI, 30, XII, 35,
XIII, 37, 38, 13; Shāh. VIII,
17; Mān. IV, 17, VI, 28, VIII,
35, 36, IX, 8, XI, 14, XIII, 8,
11; Dhau. IV, 7, VI, 3, VIII, 2,
3, Sep. I, 8; Jau. IV, 7, VI, 3,
VIII, 2, 3, Sep. I, 4, 8; Sōp.
VIII, 6, 9; Tōp. IV, 11, VII,
31; Sidd. 13.
hotu Kāl. V, 17, VI, 20, XIII, 18;
Mān. V, 26, VI, 31, XIII, 13;
Dhau. V, 8, VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6;
Tōp. VII, 31; Sah. 5.
hotū Tōp. II, 16. hevamevā Kāl. XIII, 8. hotū Top. II, 16. hosamti Top. VII, 23. hosati Dhau. Sep. I, 22. hosatī Calc. 4. hosāmi Dhau. Sep. II, 8. hosāmī Jau. Sep. II, 12. hohamti Top. VII, 25, 26, 27. hveyū Jau. Sep. I, 6, II, 5.

CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xlv-xlvii.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to vyushta, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as e.g. in the Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra, IV, 5, 30, viz. 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904. 364 f. (Kielhorn); 1911. 1106 (Fleet); 1916. 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J-K of the Sahasrām edict (Text, p. 171) as follows: 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).' The translations of the corresponding portions of the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp. 169 and 177 f.) have to be modified in a similar way. But vivāsayātha at Sārnāth (section I, p. 162) and vivāsetavā[ya] (read vivāsetaviye) at Rūpnāth (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)'; and vivāsāpayāthā at Sārnāth (section J, p. 162) would mean 'issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns).' See Thomas, JRAS, 1915. 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. For instruction read exhortation.

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom. Read as follows: The two Sanskrit masculines prāna and vriksha are used as neuters: pānāni (I, 3, 4) and [lu]khāni² (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. Add: According to the Suttanipāta, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkāka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows.

Page 12, Roman text, line 12. For ta 2 (M) etāya read (M) ta etāya.

" " Cancel note 2.

" 13, section (M). For: For the following purpose read: Now for the following purpose.

, 15, note 7, line 4. For XIII, I read XIII, 1. 4.

,, 56, note 21. For the Rāshṭrikas see the Introduction, p. xxxviii, line 2 from bottom.

, 69, section (M). For converts read exhorts.

" note 3. Add: See also Kāvyaprakāša, sec. ed., p. 57. महा हमन्ति occurs already in the Mahābhāshya on Pāṇ. IV, 1, 48, Vārttika 3.

, 73, Roman text, line 9. For duva[a]sa-read duva[da]sa-.

" 95, line 3. For (thus) read (this).

" 96, section (N). For arise to you read arise in you.

" " (T). For badly fulfils this duty read fulfils this duty badly.

" 97, " (V). For edict read rescript.

", ", (CC), line 3. For thus, as read just as.

99, Translation, section (A). For (thus) read (this).

" " (E), line 2. For thus read so.

" 100, section (I). Far inspire confidence to them read inspire them with confidence.

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CORRIGENDA



Page 100, section (J). For entertain read maintain.

" (K). For inspire confidence to those (borderers) read inspire those (borderers) with confidence.

100, section (M). For inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) read inspire those borderers (of mine) with confidence.

119, Nagari text, line 4. For मुस्याया read मुसूसाया.

" Roman text, line 4. For su[sū]yāyā read su[sū]sāyā.

133, note 6, line 3. For kākapāda read kākapada.

137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN). For conversion read exhortation.

142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. For sukatam read sukatam.

145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nagarī text, line 3. For हैन read हैन.

" 147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5. For sukatam read sukatam.

179, line 19. For . . . [ki]tī read . . [ki]tī.

" 184, line 23. For tim read tim.

" 235, second column, line 22 from bottom. For [al]as[y]e[na] read [ala]s[y]e[na].

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